JINNAH PAPERS

LEAGUE-CONGRESS DEADLOCK
1 August 1946-19 February 1947

SECOND SERIES
Volume XIV

Editor-in-Chief
Z. H. ZAIDI, s.i.
M. A., LL. B. (Alig.), Ph. D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS WING
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
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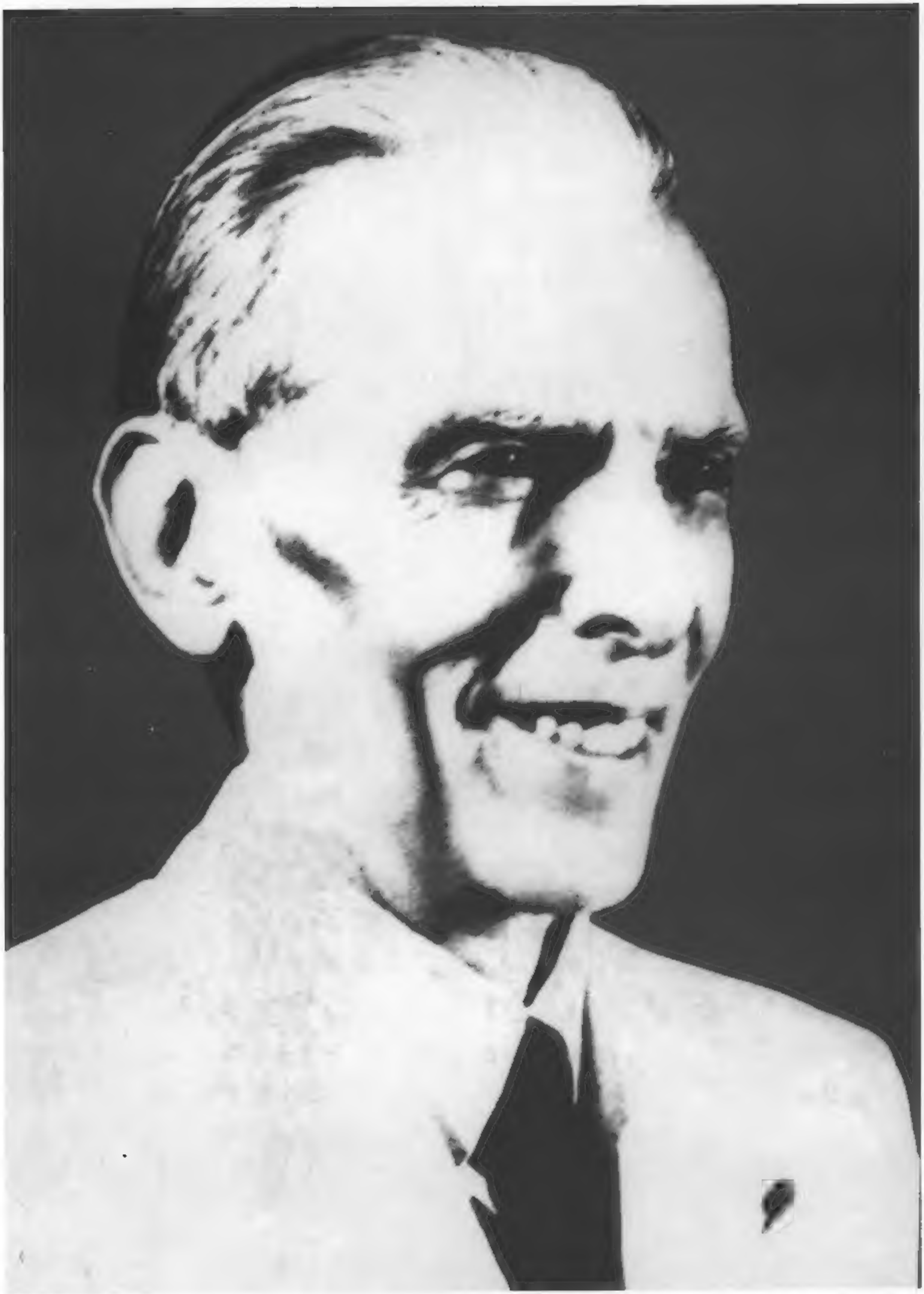

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Jinnah and Chundrigar with a delegation from Kathiawar
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Foreword

The present volume of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *League-Congress Deadlock* spanning the period from 1 August 1946 to 19 February 1947, is the fourteenth in overall sequence (the fifth and last in the second series).

As a sequel to the Congress casuistry and equivocation over the Cabinet Mission's short-term plan, viz. the Interim Government and its eagerness to seize the long-term one, viz. the Constituent Assembly, the Muslim League had decided to retract its acceptance of the plan as a whole. This volume describes the Quaid's unremitting struggle to secure a fair and just representation in the Interim Government for the League, and to steadfastly pursue the goal of a Muslim nation-state in the sub-continent in the face of unrelenting opposition by the Congress as well as the British Government.

The first four of the earlier thirteen volumes relate to the terminal phase of the British *raj*, from 20 February to 14 August 1947, during which the Pakistan Movement, under the dynamic and charismatic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, culminated in the emergence of the new nation-state. Volumes V to VII cover his rather brief stint as Governor-General of Pakistan when, for all the awesome trials and tribulations it had to undergo, the foundations of the young state were firmly laid by its founding father. Volumes VIII and IX deal with issues concerning the future of princely states. Volume I to IX together make up the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*.

The second series from Volume X to the present one encompasses the period from October 1943 to 19 February 1947, and covers in the main the Wavell's viceroyalty. It deals with issues such as Jinnah-Gandhi talks, the first Simla Conference, the quantum leap in electoral support for the Muslim League and its negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. Volume XIV comprises 404 primary documents supplemented by four exhaustive appendices on the formation of the interim government, communal disturbances, transfer and concentration of Muslim population, and the League boycott of the Constituent Assembly.

Jinnah's statements and speeches during the period, published in the newspapers, and subsequently compiled by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad,[1] Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi,[2] and Waheed Ahmad,[3] have generally not been included. However, references to those statements, etc. have been given in the text.

Primary documents, as well as those included in the appendices, have been arranged as before in chronological order. These have been identified in the text by quoting the source or repository notation, followed by the number of the relevant file or volumes, and where available, the page number(s).

The documents listed have been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (*QAP*) (e.g. *F. 490/26-7*); the *Archives of Freedom Movement* (e.g. *AFM/142*) held by the National Archives of Pakistan; the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. *SHC, Madras* II/31-2), partly available with the Quaid-i-Azam Academy. Where expedient, material from contemporary newspapers and other sources such the *Civil & Military Gazette;* the *Hindustan Times;* Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan;* S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru; The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi;* A.M. & S.G. Zaidi, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress;* M. Rafique Afzal, ed., *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan,* etc., has been drawn upon. Documents from the *Transfer of Power* 1942-7 have been referred to by document number, volume number and page number(s) (e.g. No. 317, *TP,* VIII, 515-6), while references to previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have also been made likewise (e.g. No. 177, Vol. XI, 195-6).

Material of repetitive nature, requests for pecuniary assistance, employment, messages and similar miscellaneous matters have generally not been included. At the same time, lengthy and tedious documents have been appropriately epitomised.

We have been lucky recipient of continuing encouragement from Madam Dina Jinnah, daughter of the Quaid-i-Azam, for her keen and unwavering interest in the preservation of her illustrious father's hallowed memory through the publication of his papers.

Z. H. Zaidi

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing
Culture Division
Islamabad
12 February 2007

[1]See Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, ed., *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah,* Vol. II (1944-48), Lahore, 1976, 317-459.
[2]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam,* Vol. IV (1946-48), Lahore, 1996, 2360-2517.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Deadlock, Frustration and Riots,* Vol. V (May 1946-February 1947), Karachi, 2001, 180-541.

Introduction

The All India Muslim League Council, faced with the British breach of trust and the casuistical Congress acceptance[1] of the Cabinet Mission Plan, was forced into an agonizing reappraisal of its own acceptance of the plan.[2] Addressing the Council on 27 July 1946, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah slammed the Cabinet Mission for acquiescence in the Congress stance. He believed that throughout the negotiations, "Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were under terror and threats of the Congress".[3] Not surprisingly, the League Council was obliged to retract its resolution of 6 June 1946 accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan.[4] The Council decided as well that the Working Committee draw up a programme of "Direct Action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination".[5] After the two resolutions had been adopted by the Council *nem. con.*, Jinnah, summing up the situation, declared: "Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything, except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are forced into this position. This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods." He recalled that throughout the negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, had held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and the other of non-cooperation. "Today, we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it." He emphasized that the decision to reject the plan and to launch Direct Action had not been made in haste but with a full sense of responsibility and after careful consideration. "We mean it and realise every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation."[6]

On 2 August 1946, the League Working Committee directed all provincial, district and primary branches to hold public rallies across India on 16 August for explaining the rationale of the Council's resolutions of 29 July to the Muslims. On the Direct Action Day, a complete *hartal* was to be observed. The Working Committee directed the Committee of Action as well to draw up a programme of Direct Action and organize the Muslims for the forthcoming struggle. Jinnah also received a number of suggestions for the Direct Action programme.[7] He was forewarned that in the struggle for Pakistan, Hindus were certain to prove a bigger obstacle than the British.[8] One correspondent even suggested a boycott of Hindu goods.[9]

Through a press statement on 14 August, Jinnah instructed Muslims to conduct themselves peacefully on the Direct Action Day and not to play into the hands of the enemies.[10] The day passed off peacefully

around the country except in Calcutta, where communal disturbances of unprecedented virulence erupted. Though Bengal as a whole was a Muslim majority province, its capital was a Muslim minority city. An early estimate showed that "appreciably more Muslims than Hindus were killed".[11] Appalled by the tragedy, Jinnah unreservedly condemned the communal violence and deeply sympathized with all sufferers. He urged immediate action against Muslim Leaguers in case any of them had committed acts of violence.[12]

A secret report from Governor Burrows to Wavell stated that the trouble seemed "generally to have started when Hindu-owned shops refused to close" in the wake of the Bengal League Ministry's decision to declare [the Direct Action Day] a holiday."[13] A somewhat bizarre feature of the Calcutta disturbances was that "though Direct Action Day was intended to be a gesture against the British, there was not a single case of any attack on a European or an Anglo-Indian as such." The communal riot of unprecedented intensity turned out to have been a pogrom between two rival armies of the Calcutta underworld.[14]

In a subsequent statement to a foreign news agency, Jinnah observed that the Muslims "had not only made no preparations to disturb the peace—they were not even able to defend themselves when the brutal outrages burst upon them." He accused the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress of having caused the Calcutta tragedy. It was, he charged, a conspiracy to discredit the Muslim League, and its Government in Bengal, hatched by the Hindus elated by the doings of the Viceroy, who chose the manner and the time of going ahead with the plan to form the Interim Government.[15]

On 21 August, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a letter to C. Rajagopalachari, blamed the Muslim League for having launched Direct Action with a vengeance. "They have discredited themselves and they must be made to pay for this senseless butchery." Having learned that the proportion of Muslims who had been killed was much larger, he brazenly regarded that as "a good lesson for the League".[16]

* * * *

In a broadcast on 24 August, the Viceroy declared his intention of forming a one-party Interim Government with 14 non-League members, though ostensibly holding the door open for the Muslim League to come in.[17] Jinnah spurned the offer, saying it meant a departure from the proposals contained in the Statement of 16 June, and released to the press the correspondence exchanged between him and the Viceroy.[18]

On 8 September, the Committee of Action, with a view to organizing the Muslims for the forthcoming struggle, deferred *sine die* the annual general elections of Provincial Muslim Leagues and their branches, except in Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara.[19]

From 16 September onwards, discussions aimed at securing the League's participation in the Interim Government were held between Wavell and Jinnah.[20] The Viceroy suggested a discussion between Jinnah and B. N. Rau, Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly,[21] during which the constitutional points raised by Jinnah were to be clarified.[22] Rau concluded the discussion with the suggestion—his personal view—"that the League should come into the government to work as a united team with the Congress and the minorities for the accomplishment of these common tasks."[23]

During the fortnight following the "Great Calcutta Killing," communal rioting broke out in Bombay over the exhibition of black flags by Muslims. By midnight, 35 persons had been killed and 175 injured.[24] Emphasizing that the League had taken no steps yet to resort to Direct Action, Jinnah attributed the black-flag demonstration by the Muslims to their having been insulted and taunted by the Hindus, "who already consider that Hindu *raj* has been established." He counselled the Muslims to remain peaceful until the League determined its course of action, whatever that might be.[25] Hassanally P. Ebrahim of Bombay Provincial League drew up a list of complaints, including specific instances of injustice to the Muslims by the Hindu police officers and their partiality for the Hindus. He called for an impartial probe by a commission of enquiry.[26]

By 10 October, the situation in Bombay had shown no signs of improvement, when the communal situation worsened in the Noakhali District of Bengal. According to Governor Burrows, trouble broke out in Ramgunj police station. Large bands of Muslim hooligans were stated to have spread out and committed acts of arson, loot and murder, kidnapping and forcible conversion of Hindus.[27] The Governor did not see the situation as a "general rising of Muslims against Hindus" but as an activity of a body of hooligans who had exploited the existing communal feelings. He regarded the figure of 5,000 dead, quoted by the Calcutta press, as highly exaggerated.[28] The death toll, as on 18 November, was estimated at 133 with the final toll expected to be less than 200.[29] Feeling relieved that the news flashed by the press was grossly exaggerated, Jinnah condemned the disturbances and appealed to Hindus as well as Muslims "to stop this orgy and carnage."[30]

In Bihar, even before the outbreak of communal violence in

Noakhali, the Muslims had been feeling insecure. Early in October, Badruddin Ahmad, Secretary, Bihar Muslim League, drew Jinnah's attention to "regular organized attacks on defenceless Muslims and sought his intervention."[31] The situation took a turn for the worse on 25 October when public meetings were held all over the province to sympathise with the Hindu victims of Noakhali. The meetings held at Chapra and Patna in Bihar triggered widespread riots because of the bitterly provocative speeches made. Taking note of "the titanic and gruesome tragedy" in Bihar, Jinnah set up a relief committee to help out the refugees. Starting with his own donation of Rs. 5,000, he appealed to everyone to send their contributions to Habib Bank, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.[32] By 8 November, over 2,000 deaths had been estimated by the police. Almost all of those killed were Muslims, 75 per cent being women and children.[33] Writing to Jinnah on 9 November, a Patna railway employee estimated the number of casualties to be fifty times more than the exaggerated figures of Noakhali.[34] Jinnah, describing the Bihar tragedy "as having no parallel or precedent in this record of cold-blooded butchery of the Muslim minority ... by the majority Hindu community" cautioned the Muslims of Muslim-majority provinces against any retaliation or vengeance on their part which would be only "playing in the hands of our enemies."[35]

The Muslim League Committee of Action had asked Khwaja Nazimuddin, one of its members, to lead a fact-finding team about the Bihar disturbances. The team visited the province from 10 to 14 November. Malik Firoz Khan Noon, a member of the team, observed that the savagery in Bihar, fuelled by newspaper reports and comments and inflammatory public speeches, had no parallel in the annals of human cruelty.[36] He went on to say that no criminal would ever be punished if the Congress Ministry in Bihar remained in office. He accused the police and officers of anti-Muslim bias and reported that Congress workers were busy obliterating all evidence of mass killings.[37]

Mohammad Abdul Ghani, Secretary, Bihar Muslim League Parliamentary Party, drew Jinnah's attention to the criminal failure of Bihar Hindu magistrates and police officers to take timely action against the rioters. He also blamed the Bihar Congress Ministry for failing to maintain law and order and for having let loose Congress leaders to incite murderous mobs against the Muslims.[38]

Khwaja Nazimuddin's report on the Bihar massacre concluded that the carnage had been planned and directed by top Congress leaders with the connivance of high Government officials.[39] The

report was read out by Nazimuddin to the Committee of Action which met at Jinnah's New Delhi residence. The Committee flayed Governor Hugh Dow, the Bihar Ministry and the Congress party, demanding an independent inquiry into their conduct by a Commission composed of the highest judicial officers. They also suggested, by way of a solution, that those riot victims who had been completely uprooted be shifted to Muslim-majority areas and the rest be concentrated at strong centres like Purnea, Santhal Parganas and Chhota Nagpur.[40] Jinnah sounded out Wavell on the question of exchange of population[41] and also had it examined in depth by Abdul Rashid Khan, a U. P. civil servant. Commenting on the possibility of population exchange, the Viceroy said that it could only be arranged by negotiation and agreement.[42]

On 21 November, Liaquat Ali Khan, Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar and Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Muslim League members of the Interim Government, handed Wavell a note demanding, *inter alia,* the appointment of a committee to plan and arrange exchange of population and property. They laid emphasis on a policy of concentrating Muslims into large pockets as the only sure way of protecting them.[43]

Believing the task of relief and rehabilitation of the Bihar refugees to be "a gigantic one," beyond the resources of any private persons, individually or collectively, or any non-official organisation, Jinnah appointed a Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee to provide relief to refugees in the shape of food, clothing, shelter and medical aid.[44] In order to prevent recurrence of communal disturbances in various parts of India where small religious minorities had been put to the sword by overwhelming majorities, Jinnah expressed the opinion that the question of exchange of population be taken up immediately by the central and provincial authorities.[45]

On 4 December, the Bihar Muslim League Relief Committee, fearing a second mass attack on Muslims, wired Jinnah who was then in London to move the British Government on the question of exchange of population. Accusing the Congress Ministry of criminal indifference and antipathy, the Committee reported that defenceless Muslims were fleeing the province because of consternation and fear.[46] Jinnah brought the grave situation to the notice of the Secretary of State for India who did not consider it a matter in which the British Government could dictate to Provincial Governments in India. He suggested that the Government of Bengal make a detailed proposition to the Government of Bihar.[47] About the same time, the Governor of Bengal reported that the events in Bihar and the influx of Muslim refugees from there

were having "a most unsettling effect".[48] The Bihar Governor reported that Nazimuddin and Firoz Khan Noon, members of the Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee, had by then realised the "impracticability of the mass transfers of population" but that their efforts at persuading the Muslims not to emigrate from Bihar had had little effect.[49]

The Bihar Muslims had demanded an enquiry into the Bihar disturbances but the Provincial Congress Ministry did not countenance the demand. The Governor, too, was opposed to an enquiry lest communal feelings should be aroused again as a sequel.[50] Subsequently, though a no-confidence motion by the Muslim League Assembly Party against the Congress Ministry was defeated, the Bihar Premier agreed that there should be an enquiry into the disturbances.[51]

Addressing a group of Bihar Muslims at a refugee camp, Jinnah acknowledged their sacrifices which had certainly brought the goal of Pakistan nearer. He assured the refugees of all possible help which he and the Muslim League could provide.[52]

While the question of appointing a commission to inquire into the Bihar riots was on the tapis, the Government of India was overtaken by fast-moving political developments. In the aftermath of the British Government's statement in Parliament of 20 February 1947, the Bihar Governor, taking note of spiralling communal violence in other parts of India, suggested that an official inquiry report on Bihar, by the time it was completed, might be of little more than academic interest. He was of the view that the inquiry could not possibly do any good.[53] On 9 July, saying that a commission of inquiry would probably do more harm to Bihar Muslims, the Governor suggested that the Viceroy enlist Jinnah's cooperation in persuading the Bihar Muslim League not to press their demand.[54] Jinnah, however, informed to the Viceroy saying that it was scarcely possible at that stage to make the Provincial League give up their demand. He thought that the situation would change radically when two new Dominions came into being on 15 August. The Viceroy decided not to respond to the Governor's suggestion leaving the matter pending.[55]

While the fires were still burning and Muslims being killed in Bihar, severe communal disturbances broke out in Garhmuktesar on 6 November in Meerut District of U.P. at a Hindu bathing fair on the bank of Ganges River.[56] According to Governor Francis Wylie, the death toll from an overwhelming attack on the few Muslim stall-holders was 46. The following day, riotous mobs proceeded from the fair to Garhmuktesar town, three miles away, and attacked Muslim residents and

burnt Muslim houses. The number of people killed, most of them Muslims, stood at 250.[57] Complaining of strict censorship over the Garhmuktesar riot news, a Muslim from a nearby district informed Jinnah of the culpable failure of local police to restrain Hindu mobs from wanton hooliganism.[58] Another correspondent reported that even children and women had not been spared but brutally killed. He also reported that 125 young Muslim women and girls had been abducted by Hindu ruffians to be converted to Hinduism or ravished.[59] Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Member for Health in the Interim Government, who visited Garhmuktesar, confirmed on return that the massacre of Muslims and pillaging of Muslim shops had gone on without any check or intervention by the police. He estimated the number of those killed on 7 November to be around 500.[60] Governor of U.P., confirming the ferocity of Garhmuktesar violence, found that "whole families in some cases had been wiped out and all this was done with most hideous cruelty".[61] In an interview with the Muslim League Members of the Cabinet, the Viceroy conceded that the police in many parts of India were infected with the virus of communalism and could no longer be relied upon for firm and stern action against their own community.[62] He conceded also that the Garhmuktesar incident was "a really ghastly case of unprovoked aggression by Hindus against Muslims," adding that "there were many vile offences against women."[63] Begum Aizaz Rasul, U.P. League leader, was to denounce "bestial violence" against women and their forcible conversion to Hinduism as "the most lurid and disrespectful aspect of the situation".[64]

The communal bias of police was very much in evidence during the anti-Muslim riots which broke out at Hapur in Meerut District. An inquiry conducted by the District Muslim League found that Hindu mobs had killed or looted Muslims and burnt their property in broad daylight without a single shot having been fired by police.[65] Hindus living in predominantly Hindu localities protected themselves by putting up iron gates and barbed-wire fencing. Those living in predominantly Muslim areas had shifted to Hindu pockets well before the outbreak of rioting.

* * * *

While his negotiations with the Viceroy were still under way, Jinnah received from Nawab Muhammad Hamidullah of Bhopal a formula signed by Gandhi recognizing League's "unquestionable right to represent Muslims of India" as a basis for reconstituting the Interim Government.[66] Endorsing Gandhi's formula, Jinnah had

several meetings and exchanged correspondence with Nehru, but the formula did not find favour with the latter and his colleagues who insisted on the right of Congress to nominate a Muslim in its quota. Jinnah deplored the failure of the two parties to come to an honourable agreement satisfactory to both.[67] The Viceroy then conceded the same right to the Muslim League and asked Jinnah for nominations to the League quota.[68] Jinnah placed the whole matter before his Working Committee, which did "not approve of the basis and scheme of setting up the Interim Government", nor endorse the decisions already made by the Viceroy or of the arrangements made by him. But having been given the right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League, the Working Committee thought it best not "to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of the Congress".[69] The trauma of Muslim sufferings under the Congress governments in various provinces during 1937-39 still rankled in the minds of the Working Committee members.[70]

Vexed by the presence of a Congress Muslim on the Executive Council, Jinnah saw fit to nominate Jogendra Nath Mandal, a Scheduled-Castes Minister in the Bengal Cabinet, in the League quota. Wavell regarded it as "tit for tat" to Congress and an embarrassment for himself.[71] The other League nominees were Liaquat Ali Khan, Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar and Ghazanfar Ali Khan.[72] Mandal's nomination was hailed by a member of his community which looked up to Jinnah for safeguarding their rights denied by the Caste-Hindus over the centuries.[73]

In his negotiations with Jinnah, Wavell had stipulated League's retraction of its Bombay Resolution of 29 July as a condition for the party joining the Executive Council.[74] In the wake of Jinnah's decision to nominate five persons on the Council on behalf of League,[75] Wavell reiterated the condition.[76] In a speech at Karachi on 20 October, Liaquat announced that the League had decided to enter the Interim Government because "Congress in its heart was adverse to the League's entry". He explained that for League's participation was by no means incompatible with the Bombay Resolution on Direct Action and exhorted Muslims to prepare unremittingly for the final struggle to achieve their goal—Pakistan.[77] Jinnah remained steadfast in his belief that Pakistan was "the only solution" to India's communal problem. As for the role of the League Ministers in the Interim Government, he elaborated that they "were there as sentinels to watch over" Muslim interests in day-to-day

administration of the Government. He, however, did not approve of the Interim Government, which had been "forced upon us".[78]

After swearing in the League nominees as members of the Interim Government,[79] the Viceroy started urging Jinnah to convene the Muslim League Council in order to accept the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16.[80] However, defining the role of the League members in the Interim Government as "sentinels" of Muslim interests, Jinnah insisted that the only solution to the Indian problem was "separating Muslim India from Hindu India as Pakistan and Hindustan".[81] Drawing Wavell's attention to the "planned ruthless massacre of the Muslims in various parts of Bihar," he urged postponement of the Constituent Assembly *sine die* and immediate restoration of peace.[82] He feared that to convene the Constituent Assembly would be the "greatest possible mistake." He thought it would lead to disaster and that it would be difficult to control events in the Muslim provinces.[83] When the Viceroy decided none the less to summon the Constituent Assembly to meet on 9 December, Jinnah regarded it as "one more blunder of very grave and serious character." He made it clear that no representative of the League would attend the meeting.[84]

As a sequel to the boycott of the Constituent Assembly by the Muslim League, according to Wavell, the League members could not remain in the Cabinet since the party had not accepted the long-term plan. Liaquat signified the League members' readiness to resign from the Cabinet whenever required but stated that they would not enter the Constituent Assembly unless and until the British Government declared unequivocally that Provinces would meet in Sections, that the representatives in Sections would decide, by a majority if necessary, whether there would be Groups, and that Sections, again by a majority if necessary, would frame Provincial constitutions as well as Group Constitutions, if any. If this procedure was not to be observed, the British Government must undertake not to implement the results.[85]

Alarmed at the possibility of a major breakdown, the British Government decided to invite two representatives each of Congress and Muslim League to discuss how best the meeting of the Constituent Assembly could be made productive.[86] When Wavell conveyed his invitation to Nehru, the latter feared a reopening of decisions already made by the Cabinet Mission and those relating to the formation of the Interim Government.[87] Attlee then sent to Nehru a personal message reassuring him of a successful meeting of the Constituent Assembly.[88] Attlee sent a personal appeal to Jinnah as

well, promising full consideration of all points of view.[89] Liaquat Ali Khan was invited as League's representative on the Interim Government. At the Viceroy's suggestion, Sardar Baldev Singh was also invited as representative of the Sikhs.[90]

After the Muslim League had joined the Interim Government in October, it had to contend with the Congress fiction casting Nehru in the role of "Prime Minister or Leader of the Government".[91] This attempt "to change the whole character of the Government" by the Congress was seen by the Viceroy as an "impediment to securing a cooperative attitude on the part of the League."[92]

After the Indian leaders' arrival for talks in London, the British Ministers and Wavell met with them a number of times but failed to reach a solution acceptable to both the major parties. The British Government then issued a statement on 6 December[93] after obtaining legal advice. The statement reaffirmed the Cabinet Mission's view that the constitutions of the Provinces included in each Section were to be adopted on the basis of simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This interpretation had been endorsed by the League earlier but the Congress had put forward a different view. The statement urged all parties in the Constituent Assembly to accept the official interpretation. If, however, the Constituent Assembly still desired verdict of the Federal Court on this point, along with other points needing judicial ruling, the necessary reference be made forthwith, the meeting of the Sections of the Constituent Assembly being deferred until the decision of the Federal Court.

Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, who later met with Jinnah, expressed the hope that the Muslim League would come into the Constituent Assembly.[94] Jinnah however did not see on what grounds the League could do so unless and until the Congress accepted the interpretation contained in the Statement of 6 December, there would be no justification for the League to come in. He reiterated that without the Congress unequivocally accepting that interpretation, there was no reason to convene the League Council.[95]

The Congress Working Committee, holding the view that British interpretation of the method of voting in Sections was inconsistent with provincial autonomy, called an emergent meeting of the All India Congress Committee.[96] This view was endorsed in the All India Congress Committee's Resolution which *inter alia* stated, "while the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to the

recent announcement made on behalf of the British Government". They were, however, agreeable to advising action in accordance with the British Government view provided it did not "involve any compulsion of a province" or jeopardize the rights of the Sikhs in Punjab. In the event of any attempt at compulsion, a province or part of province "had the right to take such action ... in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned."[97]

The Muslim League Working Committee met in Karachi on 31 January 1947 to consider the British Government Statement of 6 December. It took note of the Congress Working Committee and All India Congress Committee Resolutions and the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly up to date. Finding that the Congress reaction militated against the "clearly expressed intentions" of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the League Working Committee urged the British Government to declare the failure of the Plan. For similar reasons it regarded the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly as contrary to the Plan and called for its immediate dissolution. The Working Committee concluded that no useful purpose would be served by summoning a meeting of the League's Council to review its decision to withdraw acceptance of the Plan.[98]

The League Working Committee's Resolution led the nine non-League members of the Executive Council to question the validity of the League members continuing as members of the Interim Government.[99] Liaquat Ali Khan refuted this, declaring that neither the Congress nor the Sikhs had any greater right to participate in the Interim Government.[100] The major parties in the Executive Council had thus reached a dead end with little freedom to manoeuvre. The British Government obviously did not want to precipitate any crisis by removal of the League members from the Interim Government, [101] as they were already working out a new position on Indian policy. They were worried about the communal situation getting worse.[102]

* * * *

In the Punjab, the Muslim League, having won 84 Muslim seats out of 175, had emerged as the single largest party in the general elections held in early 1946. However, Khizar Hayat Tiwana of the Unionist Party managed to form a coalition government with the support of the Congress and the Panth.[103] The Punjab Muslim League Assembly party was, thus, driven into the opposition. The situation came to a head when the Punjab Government, fearful of the growing

power of the Muslim League, banned the League National Guards. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, a militant Hindu organisation, was banned as well.[104] The Muslim League defied the Government order. The Khan of Mamdot and six other prominent Leaguers courted arrest to vindicate civil liberties.[105] The arrests triggered a Civil Disobedience Movement across the province. Public protest against the suppression of civil and political liberties was voiced at rallies and demonstrations throughout Punjab.

Liaquat Ali Khan flayed the Punjab Government for treating the Muslim National Guards—an integral part of the League organization—as a private army.[106] Jinnah apprehended terrible repercussions all over Muslim India because of the Punjab Government's "mad and inimical action". He appealed to the Viceroy for immediate intervention to save the situation, which "otherwise may take a very serious turn."[107]

On 28 January, the ban on Muslim National Guards was lifted by the Punjab Government but the Provincial Muslim League decided to continue civil disobedience till the ban on processions and public meetings was lifted as well.[108] However, in case Khizar failed to continue with his action against private armies, he would irk the Viceroy who would be deposed to think "that his days as Premier are numbered".[109] The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, by a resolution adopted on 1 February 1947, called on the Punjab Government to forthwith withdraw "all restrictive measures on political activities" and to release all those arrested or imprisoned on that account.[110] In a statement on 2 February, Jinnah slammed the action taken by the Punjab Government as based not on any apprehension of breach of the peace or of communal trouble but as a means to keeping the tottering Ministry going. He asked the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy not to "indulge in any camouflage" but to deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the province.[111]

While the Punjab League's civil disobedience campaign was in full swing, a Central Muslim League deputation comprising Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan arrived in Lahore to assess the situation. The deputation left for Delhi on 9 February.[112] By 16 February, Governor Jenkins seemed "prepared to withdraw a good many of the specific bans on processions and meetings."[113]

On 21 February, the members of the Punjab League Committee of Action, imprisoned in Kasur jail, met to consider the terms of a

compromise offered by the Punjab Government. Mamdot asked for Jinnah's instructions, through a letter[114] carried by Moulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Punjab League Acting President, [115] regarding the course of action proposed by the Committee of Action. Jinnah made it clear that the decision to continue or call off the civil disobedience campaign was to be taken by the Provincial League leaders themselves. He was agreeable to immediate removal of the ban on public meetings, and on processions later as a compromise, and release of those arrested or imprisoned.[116] As regards the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, Jinnah insisted that it be placed before the Punjab Legislative Assembly which was going to meet shortly.[117] The Punjab Government yielded to the League's demands on 25 February,[118] and the Civil Disobedience Movement was called off the next day. The Punjab Premier also released a statement[119] to the press defending his Government's action of restricting the activities of the League opposition and using the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance to keep them out of the way during the budget session.[120]

* * * *

The South-Asian littoral known as Sind had, since the Arab invasion at the beginning of the eighth century, came to be known as the Gateway of Islam. The Sind Provincial Muslim League was the first political entity to demand an independent federation of Muslim-majority provinces, princely states and other areas.[121] The Party's resolution turned out to be a springboard for similar schemes and studies which eventually evolved into the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. However, in course of time the party fell a prey to internal dissensions and external intrigues which marred its vitality and reputation. One such instance was the murder of ex-prime minister Allah Bakhsh Soomro. His successor in office, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, too had to face the same problems. After the January 1946 elections, the Muslim League with 28 members in the new Assembly was opposed by 20 Congress members coalescing with three nationalist members and four members of the Sayed Group. However, Hidayatullah was able to form a ministry with the support of three European members. But the ministry was having a far from easy time. The Premier's efforts to beef up his parliamentary strength by negotiating a deal with G. M. Sayed were not countenanced by Jinnah who insisted that Sayed "must express regret and surrender unconditionally".[122] The Hidayatullah Ministry survived a subsequent no-confidence motion by a majority of only one vote, the three

European members voting against the motion. Later, when the Opposition made a clandestine bid to win over Mir Bundeh Ali Talpur, Hidayatullah foiled the move by offering Talpur a ministership.[123] While Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel reprimanded the Sind Congress Committee for the underhand move,[124] Jawaharlal Nehru, branding Sind politics as "a disgrace and a scandal," blamed Hidayatullah for the sorry state of affairs.[125]

When the Sind Assembly met in a special session on 11 July to elect members to the Constituent Assembly, the Congress Opposition, having enticed two members of the League parliamentary party into defecting,[126] tabled a no-confidence motion. The motion could not be put to vote as Governor Mudie prorogued the Assembly for the reason that the special session had been convened for election of members to the Constituent Assembly and could not transact any other business.[127]

In August 1946, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh charged Ayub Khuhro, a Minister, with "directly hobnobbing and conspiring with the coalition party" hoping to be elected party leader in case the League Ministry was thrown out.[128] Khuhro was accused by the Sind Provincial Congress as well, of having incited the masses to violence.[129] Jinnah, however, refused to be drawn into their internecine strife. He advised Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to contend with and overcome the obstacles as it was "for you local leaders to manage things."[130]

By 6 September, a deadlock seemed likely to develop in the Sind Assembly. The Government and the Opposition were reported to be equal in strength[131] and the only way out of a probable impasse appeared to lie in the formation of a League-Congress coalition.[132] Hidayatullah's efforts to secure a coalition came to nought as Congress refused to negotiate with him except through G. M. Syed, whom the League had refused to deal with.[133] As a result, the Assembly was dissolved and fresh elections ordered.

With the elections due on 9 December, election tickets for various constituencies were awarded by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board composed of Liaquat Ali Khan (Chairman), Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Syed Hossain Imam. The award drew a good deal of flak from unsuccessful candidates who appealed for a review to Jinnah, [134] who replied that he had no power to entertain appeals against the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board which were final. He enjoined the appellants to support the official League candidates.[135] He also approved a proposal to send the same Committee of Aligarh students to Sind which had organised

the election campaign in that province last winter.[136]

The proximity of elections and chances of ministerships led to renewed infighting within the Sind Muslim League. Yusuf Haroon complained that top leaders of Sind League had failed to bury the hatchet and continued squabbling among themselves. He felt that Jinnah's presence would "completely close our ranks" and have a dynamic effect "upon the present lethargic attitude of our top-ranking leaders."[137] Hashim Gazdar asked for his rival candidates to be expelled from the party.[138] The situation obtaining was hardly conducive to winning elections.

Jinnah was not unmindful of the stakes involved. Unless the Muslims League established a stable government in Sind, its position in the Interim Government vis-a-vis Congress would be weakened. He accordingly instructed Khuhro to back Muslim League candidates across Sind[139] and paid a personal visit to the province as well in order to help the Sind League contest and win the elections overwhelmingly.[140]

Jinnah had hardly had time to settle down at Karachi when he left for London at the invitation of the British Government.[141] Aware that a League landslide in the forthcoming elections in Sind was vital to the future of the province, he exhorted Sind Muslims to close their ranks, stand solidly behind the League, and fully support official League candidates. He gave a stern warning to those pretending to be loyal to the League but opposing the official League candidates.[142]

The elections, held while Jinnah was still in London, demonstrated the growing popularity and power of the League, which won 34 seats as against 28 in the last elections. Congress got 20 as against 22 in the previous elections.[143] This was indeed a watershed in Muslim India's struggle for freedom and statehood inasmuch as the Sind Muslims helped win the first round of the final battle for Pakistan.

By the time Jinnah returned from London, Khuhro had drawn up, for Quaid's information, a record of the election work he had done.[144] He followed it up with a list of four groups which had proposed and backed Khuhro as the Leader of the new Assembly Party.[145] He later sent the list of those signatories.[146] Kazi Mujtaba, the Labour MLA, believed that Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was the most suitable man to guide the destinies of the Sind Muslims.[147] Jinnah met people of all shades of political opinion and after an exchange of views with them called a meeting of the Sind Assembly League Party at his residence.[148] He emphasized the imperatives of solidarity, harmony and cooperation within the party and deprecated strife for party leadership. He suggested that the only proper course for the party

was to re-elect Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as the Leader and M. A. Khuhro as the Deputy Leader. The party then resolved unanimously that Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah be its Leader and M. A. Khuhro Deputy Leader. It was decided also to re-nominate the four outgoing Cabinet Ministers but to reallocate their portfolios.[149] The sacrifices made by Khuhro for the party did not go unnoticed, of course, and were highly praised by a percipient political observer.[150]

The Sind Muslim League celebrated its conspicuous electoral success by observing a Victory Day on 5 January 1947. Jinnah could not participate in the public meeting held on that day due to high fever but he sent a message urging unity, harmony and discipline. He expressed confidence that Pakistan would be achieved sooner than many people expected.[151]

With the goal of Pakistan now well in sight, Jinnah addressed a meeting of the Sind Assembly Muslim League Party. The meeting considered steps to implement an eight-point constructive programme including, *inter alia,* compulsory primary education, Sind University Bill, redressal of the grievances of *haris,* eradication of corruption and black marketing, welfare of labour and improvement of their working conditions, and effective control of money-lending.[152]

* * * *

The Congress, having won 30 out of 50 seats in the NWFP Legislative Assembly, was able to form the Ministry. The Muslim League came out the second best with 17 seats and had to go into opposition.[153] With the League's Resolution on Direct Action[154] in view, a correspondent named Mohammad Ramzan Khan visualized that the party would be able after launching Direct Action to defeat the corrupt and dishonest Congress ministry in the province.[155] Another correspondent urged the "great need" for League propaganda in the province and suggested visits by League leaders for that purpose.[156]

F. H. Elkhairabadi, a correspondent, suggested that *pirs* and *mullahs* be enlisted in the campaign against the Congress regime.[157]

After the conclusion of the autumn session of the Provincial Assembly, two by-elections were to be held which the Frontier League decided to contest.[158] Nehru decided to visit the Frontier about the same time. Suggesting that hostile demonstrations against "a member of the Government" would be undesirable, Wavell requested Jinnah to ask the provincial League leaders to "use their restraining influence".[159] Jinnah told the Viceroy that he feared the Frontier people would take a dim view of Nehru's visit and suggested that

the visit had best be postponed. He made it clear that no instructions had been given to the Frontier League to stage demonstrations against Nehru.[160] When Nehru did go ahead with the tour, which was "obviously intended to push the Congress cause," he was, as expected, greeted with hostile demonstrations at a number of places.[161] Commenting on Nehru's visit, Pir Muhammad Aminul Hasnat of Manki Sharif expressed a sense of relief that nothing untoward had happened to cause displeasure to the Quaid-i-Azam.[162] Another correspondent, Qazi Mohammad Fareed, reported that Nehru's visit had opened the eyes of the Frontier Muslims who were now more than willing to be schooled in the League ideology.[163] The right type of men, duly supported with wherewithal, could break the Red Shirts-cum-Congress hold on the Frontier Muslims, which already was on the wane. The Congress ministry had a rude shock when the League candidate, Mohammad Ishaq Khan, easily defeated his Congress rival, Mian Shakirullah Khan, in the Kamalzai by-election.

In February 1947, the Frontier Muslim League launched a Civil Disobedience Movement against the Congress ministry. Public rallies and demonstrations, orchestrated by the League to dislodge the ministry, became a daily feature of its activities. The movement was called off only after the announcement of the Plan of 3 June 1947, which envisaged the holding of a referendum in the province preparatory to the creation of Pakistan.

* * * *

During the brief visit of the Cabinet Mission to Kashmir in late April 1946, it had been presented with a Memorandum by Sheikh Abdullah demanding "not merely the establishment of a system of democratic government, but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House".[164] In the following month, he along with other leaders of the National Conference launched the "Quit Kashmir" movement urging the people to topple the State Government and renounce allegiance to the Maharaja and the ruling family. The movement was followed by public demonstrations across the state, which were suppressed ruthlessly.[165] Sheikh Abdullah and other leaders of the movement were arrested[166] and the former sentenced to three years in jail.[167]

In the meantime, Agha Shaukat Ali, Secretary General of the Muslim Conference, informed Jinnah that the State Government, having dealt with the National Conference severely, was preparing to repress the Muslim Conference as well.[168] The Muslim Conference

Committee of Action, therefore, prepared a programme of "Direct Action" and establishment of "Azad Kashmir," which was due to be approved and adopted at the open session of the Conference on 26 October. The Muslim Conference sought the active support of the AIML in the event of a struggle.[169] When the State Government clamped a ban on all speeches at the session, Ch. Ghulam Abbas, Moulvi Noor-ud-din and Agha Shaukat Ali defied the ban.[170] Jinnah's message,[171] exhorting Muslim leadership in the State to stand united and work selflessly and in a disciplined manner, was also read out at the session.

The arrest of Ch. Ghulam Abbas and Agha Shaukat Ali and others by the State authorities precipitated a crisis in the Muslim Conference. It split up into two camps: the Jammu faction led by Chaudhry Hamidullah and the Kashmir faction led by Mir Waiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah. Both factions wanted to renounce Direct Action and concentrate on fighting the forthcoming elections.[172]

A Muslim Conference deputation led by Ch. Hamidullah Khan met Jinnah and apprised him of the situation in the State. Jinnah condemned the State Government policy of suppressing freedom of expression and resorting to terrorism on the eve of elections.[173] He sent a copy of his statement to Conrad Corfield, Political Adviser to the Crown Representative.[174]

Towards the middle of November 1946, the Maharaja of Kashmir and his Prime Minister were both worried about interference in the internal affairs of the State by the future Indian Union and were contemplating staying out of it.[175] The Government of India, given the economic dependence of Kashmir on, and the State's strategic importance to, India, visualized "some form of mutual accommodation" between the two parties.[176]

In late 1946, Hamidullah faction and Mir Waiz faction within the Muslim Conference were still at loggerheads. Things came to a head when each faction expelled the other from the party.[177] Ghulam Mohamed, a Kashmiri leader, frankly admitted that their leadership had proven to be incapable of giving a lead in those troubled times. They never thought of constructive cooperation with the State Government and hated to meet the Prime Minister.[178] The following day, Ch. Hamidullah Khan called on Jinnah in Karachi and apprised him of the situation as regards the forthcoming elections to the State Assembly. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir to stand united and vote solidly for every candidate put up by the Muslim Conference.[179]

The elections were held in January 1947. The Jammu faction of the Muslim Conference led by Ch. Hamidullah Khan fared a lot better than the Kashmir faction led by Mir Waiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah.[180] While the two factions continued to squabble over intra-party issues affecting their respective regions,[181] there was no difference of opinion over the party's avowed objective of accession to Pakistan. In July 1947, a Convention of the Muslim Conference, meeting under the presidentship of Ch. Hamidullah Khan, unanimously passed a resolution urging the State to join Pakistan.[182]

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While the Muslim League had called for recognition of the fact that the Cabinet Mission Plan had failed,[183] the British Government saw no clear prospect of a constitution approved by all parties in India emerging in accordance with that Plan.[184] The only way out of the constitutional impasse appeared to be that a deadline be fixed for transfer of power into responsible Indian hands, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in some other way as may seem most reasonable. Such a dispensation would pave the way for a Muslim nation-state in the subcontinent and would indeed be a prelude to Pakistan.

Notes

[1]See Abul Kalam Azad to Archibald Wavell, 25 June 1946, Annex II to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 466-70 & Resolution by the Congress Working Committee, 26 June 1946, Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 478-9.
[2]Resolution by All India Muslim League Council, 6 June 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 25, ibid., 438-9.
[3]Address by M. A. Jinnah to All India Muslim League Council, 27 July 1946, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol. V, Karachi, 2001, 140.
[4]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Council, 29 July 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-7.
[5]Resolution No. 2 by the All India Muslim League Council, 29 July 1946, ibid., 497-9.
[6]Address by M. A. Jinnah to the All India Muslim League Council, 29 July 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 165.
[7]See Asghar Ali to M. A. Jinnah, 2 August 1946, No. 1.
[8]V. Ahmad Basha to M. A. Jinnah, 2 August 1946, No. 3.
[9]Mohammad Safdar Chohan to M. A. Jinnah, 12 August 1946, No. 16.
[10]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 14 August 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 208.
[11]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 21 August 1946, No. 187, *TP*, VIII, 274.
[12]Jinnah's Interview on Calcutta Situation, 17 August 1946, Appendix II. 1.
[13]Frederick Burrows to Archibald Wavell, 22 August 1946, Enclosure to No. 197, *TP*, VIII, 294.
[14]Ibid., 302.
[15]Statment by M. A. Jinnah to a foreign news agency, 3 September 1946, Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. IV, Lahore, 1996, 2404-8.
[16]See Durga Das, ed., *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* (1945-50), Vol. 33, Ahmedabad, 1971, 40.
[17]Broadcast by Archibald Wavell, 24 August 1946, Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10.
[18]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 25 August 1946, Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10.
[19]Resolution No. 2 by AIML Committee of Action, 8 September 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 596-7.
[20]Note by Archibald Wavell of his Discussion with M. A. Jinnah, 16 September 1946, Annex to Appendix I. 13.
[21]See B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah, 18 September 1946, Appendix I. 14 & M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau, 21 September 1946, Appendix I. 15.
[22]See B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah, 22 September 1946, Appendix I. 16.
[23]Ibid.
[24]H. T. Sorley to Pethick-Lawrence, Telegram, 1 September 1946, No. 239, *TP*, VIII, 384.
[25]See note 15 ante.
[26]See Report by Hassanally P. Ebrahim on Events in Bombay, 19 October 1946, F. 1128/1-9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[27]Frederick Burrows to Pethick-Lawrence, 16 October 1946, No. 472, *TP*, VIII, 743.
[28]Frederick Burrows to Pethick-Lawrence, 20 October 1946, No. 482, ibid., 753.
[29]Statement by Pethick-Lawrence, 27 November 1946, No. 102, *TP*, IX, 188.
[30]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 24 October 1946, Annex to Appendix V, Vol. I, Part II, 123.
[31]Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 3 October 1946, No. 122.
[32]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 6 November 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 358-60.
[33]Hugh Dow to Archibald Wavell, 9 November 1946, No. 19, *TP*, IX, 38-9.
[34]Sahriful Islam to M. A. Jinnah, 9 November 1946, No. 258.
[35]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 11 November 1946, Appendix II. 2.
[36]Report by Firoz Khan Noon on Four Days in Bihar, 11 November 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 1051.
[37]Ibid., 14 November 1946, 1059.
[38]Mohammad Abdul Ghani to M. A. Jinnah, 14 November 1946, No. 296.
[39]Report by Khwaja Nazimuddin & Others on Bihar Massacre, 15 November 1946, Appendix II. 3.

[40]Proceedings of AIML Committee of Action, 16 November 1946, Annex to ibid.
[41]Note by Archibald Wavell of an Interview with M. A. Jinnah, 19 November 1946, Appendix IV. 1.
[42]Report by Abdul Rashid Khan on Transfer and Concentration of Muslim Population in Other States, Provinces & Central Compact Blocks, Appendix III.
[43]Note by Liaquat Ali Khan & Other Muslim League Members of the Cabinet to Archibald Wavell, 21 November 1946, Enclosure to No. 70, *TP*, IX, 130-1.
[44]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 23 November 1946, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 407-9.
[45]Ibid.
[46]Secretary, Bihar Muslim Relief Committee to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 4 December 1946, Enclosure to No. 336.
[47]Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah, 7 December 1946, No. 337.
[48]Frederick Burrows to Pethick-Lawrence, 3 December 1946, No. 148, *TP*, IX, 250.
[49]Hugh Dow to John Colville, 10-11 December 1946, No. 185, ibid., para 6, 330.
[50]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 12 February 1947, No. 383, para 8, ibid., 683.
[51]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 19 February 1947, No. 434, ibid., 768.
[52]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 24 February 1947, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., V, 548-9.
[53]Hugh Dow to Louis Mountbatten, 25 March 1947, No. 17, para 5, *TP*, X, 19.
[54]Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah, 9 July 1947, No. 85, Vol. III, 224.
[55]Interview between Louis Mountbatten, M. A. Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan, 29 July 1947, Appendix V. 2, Vol. IV, 470.
[56]Francis Wylie to Pethick-Lawrence, 8 November 1946, No. 15, *TP*, IX, 30.
[57]Francis Wylie to Pethick-Lawrence, 9 November 1946, No. 21, ibid., 40.
[58]S. Mohammad Azam Khan to Altaf Husain, 13 November 1946, Enclosure to No. 287.
[59]Anonym to M. A. Jinnah, 18 November 1946, No. 318.
[60]Note by Ghazanfar Ali Khan, 19 November 1946, Enclosure to No. 324.
[61]Francis Wylie to Archibald Wavell, 21 November 1946, No. 69, *TP*, IX, 127.
[62]Note by Archibald Wavell of his Interview with Liaquat Ali Khan & Other Muslim League Members of the Cabinet, 22 November 1946, No. 70, *TP*, IX, 128-30.
[63]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 27 November 1946, No. 107, ibid., 196.
[64]Circular letter by Begum Aizaz Rasul, 8 February 1947, No. 390.
[65]Report by Meerut District Muslim League Inquiry Committee, February 1947, Appendix II. 4.
[66]Note by M. K. Gandhi, 4 October 1946, Enclosure to Appendix I. 20.
[67]M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru, 12 October 1946, Appendix I. 27.
[68]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 12 October 1946, Appendix I. 29.
[69]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 13 October 1946, Appendix I. 30.
[70]See *Pirpur Report*, November 1938; *Shareef Report*, 1939 & Statement by A. K. Fazlul Huq, December 1939, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 548-51.
[71]Note by Archibald Wavell on his Interview with M. A. Jinnah, 12 October 1946, Annex to Appendix I. 29.
[72]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 14 October 1946, Appendix I. 33.
[73]V. Veeraswamy to M. A. Jinnah, 6 November 1946, No. 242.
[74]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 4 October 1946, Appendix I. 19.
[75]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 13 October 1946, Appendix I. 30.
[76]Note by Archibald Wavell of his Interview with M. A. Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan, 14 October 1946, Annex I to Appendix I. 33.
[77]Speech by Liaquat Ali Khan, 20 October 1946, see No. 494, note 4, *TP*, VIII, 779.
[78]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 14 November 1946, Annex III to Appendix I. 40.
[79]Press Note by Viceroy's Office, 25 October 1946, Annex I to Appendix I. 40.
[80]Note by Archibald Wavell on his Interview with M. A. Jinnah, 30 October 1946, No. 526, *TP*, VIII, 832-4 & Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 5 November 1946, No. 237.
[81]Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Miss Cummings of the *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 November 1946, Annex II to Appendix I. 40.
[82]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 17 November 1946, No. 312.
[83]Note by Archibald Wavell on his Interview with M. A. Jinnah, 19 November 1946, Appendix IV. 1.

[84]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 21 November 1946, Appendix IV. 2.
[85]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 23 November 1946, No. 80, *TP*, IX, 153.
[86]Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah, 23 November 1946, No. 82, ibid., 155.
[87]Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell, 26 November 1946, Appendix IV. 5.
[88]Clement Attlee to Jawaharlal Nehru, Telegrams, 27 & 28 November 1946, Appendix IV. 6 & Appendix IV. 8.
[89]Clement Attlee to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 30 November 1946, Appendix IV. 30.
[90]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 24 November 1946, No. 87, para 6, *TP*, IX, 164.
[91]Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan, 22 November 1946, Appendix IV. 3.
[92]Archibald Wavell to Jawaharlal Nehru, No. 88, *TP*, IX, 165.
[93]Statement by His Majesty's Government, 6 December 1946, Appendix IV. 21.
[94]Note by Pethick-Lawrence of his Conversation with M. A. Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan, 13 December 1946, Appendix IV. 24.
[95]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 21 December 1946, Appendix IV. 28.
[96]Resolution by the Congress Working Committee, 22 December 1946, Enclosure to No. 222, *TP*, IX, 409-13.
[97]Resolution by the All India Congress Committee, 6 January 1947, Annex to Appendix IV. 29.
[98]Resolution by the All India Muslim League Working Committee, 31 January 1947, Appendix IV. 31.
[99]Jawaharlal Nehru & Other non-League Members of the Interim Government to Archibald Wavell, 5 February 1947, No. 350, *TP*, IX, 622-3.
[100]Liaquat Ali Khan to Archibald Wavell, 8 February 1947, Appendix IV. 32.
[101]Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell, 8 February 1947, No. 362, *TP*, IX, 646-7.
[102]Memorandum by Pethick-Lawrence on the position of Muslim League in the Interim Government, 6 February 1947, No. 357, para 7, ibid., 635.
[103]Note by Bertrand Glancy on formation of the Ministry in the Punjab, 7 March 1946, Enclosure to No. 514, *TP*, VI, 1136-9.
[104]Evan Jenkins to Pethick-Lawrence, 26 January 1947, Nos. 310 & 311, *TP*, IX, 556-8.
[105]Report on the arrest of Punjab Muslim League Leaders, 24 January 1947, Appendix VII. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 200-4.
[106]Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan, 25 January 1947, Appendix VII. 5, ibid., 209-10.
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Abbreviations

AFM	*Archives of Freedom Movement*
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AIMSF	All India Muslim Students Federation
AP	Associated Press
API	Associated Press of India
ASP	Assistant Superintendent of Police
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
Cr PC	Criminal Procedure Code
DM	District Magistrate
HC	High Court
HEH	His Exalted Highness
HMG	His Majesty's Government
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IMS	Indian Medical Service
INA	Indian National Army
MAO College	Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OC	Officer Commanding
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
QAD	*Quaid-i-Azam Documents*
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
SHC	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
YMCA	Young Mens' Christian Association

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1946-7

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan
Bihar	Syed Hossain Imam Sardar Mohammad Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar
Central Provinces & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Moulana Mohammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
North-West Frontier Province	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan
Punjab	Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Mian Bashir Ahmad
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
United Provinces	Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

1946

August

8 Following retraction by the Muslim League Council of its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals, Wavell invites the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government.

13 Nehru seeks Jinnah's cooperation for the formation of a provisional coalition government.

14 Jinnah enjoins Muslims to conduct themselves peacefully on the Direct Action Day and not to play into the hands of the enemies.

15 Jinnah and Nehru have inconclusive discussions concerning formation of the Interim Government.

16 Observance of Direct Action Day sparks communal disturbances in Calcutta.

17 Jinnah unreservedly condemns Calcutta riots and does not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in violence.

24 Announcement is made that the Interim Government will take office on 2 September; Wavell, in a broadcast, reaffirms invitation to League to hold five seats in the Government.

26 Jinnah regards Wavell's broadcast as a severe blow to Muslim India; insists that the only solution to the Indian problem is division into Pakistan and Hindustan.

Septemebr

1 Communal violence erupts in Bombay.

3 Jinnah puts the Calcutta disturbances down to a conspiracy to discredit the Muslim League and the Bengal League Ministry by Hindus elated by the Viceroy going ahead with formation of Interim Government, ignoring the League.

16 Wavell and Jinnah discuss League's participation in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

n.d.	Sind Governor dissolves Legislative Assembly and orders fresh elections.
October	
3	Following his interview with Wavell, Jinnah formulates proposals for reconstitution of the Executive Council.
4	Conceding that the Muslim League is the "authoritative representative of an overwhelming majority of Muslims of India", Gandhi proposes a formula for reforming the Interim Government.
8	Nehru informs Jinnah of Congress acceptance of Gandhi formula "for the sake of the settlement we so earnestly desire."
15	Muslim League decides to join the Interim Government.
24	Jinnah condemns Noakhali disturbances but regards the news reports as highly exaggerated; appeals to Hindus as well as Muslims to stop bloodshed.
25	Communal disturbances break out in Bihar.
26	Reconstituted Interim Government takes office.
November	
2	Jinnah urges Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir to release detained leaders of Muslim Conference and ensure that the forthcoming elections are free and fair.
6	Communal disturbances erupt at Garhmuktesar in Meerut District.
17	Pointing to the non-acceptance by Congress of the 16 May Statement and the seriousness of Bihar situation, Jinnah urges Wavell to adjourn the Constituent Assembly *sine die* and focus on restoration of peace.
21	Deploring the Viceroy's decision to summon the Constituent Assembly on 9 December, Jinnah declares that no Muslim League representative will attend it.

25 Jinnah urges Central and Provincial authorities to address themselves to the exchange of population in order to pre-empt savage violence against small minority communities by overwhelming majorities.

26 British Government invite Indian party leaders to talks in London on the constitutional issue.

December

5 Jinnah draws Pethick-Lawrence's attention to Bihar Muslim League demand for exchange of population.

6 British Government reaffirm Cabinet Mission's interpretation of the provision regarding the framing of provincial constitutions in the Statement of 16 May; urge Congress to accept the interpretation so that the League might reconsider their stance on participation in the Constituent Assembly.

7 Pethick-Lawrence advises Jinnah that the suggestion regarding exchange of population can be deliberated only after a detailed proposal has been made by the Government of Bengal to the Government of Bihar.

9 Constituent Assembly convenes in New Delhi, but Muslim League members stay away *en bloc*.

Jubbulpore Muslim League regards exchange of population as the only political remedy for averting another senseless communal holocaust.

21 Jinnah calls for unequivocal acceptance by Congress of the interpretation of the 16 May Statement contained in the British Government Statement of 6 December before he can call a meeting of the Muslim League Council to reverse its previous decision.

22 Congress Working Committee criticize the British Government interpretation in the Statement of 6 December as being incompatible with provincial autonomy and seek cooperation of the Muslim League in making the Constituent Assembly fully representative of all the people of India.

31 Khan of Kalat seeks Jinnah's guidance about the political future of his State.

1947

January

6 All India Congress Committee, endorsing their Working Committee's decision, advise action by the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for India without compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province.

26 Jinnah expresses dismay over the Punjab Government decision declaring Muslim National Guards unlawful; appeals to Viceroy to intervene.

31 League Working Committee ask the British Government to admit that the Cabinet Mission Plan has foundered; call for dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, see no useful purpose in summoning the League Council to review its decision to retract acceptance of May 16 Plan.

February

2 Jinnah calls for restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab; appeals to the Punjab Muslims to remain peaceful and not be party to any communal conflict.

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1

Asghar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 570/119-20

JUBBULPORE,
2 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

You would be pleased to permit me [to make] the following suggestions in view of our resolution[1] for Direct Action by the Muslim nation:

i. We require a good fund. All Muslim MLAs, who are getting monthly pays, should contribute towards the Muslim League Direct Action Fund. They were elected because they got the Muslim League tickets and they had not to spend for the election. They are getting their monthly pay and are benefited because of the Muslim League tickets. Moreover, due to their position of being MLAs they are much benefited in their professions, trade or vocations. They get first-class travelling and daily allowances besides their monthly pay. This is all due to Muslim League. They must contribute at least one month's pay towards the Muslim League Fund.

ii. There should be Provincial Muslim League conferences in all the important cities of each province, to be presided over by you or some important member of the Working Committee. There should also be District Muslim League conferences. The Muslim nation should be prepared for Direct Action which we have passed [*sic*] in the Bombay meeting.

iii. There should be Provincial Councils of Action comprising 4 or 5 members, one from each division of the province. These Councils of Action should work under All India Council [*sic* for Committee] of Action and should make tours of the provinces and arrange conferences and meetings for Direct Action.

I hope you would be pleased to take into consideration the above suggestions. I am ever ready for the service and call of the Muslim nation.

Yours sincerely,
ASGHAR ALI

[1]Adopted by the Council of the All India Muslim League at Bombay on 29 July 1946. The Direct Action Day was to be observed on 16 August 1946 across India. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-7.

2

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 296/52

HASANAIN MANZIL,
GAYA,
2 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just received a telegram from the Govt. of India asking me to go to Copenhagen as an associate to the Indian representative to the second session of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation.

You may remember that I was invited last year too for the first conference in Canada, but I refused as I had to fight the provincial election of Bihar. This time, however, I do not deem it proper on my part to refuse point-blank, as I am reminded of your unconditional support of the food question. I have, therefore, wired in reply that I am awaiting your orders. According to the schedule, the Copenhagen Conference shall commence on the 2nd September and is expected to terminate in a fortnight. They have asked me to leave India before the 25th August by air.

I have not overlooked the crisis with which we are faced at the present moment. I would have been rather reluctant to be absent from the arena even for so short a while but it strikes me [that] there seems to be a unique opportunity to serve our cause in yet another but very important and momentous sphere. The fight that we have declared must goad the Congress and the British propagandists to make a common cause to prove us at fault in their very subtle way. To counteract the nefarious enemy propaganda and make out a good case for our cause, there seems to be a God-sent opportunity by a week's stay at London and the sure contact with the world representatives at Copenhagen.

Owing to the postal strike I am sending this by a special messenger and expect him back with your reply[1] by the evening mail leaving

Bombay on the 5th.

Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM

[PS.] I recommend the following names for the Committee of Action:
Liaquat Ali Khan
Ismail Khan
Hassan Ispahani
Sattar Ishaq Saith
Mumtaz Daultana
Ghulam Nabi Pathan (Sindh)
Mazhar Imam (Bihar)

HOSSAIN IMAM

[1]Jinnah advised that he not leave the country at the time since his presence in India was more important. See F.296/54, *QAP*. Not printed.

3

V. Ahmad Basha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 831/204-5

MIRAJ,
2 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Ready is the response to your call for Direct Action as the whole Muslim community under your able leadership has declared its unanimous and unshakeable faith in the efficacy of the Pakistan Scheme and is prepared to die for it at any time.

But it is certain that in the event of such an action, the Hindus will prove a great source of trouble and obstacle in our path more than that of [*sic*] the British Government.

Jihad is quite different from that of [*sic*] a political war; the former is a purely religious one and is bound to grasp the heart of every Muslim in every nook and corner of the world. Now the question arises whether the other Muslim countries of the world will also rise to the occasion, or is it entirely a matter for the Indian Muslims only? I remember three years back, during one of the *'Id* gatherings at Azad Maidan in Bombay, Mr. Karabuda, the Turkish Consul-General for India, speaking to a Bombay Muslim said, "how lucky would be the fate of Turkey if ten crore Muslims became independent."

In 1938, when the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan was mustering the

Muslims in[to] the military in large numbers, the Muslims protested against his policy to which he is reported to have said [that] "a day will come when the entire military of my province will be of great help to us (Muslims)."

Do you expect any help from this or any Muslim country? If not, how can we launch Direct Action without ammunition?

Secondly, will you please permit the fighting forces of Muslim India, such as the Khaksars, Hurs, etc., to join the Muslim League.

Further, what will be the condition of the Muslims in Indian States where they are numerically small and financially backward? Should they migrate to some Muslim provinces? Will you please enlighten me on these points.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
V. AHMAD BASHA
C/O V. ABDUL RAHMAN
Skin Merchant

4

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 692/3

PERSONAL/TOP SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI,
BHOPAL,
2 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have recently had some correspondence with the Viceroy, from the point of view of the States, in regard to the recent utterances of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others about the scope of the Union subjects and the powers of the Constituent Assembly. I feel that you may be interested in this correspondence. I am sending you copies of my letters in the strictest confidence, and for your personal use only. In view of postal dislocation these days I am sending it with Maqbool[1] who is proceeding to Jamnagar and I have asked him to deliver this letter personally to you.

You know that my services are always at your disposal whenever you may need them.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH[2]

[1]Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Director, Secretariat of the Chamber of Princes, New Delhi.
[2]Hamidullah Khan, Nawab of Bhopal, was the Chancellor of the Chamber.

Enclosure 1 to No. 4

F.692/4-6

BHOPAL,
14 July 1946

My dear Lord Wavell,

Certain statements recently made by some of the leading British Indian politicians, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress, make it necessary for me to address Your Excellency. In these statements, definite views have been expressed on some of the important questions relating to the future constitutional discussions which fundamentally differ from some of the proposals made by the Cabinet Delegation and Your Excellency in the declaration of May the 16th.[1] These statements are in conflict with some of the assurances given to us by the Cabinet Mission during our discussion with them. Unjustified claims have recently been made in regard to the unlimited sovereign authority of the Constituent Assembly, the enlarged scope for the Centre and Union subjects, wide powers of Central taxation, and the abrogation of the rights of the States, particularly in regard to their armies. It has also been contended that the rights of paramountcy would, or should, be inherited by the future Government of Indian Union.

2. Your Excellency will no doubt appreciate that most of the matters mentioned above are fundamental to the States, and the acceptance by the Princes of the Cabinet Mission's plan and their consent to work it has been based on the assumption and understanding that there will be no departure from the plan, without the agreement of the main parties concerned, in so far as the basic [*sic*] fundamentals are concerned. These are matters which cannot be settled by the sheer weight of majority. For instance, the Centre is to consist of [*sic* for be responsible for] Defence, Foreign Relations and Communications. If the parties to the plan do not agree to the addition of more subjects

to this list or to unjustified enlargement of the scope of these subjects, then the basic plan must and should remain. There is the question of finance and the residuary powers. If the principal parties to these discussions—and the States are very much a principal party—do not agree to any alterations proposed in regard to these matters then the provisions in the Cabinet Mission's plan must stand. The scope and authority of the Union government in the affairs of constituent units is another fundamental matter. There can be no question of interference by the Union in the internal affairs of a unit. All this is inherent in the Cabinet Mission's plan and my discussions with the Cabinet Mission never left me in doubt on any of these points. There are other matters which in the case of the Sates have been left for discussion with the leaders of political thought in British India. It was for the purpose of these negotiations that we appointed a Negotiating Committee which would discuss these matters with a committee of the Constituent Assembly of British India, and it was all along understood that this committee will be representative of all shades of opinion in British India. It is therefore a matter of great surprise to me that one of the leading British Indian parties to these negotiations should have made unilateral declarations prejudging the issue on these important matters. This creates an alarming and grave situation

3. In endorsing the plan proposed by the Cabinet Mission, the Princes, I am constrained to say, have shown patriotism of the highest order. They approached these complex problems with an attitude of realism and accommodation. It was hoped that the response by British India would also be "characterized by the same sense of realism and the same spirit of accommodation."

4. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that the States have no intention of resiling from this attitude and are prepared to render every possible assistance towards the immediate attainment by India of her independence. Nor would the States wish to create any difficulties for Your Excellency. At the same time, it should be appreciated that the States also have a right to exist and to make their full contribution towards the future of India. In this connection, may I add that the recent attempts to undermine the sovereign position and the prestige of the duly constituted authorities of the States cannot

be regarded as helpful in creating the proper atmosphere which is so essential for the success of the forthcoming negotiations.

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

PS. In view of the forthcoming debate on India in the House of Commons on the 18th July, I am requesting Your Excellency to be pleased to communicate the contents of this letter by cable to the Prime Minister in England, so that he may be in possession of the Princes' view on the present situation.

[HAMIDULLAH]

[1]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.

Enclosure 2 to No. 4

F. 692/12

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
20/21 July 1946

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I communicated by cable to the Secretary of State Your Highness' letter of the 14th July.[1]

2. I appreciate that recent public pronouncements by leaders of political parties in British India may well have caused apprehension to the States. Any such apprehension will, I trust, have been allayed by what the Secretary of State said in the House of Lords during the recent debate. According to press reports his speech included the following paragraph:

> As to the States, they need have no anxiety since it is for them to decide freely to come in or not, as they choose. It is for that purpose that they have set up a negotiating committee, and I am sure that committee will have the wisdom to work out an acceptable basis for their cooperation in the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

Air Vice-Marshal
His Highness Nawab
Haji Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Bahadur,
GCSI, GCIE, CVO, ADC

[1]Enclosure 1 to No. 4.

Enclosure 3 to No. 4

F. 692/7-11

BHOPAL,
29 July 1946

My dear Lord Wavell,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 21st July, 1946,[1] and for the action so kindly taken on the letter of the 14th July.

2. The extract from the Secretary of State's speech at the recent debate in the House of Lords, which is quoted in paragraph 2 of your letter, should go a long way towards allaying the apprehensions caused to the States by recent public pronouncements of some of the British Indian leaders. I do not only share the faith of the Secretary of State that the States' Negotiating Committee will have the wisdom to work out an acceptable basis for the cooperation of the States in the Constituent Assembly, but am also very hopeful of the outcome of those discussions. On my part, I can assure Your Excellency that I shall leave nothing undone in the way of a satisfactory solution of our intricate problems. Nevertheless, recent events make me feel somewhat despondent. There is lack of reason, and of a desire to give fair play. The spirit of compromise and realism seems absent amongst some of the very high-ranking British Indian politicians. This emphasizes the specific question, raised in my letter of the 2nd June, 1946,[2] to Your Excellency, that if, with all the goodwill, reasonableness and desire to help on our part, the terms offered by the majority of British Indian representatives on the Constituent Assembly for the participation of the States in that body, ultimately in a union of all-India, are unjust and contrary to the recognized status, sovereignty and independence of the States, which make it impossible for them to accept those terms and no settlement is reached by agreement. The States are entitled to know how far then would His Majesty's Government be prepared to assist in placing the States in a position where they may hope to get a fair and just deal. What would be the attitude of Great Britain if such an occasion did arise? Let us all hope that it will never arise, and do our very best to avoid it, but I think it is only right that the Princes should know their position in the worst possible situation.

3. Your Excellency and the Secretary of State have been good enough to refer publicly to the sense of realism and the spirit of accommodation shown by the Indian States in the recent negotiations. We wish to continue that attitude and have no desire to create difficulties. So

far, we have avoided even legitimate resort to propaganda or approach to our friends in India and England, in regard to some of our fundamental rights, lest it prove embarrassing in the present stage of delicate negotiations. It will, however, be appreciated that if justice is denied to us by the parties concerned and the States are offered impossible terms and conditions, it will not be possible in those circumstances for them to accept a position which was likely to strike at the very conception of an Indian State and which aimed at their ultimate extinction and destruction. We will be justified in that event to explore every legitimate avenue to ensure us fair play and the right to an honourable existence. We are happy to know that His Majesty's Government and Your Excellency will continue, during the forthcoming negotiations, to give such assistance as is in your power to promote agreed conclusions, but that is not enough. We are entitled to know what the position would be if Your Excellency's efforts in this direction failed on account of the unreasonableness or obstinacy of the British Indian parties concerned.

4. Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission have been helpful to the States during the recent discussions, and we are indeed grateful to you for this. The acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan by the Princes and their consent to work it have been based on the definite understanding that there will be no departure from the plan in so far as the basic [*sic*] fundamentals are concerned without the agreement of the main parties concerned, including the States. The Statement of Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission [dated 12 May 1946] in regard to the States' Treaties and Paramountcy has unequivocally declared that, after the interim period, the States would be independent, and the Secretary of State's recent speech in the House of Lords have [*sic*] reiterated that the States "need have no anxiety since it is for them to decide freely to come in or not, as they choose." This means that if the States fail to secure reasonable and acceptable terms in regard to their adherence to the all-India constitution, they would be free *inter alia* to negotiate the terms of future relationship with any foreign power and that foreign power may be England, and why not England, I ask myself the question.

5. I personally hope that wiser counsel will prevail and that an all-India constitution will emerge from these discussions to which the best of all parties may be able to adhere honourably. Nevertheless, the recent statement of the Congress President in regard to Kalat and his attitude towards Kashmir are indicative of ominous possibilities which make it necessary for the States to consider all eventualities and to know where they stand.

6. There is one point on which the States feel very strongly and which has been unanimously endorsed by the recent meetings of Rulers and representatives of States. It is that any proposals in the Union Constituent Assembly or the future Union legislature raising a major issue specifically affecting the States should require a majority of the representatives of States present and voting, as has been provided for the two main communities in regard to major communal issues. Without some such provision and decision affecting the States [*sic*] could be taken by British Indian representatives if the majority or even the total number of States representatives voted against it. This point was raised by me immediately after the receipt of the Statement of 16th May 1946, in my letter of 17th May, and it was suggested in reply that this was a subject for negotiation between the States and the British Indian members of the Constituent Assembly. The States feel that it is not fair to expect them to secure this essential and reasonable provision through negotiation with British Indian parties, nor should there be any discrimination in regard to this fundamental matter between the two major communities and the Indian States which are admittedly a principal party to these negotiations and have secured larger representation on the proposed Constituent Assembly than the Muslim community. Your Excellency and the Cabinet Delegation have stated in paragraph 14 of the Statement of 16th May 1946, that you have not dealt with the States in your proposals in the same detail as with the provinces of British India.

It should, therefore, be open to His Majesty's Government, when filling in the details of the plan in regard to the States, to rectify this omission and to place the States at [*sic* for on a] par with the other main elements concerned. The Statement made by the Secretary of State during the recent debate in the House of Lords appears to support this contention of the States. He stated that the two parties (Congress and the League) cannot go outside the terms of what has been agreed to in the Statement of 17th [16th] May. "That," said the Secretary of State, "will not be fair to the other parties who go in and it is one of the basis [*sic* for bases] of that agreed procedure that the British Government have said that they will accept the provision of the Constituent Assembly..... Union cannot be established by force. It must be by agreement and it will be the task of the Assembly to obtain that agreement." I would, therefore, urge that the request of the States in regard to this fundamental question may be referred to His Majesty's Government with Your Excellency's support. I will of course negotiate with British Indians on this

question and I feel that I might succeed, but if I fail, then, unless His Majesty's Government can give the assurance the States seek, they will find it most difficult if not impossible to have anything to do with the Constituent Assembly.

7. I need hardly reiterate that there is no desire on the part of the States to resile from their attitude of cooperation. In fact this letter is intended to enable the States to make their full contribution for the independence of their country and the progress of India as a whole.

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

[1]Enclosure 2 to No. 4.
[2]See No. 435, *TP*, VII, 777-80.

5

G. S. Abdul Hameed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/31-2

GADABANHALLY ESTATES,
CHICKMAGALUR,
MYSORE STATE,
3 August 1946

Honoured Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosed [is] an article[1] contributed to the *Dawn*, for your kind perusal. I take my hat off to your leadership. Has not Mustafa Kemal built up the nation out of a nation vanquished and reduced to slavery? When the handful of Muslims with less opportunities and bigger opposition of odds [*sic*] swept over the world in a period of 23 years, can we not, a population of ten crores armed with the same faith, win the six provinces in which we are in a majority, at least collectively? I am sure we can. As one man, let us put all our resources at your command. I assure you, with our noble ideals and sanctity of principles, our collective strength will be far mightier than the weapon of atomic bomb or the organization of Congress. Ours is an international "Congress":

Cheen o Arab hamaara Hindustan hamaara
Muslim hain ham watan hai saara jahaan hamaara
[China and Arabia are ours, Hindustan is ours, we are Muslims and the whole world is our homeland].[2]

Under [*sic*] its orbit, we bear no ill-will towards our Hindu or non-Muslim

friends. Is not [Gopal Vinayak] Deshmukh trying to extend the privileges of Muslim society of women's inheritance, widows' remarriage act, and still not being grateful to the advent of Muslim rulers in India? Have we not abolished *satee*, idolatry and evil customs?

Hindustani, rather Urdu which is universal and popular, is not to be the national language. Why should our friends instead of adopting a double policy, recognize the fundamental unity and ultimate greatness of rich inheritance of the Urdu language? If the Hindu friends cannot see eye to eye with us, the best course open to them is to recognize our sovereignty of six provinces and let the other six provinces be managed by the Hindus, and let us make reciprocal arrangements, which are beneficial for the common good of Hindustan and Pakistan.

An Englishman, Sir John Hunter, ascribes the present deplorable state of Muslim society to the past mistakes of English administrators, who in their anxiety to break up the Muslim power deprived the Muslims of their system of education (when Muslims were 70% literate) and deprived the Muslim beneficiaries to [*sic*] get advantage out of the Muslim endowments (an instance of ten lakhs of rupees in Bengal has been quoted).

Surely the Englishman must make good for having pulled us down from educational and economic sphere and take us [back] to a position in which we were then living. An instance is quoted that one Mr. Abdul Gaffar's wealth was equivalent to that [*sic*] of an aggregated wealth of the whole of East India Co. If you have asked [*sic*] that you will be contented [*sic*] with the six provinces, the Hindu and the Englishman must be grateful to you.

I implore you to establish throughout India *tabligh* and *'isha'at-i-Islam* and disarm the suspicions and doubts of the Hindu friends. We are their well-wishers and friends. We want to see them live and let live.

I am sure under your able leadership, we shall try to implement our programme and start our industries throughout India and the native States.

In this period of emergency, all our strength must be mobilized. Muslim National Guard and Women National Guard must be immediately organized. At this crisis, our wants must be reduced to [a] minimum in our food and clothing. Textile Mills in Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Calcutta, Peshawar must be started immediately. Important scientific and technical institutes must be started. Technique of propaganda in the Frontier and the cause of shortcomings and the mistakes of our men must be studied and set right. We must win [over] the Hindus and Englishmen of all those sections, who believe in our cause. Illustrated periodicals must convey our propaganda

under some subvention to the papers of England and America. A separate propaganda bureau must be organized to enlighten the members of Parliament of our cause.

In order to maintain our fundamental unity, Hindustani-Urdu must be made compulsory and obligatory throughout India. All those attacks which are levelled, either veiled threats direct or indirect, like that of Madras Ministry, must be boldly faced and countered by the central organizations.

The *Statesman* has given a challenge to the League. It was all along our friend and espousing our cause, pointing out the mistakes of the Government in breaking the word with the League, has turned the tables against [*sic* for on] us. It demands constructive statesmanship to study the causes, which eventually prompted us to take this step. We believe in the fair play of Englishmen. We are sure they will rise to the height of our expectation.

It was a pity I could not pay my respects to you, when I had come to Delhi. Long live Quaid-i-Azam! Pakistan (unmutilated) *Zindabad*! A line in acknowledgment will be highly treasured.

With respects,

Yours truly and obediently,
G. S. ABDUL HAMEED
Ex-MLC

[1]See *SHC*, Madras II/33. Not printed.
[2]A verse by the celebrated poet-philosopher of the subcontinent, Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

6

Makhdum Abdur Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/67

BACHRA BUILDING,
TANDO VALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
4 August 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am again sending you the detailed report[1] about the happenings in Hyderabad, Sind, regarding the visit of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, the failure of the meeting of G. M. Sayed and party and various other reports about the Muslim League in Sind.

First of all, I must heartily congratulate your honour and the All

India Muslim League Council for the decent step taken by it for the welfare of the Musalmans in India. In reality your sacrifices are such that Muslims cannot pay [*sic*] for it if they are collected as a whole, but most respected Sir, it still requires a lot of work to do for the uplift of the Muslims in the whole of India. Muslims are backward in each and every respect and the Hindus are so much advanced that we Muslims of Hyderabad, who are living in *Kufristan*, can well be realised [*sic*].

The most clear and real issue which requires active action [*sic*] and consideration is that there are two points which Aruna Asaf Ali said [*sic*] in her lecture on the last day here in Hyderabad, Sind. Sir, see the activeness of the Hindus, as soon as the decision and verdict is given by her, big Congress leaders have started their tours in Sind and our Sind Leaguers are sleeping in a sweet slumber.

The Congress has received instructions to enrol Muslims in large numbers as the members of Indian National Congress, which is really very troublesome, and we must avoid such things to happen here in Sind. Some big leaders should be sent here to deliver lectures.

The most dangerous attitude taken by them is to collect and gather the Hurs under the banner of the Congress and make them slaves, as they have done so far [as] the Indian National Army is concerned.

We must fight for these two issues which require careful and active consideration by the leaders of the All India Muslim League under your supreme guidance.[2]

Next I must disclose the fact here that [as far as] the so-called Progressive Muslim Jami'at of G. M. Sayed is concerned they wanted to hold elections here in Hyderabad, Sind, and they actually did it [*sic*], but due to resistance by the self-respected Leaguers they [faced] absolute failure, so much so that they had to leave the *pandal* and could not find out the way, as to how to get out, but I must dictate [*sic*] here, Sir, that in general public League is a lovely body [*sic*]. God knows, Sir, why the MLAs of Sind whether they may [*sic*] be Leaguers or non-Leaguers, have no platform and have slippery nature. One goes, another comes in, and if the Muslim League Party of the Assembly is not in majority and solid, the Ministry is sure to fall, which will be a happy moment for the opponents. MLAs of Sind require training. You will never find such selfishness in Sind in comparison to other provinces in India [*sic*].

I am sorry, Sir, Hyderabad Sind City Muslim League is asleep and the two parties of the League here have left no stone unturned in

fighting among themselves, which is most pitiable.

With best respects,

Yours most obediently,
MAKHDUM ABDUR RASHID

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah acknowledged his letter with thanks. See *SHC*, Sind VII/91. Not printed.

7

Mirza Humayun Quadir Baig to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/124-5

AZAM KHAN BAZAR,
CUTTACK,
4 August 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have to lay down the grieved [*sic*] and sad events [that] happened in Bhadrak, a small town in Orissa, where the police opened fire over a Muslim mob killing four and injuring seven Musalmans when they were resisting a Hindu procession carrying idols before the mosque with music.

As this unhappy incident happened at such a time when the Congress is at the head of the administration and the Governor is himself a Hindu, this attitude of the Government has created great anger and confusion among the Muslims towards the Congress Ministry.

This event in Orissa is unique in its character, as the Hindus and the Muslims had been living here in a friendly manner, and no Hindu-Muslim conflict was ever found [*sic*]. But now the Congress Ministry has changed everything.

I hope you will be pleased to give a statement in this connection in view of [*sic*] pacifying the Muslims of Orissa who always look upon the Muslim League as their sole sympathizer. The full details

of the event are sent herewith.[1]

I have the honour,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MIRZA HUMAYUN QUADIR BAIG
Secretary, All Orissa Muslim Students' Federation

[1]See F. 958/126-9, *QAP*. Not printed.

8

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/231-2

BUNGALOW NO. 23,
CHERAT HILL,
PESHAWAR DIST.,
4 August 1946

My dear Sir,

Being [*sic* for having been] taken suddenly ill I could not possibly attend the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council. This is the first meeting so far which I was unable to attend, for which I offer my sincerest apologies.

I submit that the decisions taken at Bombay were the only ones which we should have taken. Times are out of joint. This is the last battle of Islam in India and may great *Allah* guide our footsteps aright. *Insha Allah* we will succeed.

So far, by God's grace, your planning has been correct and *Insha Allah* we will also succeed in this dark hour.

I respectfully offer my services for any Direct Action and place them at your disposal.

With repeated apologies for inability to attend,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

9

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/24

MAYFAIR HOTEL,
MURREE,
5 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing again to ask you, now that you have rejected both the long and short-term proposals of the British Plan, if now is not the most opportune time to organise powerful publicity centres all over the country to expose the nefarious machinations of the Caste-Hindus to establish themselves as the rulers of the country, and also to educate not only the Muslim nation as to the results of such schemes but also the other minorities who now have been included in the general list so as to be dependent on the Hindu Congress for all favours for all time to come. I wrote to you while you were extremely busy in the Simla Conference [5-12 May, 1946] affairs about this scheme and you were kind enough to reply by saying that [you] liked my suggestions and would give consideration to them in due time, after all the frustration that have [*sic*] been brought about by the irresponsible talk of some of the top-most leaders. In my opinion, the time is just ripe to do ruthless propaganda against the Caste-Hindu rule amongst the Muslim masses; so that they are prepared as a man, woman and child for the great struggle and sacrifice which is coming ahead. Sardar Patel still talks in arrogant terms and thinks there is absolutely no ground for a compromise between the two major communities although Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has toned down a bit. Under every circumstance, the Muslims *en masse* have to be thoroughly educated about the grave and vital matter of coming under a *Ram raj*, which is sure to come if the whole nation dose not rise like a man when the call comes. Taking all this into consideration, I venture to ask you if you could not accept the help of the great *sanyasi*, Swami Dharam Theerathji, whose soul is burning to expose the evil machinations of the Caste-Hindus. This Swami is in south India. I am anxious that he should meet you personally and have a talk on this matter. I have talked about it to some of the Punjab Muslim League members. I am meeting Mian Bashir Ahmad, a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, tomorrow in this connection. I will also see Begum Shah Nawaz and discuss about the

matter. Dr. Zia-ul-Islam is also our friend. He also approves of strong publicity centres all over the province of Punjab particularly. The Punjab, in fact the entire B Group, should be ransacked [*sic*] with such centres.

If you agree, I will ask Swamiji to run up to Bombay to see you. It will cost me rupees one hundred and fifty to send him up to you, but since I am extremely anxious that no time should be lost in doing propaganda for the Muslim nation, I don't mind incurring this cost.

I hope and pray that God will give you health and strength to bring about a final triumph for the Muslim nation as well as those who are in danger of being engulfed by the Caste-Hindus.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

10

Mohammad Moein to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/36

ARTHUR BUNDER ROAD,
COLABA, BOMBAY,
6 August 1946

MERDEKA[1]

Sir,

On the 17th of August, the Republic of Indonesia will be one year old.

Besides Vietnam, Indonesia is the first colony which has regained her freedom, although she still has to battle very hard against a combined Anglo-Dutch intervention.

It is on such a memorable day, the celebration of the first anniversary of country's independence, that the freedom fighters concerned take the opportunity to redouble their strength, militarily, organisationally, economically and politically.

Besides these, the knowledge that the progressive world is on the Republic's side has encouraged by no mean measure Indonesia's will to fight to the bitter end until complete victory is achieved.

That is why we are approaching you to write a short message[2] for the Republic of Indonesia for our *Indonesian News Bulletin,* a weekly issued by the Indonesians' Struggle for Independence in India

(P.P.I.), Information Department.

We would be very grateful if you could send it to us before the 14th of this month.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD MOEIN
Secretary

[1]Means freedom in Indonesian.
[2]Jinnah in a message assured him that the Muslim League had full sympathy and support for the aspirations of the people of Indonesia, a Dutch colony since the early 17th century, fighting for their national liberation. See *SHC*, FC I/37. Not printed.

11

Ramnad Muslim League to Archibald Wavell
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 829/58-9

ABIRAMAM,
RAMNAD,
7 August 1946

May it please Your Excellency!

We beg to invite Your Excellency's valuable attention to the following few lines so that suitable action may be ordered to be taken promptly in the ends of justice, public peace and tranquillity.

We, Muslims, are a very small minority forming some eight per cent of the total population of the [Madras] Presidency and we are much less in numbers in the extreme south where we happen to live. We are greatly perturbed and deeply agitated over what had happened in recent weeks in the Presidency in general and in the southern districts of Ramnad and Madura in particular, where we are made to suffer immensely at the hands of the majority community, viz. Hindus, who upon [*sic*] general elections, installation of Congress Ministry in power and abortive political negotiations at the capital, seem to be on the look-out for any and every pretext to perpetrate inconceivable suffering and hardship upon us. We are always made targets of their attacks and the arrest of Pandit Nehru last month by the Kashmir authorities afforded an opportunity which they seized and utilised to the utmost, to crush the Muslims.

It is [in] everybody's knowledge now that as a result of this unruly

and riotous behaviour of our Hindu brethren, who were till quite recently on very cordial terms with their fellow Muslims, resorted to wholesale stabbing, murders in broad day-light and looting of valuable property and stores kept under lock and key in shops in public streets, under the very nose of the local authorities. Muslims of Madura and Ramnad are [the] worst sufferers, their living being rendered unbearable and existence precarious.

Daily at the District League office here, voluminous reports from various centres such as Ramnad, Karaikudi, Sivakasi, Kariapatti, Mudukulathur, Appanur, Pookulam, Perunali, etc., are pouring in only to show that Muslims in these places are daily threatened, intimidated, coerced and warned severely of dire consequences if they fail to toe the line set by the majority community, who are definitely bent upon fomenting trouble, where there was practically none before.

As a minority community, we are entitled to adequate protection and suitable safeguards for our lives and property. Should the conditions obtaining at present be allowed to continue—much less aggravated—we fear our existence itself will be in complete jeopardy, exposed to hostile Hindu spite and rancour.

We therefore most humbly request Your Excellency that it is high time the authorities at the top should come to the rescue of the Muslims in time, by taking stringent measures—impartial and precautionary—to avert disaster before it is too late and before the situation develops and gets beyond control.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency's loyal subjects,
[SIGNATURES ILLEGIBLE]
for Ramnad District Muslim League

12

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/122

SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE,
KARACHI,
8 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to submit the following two suggestions in connection

with our coming struggle. If you approve of them you may take the necessary action:

i. The amount of *fitra* on *'Id* day should be collected by League branches throughout India through the agencies [*sic*] of mosques. This amount may be set apart and should be spent on those who might suffer during this coming struggle.
ii. The Muslim League high command should institute their own titles and bestow [them] on those who have renounced the British titles.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
B.A. (Hons.), Ph.D. (London)
Principal

13

M. A. Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 907/219

AMRITSAR,
8 August 1946

(In the name of God, the most Gracious, the most Merciful)

Dear Sir,

I have been directed by the Young Men's Muslim Association of Amritsar to put forth the following suggestion for speedy organizing of the Muslim masses in the country:

i. That the All India Muslim League should form a central *Bait al-Maal* in which contributions of *zakat* may be received, besides the other philanthropic contributions.
ii. Out of this *Bait al-Maal* a lump sum amount [*sic*] should be set apart for the purposes of paying the *mullahs* and *molvies* a monthly stipend or allowance, or you may call it a salary, according to each individual's capabilities.
iii. That such *molvies* and *mullahs* be then asked to read out the programme of the Muslim League every week, in their *khutbat-i-Jum'a,* to the audience coming to say their prayers, all over the country.

iv. This arrangement will prove very efficacious in its results and have uniformity everywhere and the *mullahs* or the *moulvies* receiving regular monthly salary shall automatically feel interested in propagating the cause of the Muslim League, and in a very short time opposition to the Muslim League will die off [*sic*] and it would become a very popular people's party.

v. In launching the Direct Action campaign also the above arrangement would prove very much effective.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. KHAN
Merchant & Insurance Adviser
for The Young Men's Association

14

Hamid Nazir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/196-7

NAZIR MANZIL, CIVIL LINES,
CAWNPORE,
9 August 1946

My dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

It was really a surprise to read in the papers of a few days ago that the League had rejected the proposal for the Interim Government and that it had decided to go in for Direct Action. Until now we were all wondering what this Direct Action would be but going through the statement given by the Sind Premier that boycott of British goods would be one of the items in the programme we were a bit relieved of the curiosity. His statement suggests to me something which may have been thought over by others too. I think a sort of society should be formed with its branches in all the provinces and all the Muslim industrialists should be affiliated with them. Statistics should be taken of the production availed off [*sic*] by the Muslim masses of each of the important and necessary commodities such as cotton textiles, woollen manufactures, boots and shoes, etc., in each province and then find out as to what quantity of each is produced by Muslim industrialists and what is not. The quantity produced by non-Muslims and consumed by Muslims should then be tried [*sic*] to be produced by Muslim industrialists by:

i. asking the old manufacturers to extend their business and

assuring them of the full support of the League for marketing their produce,

ii. if they need financial help, their concerns to be made public limited companies (if the owners of the firms agree), or

iii. failing which new factories to be erected and members of the League asked to hold shares of such factories.

In the same manner, the agriculture of India can be moulded but that is impossible at present when there is a fear of a world famine and rationing scheme is being carried out everywhere.

With my most humble affections and kindest regards,

I am,

Yours respectfully,
HAMID NAZIR
Proprietor,
Hamnezz Trading Corporation (India) & Other Industries

15

Mohamed Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1007)

PERSONAL

LAW DEPARTMENT,
BHOPAL,
10 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I crave your indulgence for this encroachment on your most precious time. I have some important industrial schemes, primarily for Pakistan area, to talk over with you,[1] for which about half an hour's time, on any day between 19th and 24th instant, suitable [*sic* for suited] to your convenience, would be sufficient. It is high time that, with your blessing and invaluable guidance, the Musalmans should enter the vast field of industrial enterprise. I have an ardent desire to concentrate my entire efforts in this direction.

By way of personal introduction I may mention that I have been a Judge and Chief Justice in Bhopal State for 17 years, and am at present in charge of the law and constitutional reforms department here. I had the pleasure of paying my humble respects to you, when I was on the Bhopal High Court Bench, during your visits in the Tonk Divorce Case and the Educational Waqf Case. I hope your numerous

engagements will not deprive me of the great honour of meeting you personally at Bombay as requested above.

Praying always for the long life of our Quaid-i-Azam,

I remain,

Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMED AHMAD KHAN
Sadrul-Moham

[1]Jinnah advised that the proper course for him would be to visit the Pakistan area and explore the possibilities of launching industrial ventures there in conjunction with the Muslim Chamber of Commerce and the local leaders of Punjab ML. See *SHC* (1027). Not printed.

16

Mohammad Safdar Chohan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/467-9

KHIALEE GATE,
GUJRANWALA,
12 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Muslim India has welcomed the lead given by the Muslim League in the form of Direct Action. I wish to draw your attention to the adoption of a policy which is quite essential for the success of any sort of Direct Action by the Muslims of India.

You are quite aware that no movement can be successful without enough money to support it because anybody who offers himself [*sic*] does expect that the organisation in whose response he is offering sacrifice must support his family in his absence. If the organisation concerned is not able to do so, then no large-scale response should be expected. But the question is how and wherefrom to get the money. Muslims are generally labourers, govt. servants, and a few *jagirdars,* and evidently neither [*sic*] of them can give enough money which will suffice [for] the needs of any large-scale action. There is only one class that can help and they are merchants. But the number of merchants of the type of Birla, Tata, etc., do not exist among Muslims and the Hindus have so dominated the markets that flourishing of any Muslim trader among them is practically impossible. How to overcome their difficulty? There is only one way out of it. Muslims should always buy things from Muslim shopkeepers and should insist on things manufactured by Muslims. Hindus have consciously or unconsciously

totally boycotted the Muslims in this respect, and if a similar effort on sensible (not emotional) lines is made by Muslims, they are not going to lose in any way. Rather, this will make the Muslims enter industry and thus enough money for running the organisation will be forthcoming. It will have another effect as well. Boycott of [*sic*] Muslims will naturally cause some decay [*sic*] in Hindu trade and thus they will not be able to spend money wrecklessly [*sic*] for the suppression and division of Muslims. Muslims are not a nation like those [*sic*] of Hindus. They will do nothing unless you guide them. Will you kindly therefore take some steps to impress upon the Muslims that the boycott of Hindu goods is something which is quite essential for the Muslim merchants to come on [to] the scene. If we are to oppose the Congress we should have the money of Muslim Birlas and Tatas to use as an antidote which is being spreaded [*sic*] by the money of Hindu Birlas and Tatas among the Muslims.

The letter is getting quite lengthy but taking into consideration the importance of the issue at hand, I hope you will excuse me for wasting your time. I think that this issue should be placed before the Working Committee and the Muslim leaders should impress upon the Muslims the necessity of a flourishing Muslim trade and under the present circumstances the only way to achieve this object is the boycott of Hindu goods.

A line in reply as to how you view the contents of the letter and what you intend to do in this respect, will put me under a great obligation.

Begging to be excused for troubling you,

Yours etc.,
MOHAMMAD SAFDAR CHOHAN
M.A.

17

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 999/82-7

NEW DELHI,
12 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*First para omitted*]

As stated by you, Muslim League has been succeeding by constitutional means and there was only one man who was bestowed with the

courage and intelligence to drive [*sic*] the wrecked ship of this nation successfully. Its result was that all the other members of this nation had no courage and they could not think independently. I do not say that you should not guide them but train them and give them the spirit of organizing themselves independently....

In India, ...wherever my Quaid will go, people will come in great numbers just to have a look at him. I correctly remember the day, in the last elections to the provincial assemblies, when Lahore Railway Station was jammed up [*sic*] for travellers, by the receivers [*sic*] of Quaid-i-Azam. On the same fateful day there happened the incident when Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, received one of the bitterest lessons of his life. So, coming to the point I must say that the Muslims of India must be disciplined and trained as soldiers. But it is as much an offence as a revolt [*sic*]. So I will say that a meeting should be called of all the Muslim Scout Masters of India and a scheme should be carried out [*sic*] to make every Musalman a scout. However I would say that this should not be associated with the Muslim League, but it should be an independent one, organized by the scouts so that Govt. servants may be able to take part in it. It may be indirectly guided by the Quaid-i-Azam, the great general.

[*Next para omitted*]

To make this scheme successful, the Muslim universities and other Muslim institutions should be directed to make it compulsory for every member to become a scout. Even the physical training may be replaced by scouting.

The other one is the most important topic which I should have dealt with first. We want Pakistan [to be] a Muslim sovereign state, where we may have the right to frame our own laws and lead our life according to *Qur'an* and *Hadith*. We know that in the modern world, the fate of the nation rests on the voting strength. But even if the whole of the Muslims voted for the Muslim League we are even then a minority [*sic*]....

Along with it, centres should be organised by passionate [*sic*] Muslim League workers in every *mohalla* to organise Muslims, to acquaint them with Islamic principles and prepare them for the coming struggle. People should not be expected to come to such workers but these workers should go to everyone....

There should, however, not be great hush hush [*sic*] about it but everything should be carried out in a calm, planned and disciplined manner and *Allah* is the bestower of success.

In the last [*sic*] I will suggest that in every province there should

be at least one English daily giving the views of the Muslim League. It is thought to be the tongue of the nation and however hard your struggle, however great your sacrifice, if you have no tongue nobody will pay [you] any heed.

Salaam from me to Quaid-i-Azam. Always at the service of Muslim nation,

Faithfully yours,
A MUSLIM

18

Manilal C. Parekh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 927/138-41

HARMONY HOUSE,
RAJKOT,
13 August 1946

Dear Sir,

I have not had the honour of knowing you personally. Nevertheless, I write this letter to you as to one who has the power, to some extent, to help in the political evolution of not only India but the whole of Asia at least for some time to come. It is only a truism to say that we are living in a time the like of which there never was in the history of the world. Due to the last war, the entire world is in ruins and chaos prevails everywhere. In the midst of this chaos our chief duty lies in reconstructing the world as far as possible. God himself is doing this work and we have to co-operate with him.

Our Indian problem is only a part and perhaps a very small part of this great world. My feeling is that we cannot view it apart from the larger one of the whole of Asia, let alone the rest of the world. You know better than most people that Asia today is menaced by aggression from both Russia and America in addition to the older imperialistic powers. Practically all the Muslim countries, such as Palestine, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt, Indonesia, etc., are now pressed from all sides, and things will be worse for them as time goes [*sic*]. I need not mention China and Japan.

Now in view of all this and much more, it is the bounden duty of all of us to view the Indian problem not merely from the point of view of India alone but of the whole of Asia. This should be easier to the Muslims than to the Hindus for the simple reason that Islam is a

supernational [*sic* for supranational] religion, and that it has closer relationship with other countries in Asia than Hinduism has. This makes the responsibility of the Muslims in India all the greater, and to that extent they should show larger magnanimity and greater statesmanship. It is in the interests of Islam itself that this should be done.

As a student of all the religions and a lover of all the prophets, including Mohammad [PBUH], I may remind you that the time has come now where no religion and no prophet should be a monopoly of any particular community. Jesus Christ does not belong to the Christians only, nor does prophet Mohammad belong to the Muslims only. Islam cannot be bound up in one community nor in a small geographical area in India. Such a step would be suicidal to Islam itself.

I may also add that the whole of India belongs to all of us whether Hindus or Muslims. We all are sons and daughters of the whole land and it belongs to all of us equally. To say that only a certain portion thereof, and that too a very small one, belongs to the Muslims, is to rob them of a very great birthright.

I am sending you herewith a pamphlet[1] which is a reprint of an article that appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* of Mr. K. Natrajan on the very day when you started your talks with Gandhiji in Bombay. Some of the things I am writing in this letter appear there, and I do hope you will be kind enough to read it. In it I have viewed the question of Pakistan from an entirely new point of view, and it is none other than that of Islam at its highest.

Since I wrote it, the situation in Asia has grown worse, and the Muslim countries are pressed in [*sic*] more than ever. Moreover this war has shown conclusively that, whether we like it or not, we all have to come together. All the national boundaries are vanishing and larger groups are forming everywhere. In the formation of such a large group in Asia, the Muslims of India might play a very great part for they are related by geographical and racial ties to the Hindus and by religion to the Muslims out of India.

If all that I write here is true even to some extent, then indeed you, as the leader of the Muslims in India, have a large part to play in the remaking of not only India but of the whole of Asia. It is not given to many people to be in a position like this, a position brought [*sic* for fraught] with so much good, and it is my prayer to the Almighty God that He may endow you with the requisite statesmanship and magnanimity for the purpose. Islam means peace and goodwill, and you certainly can do much to bring about peace not only in India but to the whole of Asia. One and united India can certainly be in a

better position to help every other country in Asia.

With the best of wishes for your health and with the kindest of regards,

Yours sincerely,
MANILAL C. PAREKH

[1]Not traceable.

19

Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 313/8

HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
13 August 1946

Dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am delighted to receive your very kind and most welcome letter of 9th August[1] for which I thank you.

I assure you that I shall do my best to implement the Muslim League policy, and with this object in view, I am leaving Poona on the 14th on a tour of Bijapur District. I am spending the day at Bijapur on the 16th, where I shall organise *hartal* and Direct Action Day celebrations [*sic*]. From there I am going to Bagalkot and other places in the interior of the district.

After *Ramazan,* I am going round on tour to the central and southern divisions of the Bombay Province and will explain to the masses implications of the momentous resolutions passed at the Council meeting last month.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER
Bar-at-Law
MLA (Central)

[1]Not traceable.

20

Mrs. A. St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/26-7

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
14 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am greatly obliged for your letter.[1] It shows the usual courtesy of the Muslim gentleman in the midst of so much important work to do, taking time to practise the breeding taught at a mother's knee. Now, we Europeans and all other minorities ask that you will enter the Government to be formed, [for] else we shall be at the mercy of a Hindu *raj*, the most jealously exclusive and most rottenly corrupt system the world has ever seen. There is one bright gleam in Sind. We have now a Governor[2] who is not Hindu-ridden, as the last one. He has lived in other parts of India where the Britishers and the Muslims live together in amity, each regarding the other as fit for hell, but each regarding the other as a man! You live close on Malabar Hill to an old shipmate of mine—Colonel Shah (I.M.S.). We worked together in an Indian hospital in Alexandria at San Stephano. He will give one a good character [certificate] if anyone wants a reference.

Join the Government and give the Congress hell, like the Portuguese have done in Goa when one (Congressman) poked his dirty [nose] in their territory. Hail Jinnah! Fight them as if you had an atomic bomb to eliminate them with. Remember the glorious traditions of the Moguls.

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Francis Mudie of the I.C.S.

21

C. L. Gouda to M. A. Jinnah

F. 493/10-11

BANGALORE CITY,
14 August 1946

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I can hardly hope to succeed in changing your mentality where great men have failed, but as I am an admirer of yours, let me try.

What have you gained for Muslims by your ploughing the sands as you have been doing these many years? Nil, absolutely nil. Is it not therefore high time that you dissolve your League and issue a directive to it to join the Congress *en masse*? By so doing it is a certainty that you will be able to mould the Congress like a baker does his dough, and thus do infinite good to Muslims, who and Hindus form two eyes of Indians [*sic* for India], in the words of the late Sir Syed Ahmed, and that you will become the next president of the Congress, and therewith of the united states of India which is in the process of making, and thereby one of the greatest men in the world. To cite two instances of the impotence of the League, you passed resolutions affirming your backing of the cases of South African Indians and of Palestinian Arabs. But of what value are they? Simply nil. But, suppose you had passed them as President of the United Indian National Congress—to give a new name to that body on Muslims joining it—or, still better, as president of the united states of India, what a thundering effect the resolutions would have had! Think hard, Jinnah Sahib and act and act quickly.

Yours sincerely,
C. L. GOUDA
B.A., B.L.
ex-Advocate-General of Mysore

22

Riaz Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/221-4

ELEAZER TAPE FACTORY,
OLD AGRA ROAD,
KURLA,
14 August 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Heartened by your permission to approach you, if needed, I take courage to put forward some humble suggestions for the preliminary steps towards the preparation for Direct Action. The suggestions are based on the conviction, after varied and thorough experience in all parts of India, that the educated youth of our nation, who usually attend to your lectures and statements in the press, are not only un-Islamic in actions and deeds but lack in [*sic*] faith and conviction and, therefore, I am afraid they could not be depended upon in the coming life-and-death struggle. I do not say that they lack in [*sic*] enthusiasm and zeal. It is there alright [all right]. But to utilize [*sic*] the sentiment and make them respond to the practical demands of the nation, is it not necessary that their character and the daily routine of life should be moulded according to Islamic injunctions, which alone can make them disciplined, fearless and faithful soldiers. Only through proper and regular observance of *namaaz, roza* and *zakaat,* could they attain the qualities required.

My second conviction is that we have not been able to approach the real Musalman, who would lay down his life for the sake of Islam without any question. The only thing he needs is conviction and faith and that he is really fighting for Islam. This type seldom hears your lecture or even about you. For you will find him in the mosque. In both the cases proper handling and approach is necessary. Therefore, without considering whether my suggestions would find favour with you or not, I beg to put forward the following with the sincerest wish and prayer to God that they be adopted so that the designs of the enemies of Islam be frustrated.

If you are to issue a statement on the 16th instant kindly address a portion of it to the youth, educated or otherwise, and to the monied circle, emphasising the following points:

a. Everyone should regularly offer prayers, five times preferably with *Jama'at,* keep fasts, mix with all classes of Muslims freely

and try to mould their thoughts and actions in the light of Islamic teachings.

b. Those who are unfortunate in being ignorant of the holy *Qur'an* and its teachings should take the first opportunity of learning it with meanings and keep it always as a guide for their day-to-day lives....

c. To the monied circle, a direction should be given to present themselves like Muslims in public more than anybody else by giving up drinking, dancing and copying all the vices of the western civilisation; paying off *zakaat* regularly and after accounting exactly @ 2.5%; taking good care of their neighbours and less fortunate Muslim brothers by providing them with work and putting up to a great extent with any of their shortcomings, if found in them.

d. To the Muslims in services, to be prepared for all eventualities and that their loyalty is for [*sic* for to] the nation first and then to anybody else.

In order to make a direct approach to the real Musalman, my humble suggestion is (a) all Urdu (or even English) papers should have on the first page of their papers at least one *ayat* from the holy *Qur'an*, exhorting the Muslims to lead a clean life and depicting the rules of *jihad*, etc. It should be with simple meanings and no explanations, to avoid unnecessary controversy, (b) small posters, say about 12"x 8" or so, containing Arabic text with meanings of very important *ayats*, different sizes, etc., should be printed by the All India, Provincial or District Leagues, with name of the Muslim League as publishers below and be pasted in every mosque in every town, village and *mohalla*. If the Provincial League were to make arrangements for their publication and printing etc., every district and town League should be made to get them pasted in their areas under a separate organisation. This is most urgent and should be taken up without any loss of time.

These are my suggestions and if I could be of any service in the work I am prepared to take up whatever duty I am entrusted with.

[*Para omitted*]

I hope you will very kindly excuse me for intruding upon your precious time.

With *salaam* and respects,

Yours obediently,
RIAZ MOHAMMAD KHAN
B. Sc.
Resident of Saharanpur, U. P.

23

S. Mahmood Hassan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/116

BAHADUR'S MANZIL,
BARH, BIHAR,
14 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was lying ill in my mother's house which is in the outlandish [*sic*] village and due to floods and postal strike I could not get letters and *dak*. On my return here I saw the decision of All India Muslim League regarding the return of titles. May I have your permission to discuss this as well as other matters of primary importance. I am awaiting your letter[1] and will then run to Bombay to see you. Sir, never mistook [*sic*] me that I am hesitating after the resolution of the AIML Council to return my Khan Bahadurship. Never. Your order is the last word for me.[2] May I also clarify [*sic*] that *sanads* and medals also should or should not be returned as many are under the impression that these are not to be returned because the resolution is about titles and not *sanads* and medals. This comes under decoration as it is funny that titles are [to be] returned and not *sanads* and medals.

With best regards and respects,

Yours obediently,
S. MAHMOOD HASAN KHAN
ex-Deputy Leader of the Opposition in Bihar Assembly

[1]Jinnah invited his attention to AIML Council's resolution of 29 July 1946 and suggested that he consult, if necessary, with the President of the Provincial ML. See *SHC*, Bihar I/117. Not printed.
[2]He renounced his title of Khan Bahadur on 16 August, the Direct Action Day observed by the All India Muslim League, as did several others. See *SHC*, Bihar I/118. Not printed.

24

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/68

KARACHI,
14 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry to trespass upon your valuable time for a matter for

which I should not, in the ordinary course, have troubled you. But it is my duty to keep you well-informed about the events that are drifting [*sic*] in Sind at present.

2. Mr. Khuhro, who is a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and a Minister in the Sind cabinet, has been directly hobnobbing and conspiring with the coalition party. Hon'ble Ghulam Hussain and some of our other colleagues also have knowledge of that fact. He has been expressing [*sic*] to the Opposition that in the forthcoming Assembly session the Ministry may be thrown out and he may, thereafter, be elected leader of the party and he will then manage with Quaid-i-Azam and the high command to get sanction to what they would do and turn that party into the Muslim League. I do not know how far he will succeed in these attempts, but that is also the talk of the town and his actions also indicate that his mind is working in that direction.

3. There is one Sayed Gul Mahomed Shah, President of District Local Board, Dadu. He is the greatest enemy of the Muslim League. During the Assembly elections he openly worked against all the Muslim League candidates including Yusuf Haroon and supported Rashdi and others who were contesting against the League candidates. This fellow, being corrupt, has been recommended by the Collector to be removed from the presidentship. This very man called Mr. G. M. Sayed and his party to have a conference at Sehwan and he was their host. He took active part in the meeting also. Now such a man is being supported by Mr. Khuhro. He wants to save him although the entire public of Dadu do not want him to be the President, and the District Local Board has unanimously passed a resolution condemning him and asking for his removal.

4. Mr. Khuhro defies the above move and goes out of his way to support the enemy of the League. He went to the length of taking the file from the Minister-in-charge of Local Self-Government and kept it with himself for some days and finally wrote out a very big note on behalf of the Minister concerned who—be it said to his credit—threw it in the waste-paper basket. Thus Mr. Khuhro did his worst. Seeing that his note was not adopted, he wanted that the fellow may be given time up to 15 days, hoping by that time the Assembly session to be on and the defeat of the Ministry certain and consequently saving [*sic*] of the man.

5. These are the tactics of Mr. Khuhro who is the leader of the Muslim League here and who is still on the Working Committee. Such people are in fact a disgrace to the Muslim League and the community. His record is no secret to you. I only want to bring these

matters to your notice so that you may take any action you deem fit. You can, if you so choose, verify the truth of what I have said from Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and other leaders in Sind. Mr. Yusuf Haroon also knows all about it and will, I am sure, endorse fully what I have said above.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

25

Fateh Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/29-30

DAULA NANGAL GATE,
BATALA,
DISTRICT GURDASPUR,
15 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Reference your decision taking 'Direct Action' in the present struggle, I would suggest that 'Direct Action' may please be named as *jihad,* the holy name of all kinds of efforts and actions on the part of Muslims. The word *jihad* has itself a marvellous implied force and is sure to succeed. Those who lay down their lives in the struggle will be considered as *shaheed* and those who will survive will be named as *ghazis*. Therefore, if you change the name of your action it will be more effective and Islamic. I need not dwell upon this any more. You realise the gravity of the present situation yourself.

2. Before deciding the course of action of *jihad,* it is essential that religious leaders like President, Jami'at-ul-Islam (Shabbir Ahmad Usmani), Dewan Sayed Aal-i-Rasul Ali Khan, *Sajjada Nashin,* Ajmer; Khawaja Hafiz Ghulam Saddid-ud-Din, *Sajjada Nashin,* Taunsa; *Amir-i-Millat* Pir Sayyed Hafiz Al-haj Jamait Ali Shah of Alipore and Khawaja Hafiz Al-haj Muhammad Qamar-ud-Din, *Sajjada Nashin,* Sial Sharif, District Sargodha, (Punjab) be consulted. These eminent personalities may be requested to meet at some important place, preferably at Ajmer, to ratify the decision of the All India Muslim League. They may also be asked to invite all *Moulvis* and *Sajjada Nashins* from all parts of India at their aforesaid meeting. The decision, thus made, will be quite in accordance with *Shari'at-i-Islam* and will be incumbent

on every Muslim to abide by. By adopting this course we are sure to achieve our cherished goal—Pakistan—in no time. I hope you will be good enough to consider this point quite seriously and earnestly.

[*Para 3 about offering his services as Joint Secretary omitted*]

I hope my letter will find you in the best of your health, for which I always pray.

A reply by return of post is earnestly solicited.

Yours sincerely,
FATEH MOHAMMAD
Secretary,
Municipal Committee
and Secretary,
All India Majlis Khadiman-i-Haramain

26

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/52-4

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
15 August 1946

VICEROY'S INITIATIVE IS WRONG AND UNFAIR TO THE MUSLIMS

H.E. the Viceroy with the approval of His Majesty's Government has invited the President of the Congress to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government and the President of the Congress has accepted the invitation. Thus runs the communique issued from the Viceroy's House on Monday, the 12th of August 1946.

The initiative of the Viceroy to call upon the Congress President to form an Interim Government without previously obtaining the approval of the League's President is a clear breach of the terms of the declaration of May 16 and an act of unjustice [*sic*] to the Muslim nation.

The Viceroy seems to have acted on the basis of paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16, which makes it obligatory to set up a coalition government of those parties only who have accepted the British Mission's proposals of May 16. But this plea cannot hold the field because both the Secretary of State for India and Sir Stafford Cripps have unequivocally said before the House of Lords and the House of Commons, respectively, on July 18, that due to the rejection of the

proposals of June 16 by the Congress, the scheme of June 16 had fallen to the ground.

The only legal position that remains is what is outlined in the statement of May 16 which reads as follows:

"We attach the greatest importance to therefore [*sic*] to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties." In view of this declaration the Viceroy should have negotiated with the President of League before calling upon the Congress President to form the Interim Government. The present move, if made over the head of the League President, is an act of betrayal of 100 million Muslims by the British Government and a clear breach of their unequivocal promises. In fact the Secretary of State for India told the House of Lords on July 18 that the Viceroy will resume negotiations with "both the major parties for the formation of an Interim Government." How can the present move of the Viceroy be reconciled with the above declaration of the Secretary of State for India?

The position of the Muslim League is crystal clear. They have withdrawn their acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals. It cannot be construed as outright rejection. In fact the Muslim League has withdrawn its approval because they believe that the Congress has not yet accepted the plan in reality, especially the part of it which is related to the grouping of provinces. In view of this contention, the British Government cannot side with the Congress openly as they have done now. It is clearly an act of partiality and appears a predisposed alignment.

What the British Government ought to have done requires no elucidation. After the announcement of the proposals of May 16, the Secretary of State said to the press on May 17, "The first thing is to get this plan accepted by the two main communities."

In view of this declared line of action, the Viceroy ought to have first tried to convince the League that the Congress really means to accept the plan. A conference between the Muslim League leaders and the Congress leaders would have been the appropriate thing and ought to have preceded the Viceroy's offer to the Congress President to form the Interim Government. It is undoubtedly a grave mistake on the part of the Viceroy and might influence the entire disposition of the League towards [the] Indian problem. On the face of it, it does amount to bypassing the League.

The Congress has accepted to [*sic*] form the Government. The Viceroy's offer may prove a first-class trap for it; for if the Muslims stay out of the Interim Government the entire responsibility of [*sic*] the consequences and of the future of India will be shelved [*sic*] on to the shoulders of the Congress and the British will proclaim

themselves as innocent.

In any case the Muslims must be convinced of the intentions and policy of the Viceroy and the present British Government. They are undoubtedly partial to the Congress and the caste-Hindus and want to suppress the 100 million Muslims especially to crush their national demand of Pakistan. The lead given by the Muslim League is the only correct one. Let us join [*sic*] our ranks and stand like a wall for the achievement of Pakistan, come what may. Our mode of struggle should be a truly Islamic one, now being adopted by the Arabs and Indonesians. Ours is a just cause which cannot be destroyed.

May *Allah* sustain us through the coming ordeal of toil, tears and blood.

M. A. H. QADRI
Ph. D. (Cantab.)

27

Moosa Ahmed Dinath to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/95

JOHANNESBURG,
15 August 1946

The Executive Transvaal Muslim League unanimously endorses the action of the All India Muslim League's withdrawal from the British Mission proposals. In view of the partiality exhibited by British Government, Viceroy and Congress towards Muslims your action was fully justified. Muslims here have utmost confidence in your wisdom and pray for your success. A hundred million determined Muslims will not be denied.

MOOSA AHMED DINATH
President

28

Mohamed Jan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 558/498

RANGOON,
16 August 1946

Hartal observed by Muslims of Burma today. Following resolution

was passed at mass meeting held in Cholia *Jam'e* Mosque Rangoon after *Jum'a* prayers:

> Muslims of Burma cooperate with *hartal* sponsored by All India Muslim League as a protest against breach of promises and pledges made to Muslim League by HMG and support all acts of Direct Action Committee of All India Muslim League.

MOHAMED JAN

29

Miss Syedah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/150-2

MYLAPORE, MADRAS,
16 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A meeting of all the Muslim students of Queen Mary's College, Madras, was held this morning at 9 a.m. when the students decided to observe complete *hartal* today, the 16th of August 1946, in connection with the Direct Action Day of the Muslim League, and the following resolution was passed by the Association:

> In answer to the call of our Quaid-i-Azam, we have decided to observe complete *hartal* today, the 16th of August 1946,—the day of Direct Action. With regard to the grave situation which is confronting the hundred million Muslims of India, we are prepared to face any eventuality that may arise, for the sake of our nation, and to sacrifice even our lives for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. While we live we will never submit to any rule—be it British or Congress imperialism. We are quite prepared to fight for Pakistan, when the time comes. Muslims, who from the time of our Prophet [PBUH], have never feared danger, and spent their lives under the shelter of the sword, shall not now shirk [*sic*] to respond to the cause and call of Islam. We shall not abstain from sacrificing our lives to save our religion, our nation, and our rights from alien tyranny, and shall fight for the freedom and independence which is the birth-right of every Muslim. May *Allah* give us success. We await the call of our Quaid-i-Azam.

[*Para omitted*]

We are proud to place our services at the disposal and command of our Quaid-i-Azam whom we love and trust to the full in saving

Muslim India from disruption.
Long live our Quaid-i-Azam!

MISS SYEDAH
Secretary,
Muslim Girls' Association,
Queen Mary's College

30

Ghulam Haider Dongri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/240-41

BOMBAY,
16 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I much regret to note your attitude towards the present political deadlock. I must first make it clear that I am not a Congressite, neither am I aware whether any Congressman knows my inner feelings. I claim to be a Muslim, perhaps purer than you as I am observing fast in the *Ramazan* and my family observes *purdah* too.

I have always been watching with care and interest the political movements in this country and the part played by different political organizations. I must admit now that the attitude of the Congress is more reasonable and sincere and that the Muslims have earned a bad name not only in their country but abroad too. Why? Because we Muslims have never taken any initiative at any time in any matter concerning the people of this country as a whole. Is this not narrow-mindedness?

You always expect, as my observations have shown, others to come to your door and bow to you as per your wishes. This is naked arrogance of which any reasonable [person] should be ashamed.

By coming to your door, I think Nehru has done its [*sic* for his] part well and you have proved yourself once again an arrogant person. I, as a Muslim, feel ashamed of it.

Certainly some good can come out both to Muslims and Hindus out of the offer now made by the British Government and if we Muslims suffer, the responsibility will be yours.

May God show you the right path.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HAIDER DONGRI

31

Abdus Samad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 797/3-7

108 G MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
16 August 946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I had drafted a telegram for you but the matter being most important and confidential I thought it [just] as well to send you a letter on the subject, although it would mean delay.

Everybody has realized that all the antagonistic forces, both [*sic*] official, Hindu, Sikh and others, have combined to give our Pakistan a rude shock. All information of the moment in the interest of the League is being suppressed both here and in England. Even the Conservative Party is not vocal. Except for the speech of Mr. Churchill, we have not seen anything in favour of the League. The English public is being kept purposely ignorant and there seems no other alternative for us except that some exposition of the Muslim views should be made by word of mouth by some of our decent speakers who are in command of the whole controversy regarding the British Delegation work, the attitude of the Hindu Congress and the part which is being played by H.E. the Viceroy. Some of the printed literature on the subject, such as certain articles in the *Dawn* relevant to the subject, should also be taken along in as large a number as possible. In my opinion, this is the chief item of our *jihad* against the inimical forces. The matter is so important that it could not be undertaken efficiently except by your own goodself and your lieutenant, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. The Direct Action programme can be deferred for about three weeks. Some of the principal British statesmen, both Conservative and Labour, including Mr. Attlee, should be seen.

It might possibly be better if the whole case could be scientifically prepared, printed and taken along. If that was not possible, on account of shortage of paper, the draft could be taken along and got printed there. In my humble opinion this is extremely urgent and important. Unless the British public and the press are disillusioned [*sic*] of their ignorance, nothing is going to take a turn in our favour, in the British Isles. If you and Mr. S [?] could convert many of the chief statesmen over there and pave the way for our success here [sentence incomplete]. It is

needless to dwell on this subject further. You know much more about these things and their efficacy. We should not care about the hostile opinion which your departure will occasion in the Hindu press. The General will give due weight to this important strategy. The next important thing is that, on your return from England, you make it a point to stay at Cairo for a few days and make contact with the Egyptian and other Arab leaders and statesmen. Practically the whole Islamic world is in travail. This is going to do us some good. I don't think I should write more. You can well divine what I mean.

Kindly excuse me for venturing to write to you like this. This is however my humble but urgent advice.

If you could take along with yourself Dr. Ambedkar, who is an excellent writer in English, though I don't know what he is like in making speech, you would be strengthening your position.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUS SAMAD KHAN

32

Gul-o-Berg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/244-5

GULBERGA, DECCAN,
16 August 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

My most esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

May you live long and guide the destinies of the Indian Muslims to the successful end.

I beg to lay before you a few humble suggestions:

a. To enlist the sympathies of the other Muslim countries in the cause of the Muslim League, and to establish brotherhood among their [*sic*] co-religionists in all parts of the world and to make it a common cause in uplifting the whole Muslim world, direct contact should be made with the leaders of the various Muslim countries.

b. To achieve the object, services of Muslim professors and teachers from various Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, etc., should be

obtained for three years for different Islamic colleges in India, such as Aligarh; Hyderabad Deccan, Islamia College Lahore, Islamia College, Calcutta, for teaching languages or other arts and sciences.

c. Annual conferences of the leaders or their deputies should be called every year either at Mecca in [*sic*] *Hajj* days or in each country by rotation.
d. Muslim professors holding the League ideals should also be deputed to the institutions in various Muslim countries.
e. A Muslim vernacular press union should be formed and a conference of these newspapers and journals, which follow the Muslim League creed, should be called and addressed by you to chalk out an organised plan of work and to make an incessant, vigorous and united effort to give wide publicity to the League's ideals and work.
f. These vernacular papers should be asked to drop off their mutual jealousies and be sober and solemn, reasonable and relevant, critical and constructive, psychological and philosophical in their criticisms of the League opponents.
g. They should be discriminate in publishing adverse news and views of the anti-Muslim League parties by abstaining from giving prominent place and headings in their newspapers to such mischievous news and views; and they should be considerate and careful in using words and phraseology in attacking other political parties.
h. Press conferences of all the editors of the leading Muslim newspapers in all the Muslim countries should be convened in Delhi and an agreed arrangement should be made to obtain and publish first-hand and correct information about the important movements and view-points of the Islamic countries.
i. A worldwide Islamic news agency should be established in consultation with the Muslim countries.
j. To explain the point of view of the Muslim League and do its propaganda work, six daily English newspapers should be established at Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Karachi and Nagpur.
k. The funds for these papers can be obtained by inaugurating separate limited companies in each of the six provinces on cooperative basis.
l. The editors and the editorial staff for these papers must necessarily be staunch Leaguers and men of wide reading and scholarship. The editors should be sane-minded [*sic*],

dispassionate and unsentimental.

m. The whole work, i.e. the establishing of papers, directives of policy organisation, selection of staff and keeping of money and accounts, should be entrusted to suitable members and presidents of the provincial Leagues.

May God Almighty give you health, prosperity, strength and wisdom to achieve Pakistan.

Your most humble
admirer and servant,
GUL-O-BERG

33

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/31

BY AIR MAIL

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
17 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the assumption [*sic*] of the decision arrived at about a fortnight ago, I had been preparing for the last two weeks certain pamphlets dealing with the administration of railways, financial and economic policies, and the development of industries in Pakistan area. Two of these pamphlets are ready and the other three are still under preparation. I have come to the conclusion that the railways should be handed over to each group and should not be centrally administered. The Central Government may demand a certain percentage of profit for maintenance of the army but direct administration should not be under the Centre. As regards the finances, I press [*sic*] that the currency of each group should be separate. Each group should have a Reserve Bank of its own and the present Central Reserve Bank should be like an exchange bank and it should coordinate the currency policy of each group. As regards the collection of taxes I am strongly of opinion that the Central Government should not have the power of taxation. Taxes should all be collected by provinces and the share of Central Govt. should be given by provinces. I will send you a copy of my pamphlet.

The present decision of the Govt. of India to bypass the Muslim League has come to us as a great surprise, and the principal difficulty is that everything is being done with precipitate haste, giv[ing] us no

time. The British Govt. is not handing over India to the Congress but to Russia. Still it is their look-out.

It seems desirable that some programme should be made and I do not know whether you have considered the following points:

1. The centre of the Muslim League may be at Lahore instead of Delhi where larger number of workers will be available. In Delhi the number of workers is small.

2. Attempts may be made to expand our circle and include persons who are against the present form of Government.

3. We arrange propaganda in foreign countries specially U.K.

The position of Aligarh, which must also be engaging your attention, has become acute and I like to know your views. We have vacations in the University and we are opening on the first of September according to our programme, but acute situation may arise at any moment. They are equipping the town with machine-guns. At any breach of law the police may open machine-gun firing. They are using military police and military personnel in most places.

There was a rumour that you would soon be coming to Delhi and I would have the opportunity of discussing with you the general problems—particularly the position of Aligarh. The position of the Muslim students all over India and particularly in Aligarh, where there is greater concentration, needs your guidance. The Congress Govt. under British bayonets will not show the same consideration as the British Govt. did in the case of Congress scuffles.

I have been working with you for nine years on the line that I follow cheerfully your command in any direction. If you like my services anywhere it [sic] will be at your disposal and I am quite willing to resign the Vice-Chancellorship or the membership of the Assembly or any other thing required for national cause.

If you are not coming to Delhi in the near future I would like to come and have a talk with you in Bombay.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

[1]Jinnah asked him to come down to Bombay to discuss the issues raised. See *SHC*, UP V/32. Not printed.

34

Jinnah Birthday Celebration Committee, Durban, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1003/44

DURBAN,
17 August 1946

Mass meeting of Durban Muslims congratulated you on your courageous stand and demanded that the Council of the All India Muslim League be converted into a council of action determined to do or die.

JINNAH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

35

S. Peer Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/473-4

FAITH—UNITY—DISCIPLINE

TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT
MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION,
MUSLIM LODGE,
TINNEVELLY,
17 August 1946

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The students of the above Federation under the presidentship of *Janab* M. L. M. Abul Hasan Shathali Sahib have passed the following resolution unanimously on the 16th of August 1946, "the Direct Action Day":

RESOLUTION

We the Muslim students of this district do solemnly affirm that we welcome the resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council on 29th July 1946, rejecting the Cabinet Mission's proposals. We express our implicit faith in the demand of Muslim India, namely Pakistan, and we request the British and Congress to concede Pakistan without any more ado.

We wish to assure our Muslim League leaders that we are at anytime ready to do anything for achievement of Pakistan.

We also want to warn the British Government and the Congress

that if they will turn a deaf ear to the demands of Muslim India, we will never hesitate to achieve Pakistan at any cost.

S. PEER MOHAMED
Secretary

36

S. K. Ghosh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1017)

P. O. TAKDAH,
DIST. DARJEELING,
17 August 1946

Sir,

Would you kindly let me know[1] whether there is any bar to a non-Muslim being a member of the Muslim League. If not, I shall be glad to know how this can be arranged. If, however, this is not admissible, would you please instruct me as to how a non-Muslim, who has faith in your leadership and holds you as one of the greatest statesmen of the world at the present time, can best serve his country without conversion to Islam.

Apologizing for the trouble and thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
S. K. GHOSH

[1]Jinnah advised him to get in touch with Hassan Ispahani adding that technically a non-Muslim could not become a member of the ML but could, in his own way, help and support the ML cause. See *SHC* (1048). Not printed.

37

Ahmed E.H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 313/9

CAMP BIJAPUR,
HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
17 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I confirm my telegram despatched to you this morning reading as under:

Bijapur District celebration [*sic*] yesterday peaceful and grand success. Induced Khan Bahadur Syed Sahibji Sahib Peerzada and Khan Sahib Ilkal renounce titles. Leaving today on tour for Bagalkot and District.

I am glad to say that Direct Action Day celebrations [*sic*] here were a grand success. All Muslim shops, hotels and other establishments were entirely closed for the day and even *tongawallas* were on strike. After prayers, we had a very big meeting which was attended by the Muslims in thousands [and] which I addressed, and explained to them the resolutions passed at the Council meeting. I am glad to say that I was able to induce two titleholders, who had not yet renounced their titles, to do so; one of them, Khan Bahadur Syed Sahibji Sahib Peerzada had some grievances against the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board but he ultimately agreed to give up his title of Khan Bahadur. The other gentleman is Khan Sahib A. N. Ilkal, MLA.

I am leaving this afternoon for Bagalkot from where I proceed to other places in the district.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E.H. JAFFER

38

Choithram P. Gidwani to M.A. Jinnah

F. 192/7-9

SWARJAYA BHAWAN,
RAMCHANDRA TEMPLE ROAD,
KARACHI,
18 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to read your statement of yesterday unequivocally condemning acts of violence in Calcutta and urging that not only exemplary legal action but even disciplinary action should be taken against any Muslim Leaguer who may have indulged in acts of violence. In view of this statement of yours, I consider it to be my duty to attach herewith the translations of public statements issued on the 30th July 1946 by the Honourable Ministers of the Muslim League, in charge of the two important portfolios in Sind, viz. Law and Order and Revenue. Both of them publicly incited the masses to acts of violence. The Muslim League organ, the *Alwahid*, taking cue

from these Honourable Ministers has been, day in and day out, inciting the Muslim youths and masses to acts of violence. I attach the translation of one extract from *Alwahid* of 1st instant. Again, on the 13th instant, just three days before the day of 'Direct Action', the *Alwahid* after writing an editorial declaring that the Hindu *bania* Congressmen were out to ruin and annihilate the Muslims, published a poem containing the following two sentences:

"We are quite ready to kill and be killed.
The ground profusely dyed with blood is now needed."

The editorial and poem read together lead only to one conclusion, viz. that the Muslims should commit acts of violence.

These are only two of the quotations from the *Alwahid* but in fact every day there is incitement to violence in this paper. It is a Muslim League organ which has the widest circulation amongst the Muslim population throughout the province.

My object in addressing this letter to you is to stress my point that it is more essential to take disciplinary action against the responsible Muslim Leaguers who incite the Muslim youths and masses to acts of violence. You would agree with me that the culpability of responsible persons who excite the masses is much graver than that of the misguided masses who actually perpetrate crimes in pursuance of the incitement. It is also a well-known fact that usually the inciters escape punishment while the poor misguided masses are made scapegoats and are made to pay heavily for their deeds. You would also agree that prevention is better than cure. I would therefore like to know whether you approve of the retention of such persons as Ministers and whether you would not urge the taking of legal as well as disciplinary action against them.

A public statement from you on the above points would go a long way to check further mischief.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI
President,
Sind Provincial Congress Committee

39

Mohammad Sharif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/263

MOHAMMAD SHARIF ROAD,
AMRITSAR,
18 August 1946

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

Your statement[1] reg[arding] Calcutta happenings is being admired even among our enemies. God bless you with longer life to lead the poor illiterate Muslim masses. *Aameen*!

Do you think it is the duty of every Muslim Leaguer to use his good offices and influence in making all efforts in training the minds of Muslim masses not to resort to arson and looting of Hindus or minorities wherever we are in majority?

Thanking for clarification,

Yours obediently,
M. SHARIF
MBBS

[1]In his statement Jinnah had condemned all acts of violence and commiserated with the unfortunate victims. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 214.

40

M. Ayaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/115-6
[*Original in Urdu*]

MADRASSA-I-FAUQANIA,
DISTRICT USMANABAD, DECCAN
20 August 1946

Pakistan *Zindabad*

Our beloved leader of Pakistan,

We the Muslim students pray to Almighty *Allah* to bestow on you long life and ever-increasing prominence.

On Friday, 16 August 1946, Direct Action Day was observed with great zeal and vigour in which students actively participated. All business houses and shops of Muslims remained closed. Following resolution was passed under the green flag with crescent for which

hundred million Muslims are ready to sacrifice their lives. A copy of the resolution is enclosed.

M. AYAZ
Secretary,
Muslim Students' Union,
Madrassa-i-Fauqania

Enclosure to No. 40

RESOLUTION

This meeting of Muslim Students Union, Madrassa-i-Fauqania, Usmanabad, warns the British Government and Congress that every young Muslim of Deccan is with Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League for the protection of rights of Muslims and will render any sacrifice on orders of Quaid-i-Azam. We are ready to combat all those who oppose Pakistan and plan for establishment of Hindu *raj*.

We assure Quaid-i-Azam of our services and sacrifices, and await his orders.

M. AYAZ

41

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/79

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
20 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your kind letter[1] in reply to mine.

The game of treachery and Muslim-baiting which the Britishers started on June 16 is now reaching its climax. They thirst for Muslim blood. They can have it. The Muslims are prepared to give any amount of blood. Nehru is grievously mistaken if he thinks he will have plain sailing with the Interim Government.

Though the University is closed, we observed the Direct Action Day and there was a surprisingly large gathering. For the first time we saw masses joining with the intelligentsia and aristocracy in taking the pledge of suffering and sacrifice. There was a spontaneous response which was very heartening.

We are anxious to know as to what part we of the University will

be expected to play in the coming struggle. Whatever we have to do we want to do in an organized manner and according to a well-thought-out programme, so that we could achieve the maximum results from our efforts as we did in the elections. We have certain proposals to make. I would like to know whether these should be submitted to you or Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan or both. It is very desirable that there should be no misunderstanding—on the other hand there should be cooperation—between the League workers and the University authorities. During the election campaign there was such understanding and cooperation. I am sure there will be no difficulty in making arrangements again. The best course, I think, would be that you discuss this matter with Dr. Zia Uddin as soon as possible.[2] He could fly to Bombay to meet you. The question to be discussed and decided is as to how the University will function during the days of the struggle and what part the members of the University will play and in what manner.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers

[1]See *SHC*, UP V/78. Not printed.
[2]See No. 33, note 1.

42

H. M. Rahi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/274

LAHORE,
21 August 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In spite of the fact that all our opponents describe the present position of Muslim League as outmanoeuvred and outgeneralled, yet it is our firm conviction that your strategy had lured the easy-going nation to a mirage [*sic*] where utmost toil and sacrifices are a pre-requisite for entry in[to] the promised land. We, however, do not share the present rigmarolic [*sic*] attitude of the statements issued by our leaders, as the only reply after rejecting the Award and embarking upon a course of Direct Action was to tell the world that having

broken their word of honour it was impossible to approach the British Government, unless it declared in unequivocal terms their adherence to their original plan, and officially refuted the interpretations of Congress leaders.

2. It is our sanguine hope that in view of the noble and higher cause of nation's emancipation, our leaders will at once discard their old notions of personal respect, obedience, etc., and try to forget and forgive our brethren who have swayed from the path, and are in fact the only thorns in our way of self-determination. With this end in view, you should kindly take the lead immediately and personally contact scapegoats [*sic*] like G. M. Sayed, Khizar Hayat, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Fazlul Huq, Husain Ahmad Madni, etc., and at the same time send a clear directive to the provincial bodies to convert them by hook or [by] crook, within the shortest possible time. If persuasion and tact fail, the feminine ways of ensuring victory, e.g. folding of hands or bowing, may be resorted to, as personal honour is insignificant as compared to the national cause.

Yours own,
H. M. RAHI

43

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/244-7

YOUSAF BUILDING,
ESPLANADE ROAD,
BOMBAY,
21 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I congratulate you for your policy of Direct Action initiated by you as the leader of the Leaguers. Your appetite and appetite of your followers must have been partially satisfied at least to a small extent for blood of non-Leaguers.

However, I can assure you that no amount of blood of Hindus and non-Leaguers will bring about your Pakistan.

Your pronouncements, and the statements of your followers, have left no doubt in the mind of any sane individual as to what non-Leaguers will get in the event of Pakistan. They will be stabbed, murdered, their property looted and women raped. This conviction has been amply supported by Calcutta, Ahmedabad and

Lucknow incidents. By now you and your followers have amply demonstrated that truth has no place in the speeches and writings of Muslim League[rs]. The following are the explicit and patented lies of yours:

i. That the Congress represents Caste-Hindus only.
ii. That the League represents all Muslims.
iii. That the Congress and the British Government have secretly conspired against Leaguers.
iv. That the Congress did not accept long-term plan of British Mission.
v. That Viceroy and British Mission broke promises given to League in long-term matters, and in the Interim Government proposals.
vi. That Muslims have been ill-treated and suppressed by the Hindu majority.
vii. That Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and have separate culture and habits.

The following are the methods of your propaganda:

a. You and your followers repeat these lies with loud noise and [a] number of times.
b. You misquote, misrepresent, [and] distort by additions and subtractions, the speeches and writings of your opponents to suit your objectives. You and your followers have no scruples.

Your claim for Pakistan is a bogus claim calculated and intended to deceive the masses of Muslims. As a matter of fact, the League consists of and represents the interests of zamindars, nawabs and petty Muslim States' autocrats who, with the help of British bayonets, have bled white, tyrannised and exploited their poverty-stricken, illiterate and fanatically religious Muslim agriculturists and tillers of land. These people, who are your real masters, have hired out [*sic*] your brains, having no brains of theirs, and you and they have made every effort and are making every effort to put the poor helpless Muslims in the front for a fight, by rousing their religious frenzy and having made them your instruments to serve your nefarious designs.

It is rot [*sic*] nonsense for you and your satellites [*sic*] to talk of independence of Muslims. Your satellites have all fattened on the blood of their poor brethren by the help of British bayonets for a century and a half. They have realised that by disappearance of British power they have no other support and they have hit upon the design of making poor Muslims cat's-paws for their nefarious designs by telling them that Muslim religion is in danger. You and your satellites have no claim to true Muslim religion as shown by their acts and conduct. In fact you and your satellites are enemies of Muslim religion. Britishers are pouring Jews into Jerusalem and are having Arabs

butchered and you and your satellites divert Muslims to serve your selfish and nefarious designs. Your pretended good feeling for other minorities such as Depressed Classes, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians have evoked no corresponding response from them because they all know you and your satellites' true value.

I have simply contented myself by expressing to you what everybody knows and thinks about you except young, immature, fiery Muslim students and poverty-stricken, illiterate, simple-minded fanatical Muslims. It is not necessary to give facts and arguments to support the conclusions, as you and your satellites know and understand them only too well and in any event it is futile to argue and discuss anything with determined bars. [*sic*]

[*Three paras omitted*][1]

You and I realize that you have support of all who fatten on the misfortune and sufferings of human race, viz. all anti-social Ambedkarites, Communists and followers of Reds of Russia and those who live on crime.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

[1]Contain unnecessary details.

44

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/50

VIEWFORTH HOTEL,
MURREE,
22 August 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a cablegram, which I received from Mrs. Ogden Reid, proprietor of the [New York] *Herald Tribune*, yesterday. In my previous letter written to you nearly ten days ago, I sent you a cable from my son, Ahmad, which I hope you have received. The post being so uncertain these days, I am sending this letter under a registered cover so as to ensure its delivery.

As I wrote in my last letter, Mrs. Ogden Reid is the proprietor of the New York *Herald Tribune* and the forum that is mentioned in the cablegram is a very representative world conference which is held every two years under the auspices of the *Herald Tribune* and is

addressed by people of international repute from every country.

I know that with such a critical situation prevailing in the country, you are very occupied with urgent and important matters, but as Mrs. Reid seems to be extra keen to have a representative of the Muslim League addressing the forum, I hope you will be so kind as to let me know what reply I should send her. I also know how very difficult it is for the League to spare anyone at such a juncture even for a few weeks especially as all of us are eager to take part in the coming struggle and would not like to go out of India. However, if none of our elder statesmen can be spared, there are some younger people, who I know would be prepared to volunteer to go at their own expense and would do credit to the League.

We are all going down to Lahore very soon so that we may be able to devote all [*words illegible*] work.

With sincere good wishes and our respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

45

K. H. Khurshid to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 132/48

22 August 1946

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a letter[1] from Begum Shah Nawaz together with a telegram[2] which she has received from her son, now in America, which are self-explanatory. Mr. Jinnah has asked me to forward them to you for your consideration and necessary action.

From your last letter to Mr. Jinnah,[3] I was sorry to know that you have been in bed for some time. I hope you are perfectly well now.

I don't know but I have been thinking, for some time past, we must take immediate steps for publicity in foreign countries, especially the Middle East, USSR and the English-speaking countries. Before the Parliament meets, it is absolutely necessary that every M.P. should have an authoritative account of the Cabinet Mission, their proposals and the events up to date. I would suggest that Mr. Nishtar and Mr. Altaf Hussain [Editor, the *Dawn*], be at once set on this task and prepare brief pamphlets and foreign newsletters. You know better than me and it would be impertinent on my part to say anything more. If you require, I can send you a detailed layout of two pamphlets which in

my opinion should be immediately issued and sent abroad.

With my respects and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[K. H. KHURSHID]

[1&2]Not traceable. However, see No. 44.
[3]Not traceable. However, see Muhammad Reza Kazimi, ed., *Jinnah-Liaquat Correspondence*, Karachi, 2003, 261.

46

M. A. Jinnah to Winston S. Churchill

F. 20/30

22 August 1946

Dear Mr. Churchill,

I thank you for your cablegram,[1] acknowledging my letter,[2] and your reply of 3rd August 1946.[3]

I am rather surprised to read paragraph 3 of your letter. It shows that even you have not got a full grasp of the situation in India and it seems that your press is not very helpful in that direction while the Congress propaganda of misrepresentation is so widely spread and their press so powerfully organized by the capitalist patrons of the Congress.

What do you expect the Musalmans to do? You admit the tendencies in England to support the Congress are very strong in the Government party. We have had a bitter taste of it—perhaps the bitterest. The Muslim League was progressively betrayed by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy and was being gradually steam-rolle[re]d. When the Secretary of State for India and his colleagues and the Viceroy finally disclosed their hands, undoubtedly, there could be only one result and that is a general revolt against the British. For else, who is responsible to force down and thrust upon 100 million Muslims of India terms which the Congress alone will be pleased to accept? Even the final proposals of the Cabinet Mission, both with regard to the long-term and short-term, with which I was far from satisfied, were rejected by the Congress and the Muslim League alone accepted them; and now the Viceroy is making efforts to propitiate the Congress.

The situation is very serious and dangerous; and it is very difficult for me to make you understand the details, but, since you have expressed a desire to hear from me, I am enclosing herewith copies

of my recent statements[4] to the press.

Your sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Rt. Hon'ble Winston S. Churchill,
Chartwell,
Westerham,
Kent

[1]See F. 20/27, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable. However, see Appendix I. 54, note 6, Vol XIII, 490.
[3]Appendix I. 1.
[4]See Appendices I. 45, Vol. XIII, 473-7& I. 53, ibid., 486-9.

47

Zahurul Hassan Sharib to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/28

GUL AFSHAN,
NAWABPURA,
MORADABAD,
22 August 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been asked by the Anglo-Indian community of our district to write you this letter. I have been told that the Anglo-Indian community, scattered throughout India, view with suspicion and alarm the move of Pandit Nehru to form the Interim Government. Their representative, Mr. Frank Anthony, has been totally ignored.

The Anglo-Indian community is eager and willing to side with the League, and obey your commands, provided some protection of their interests is offered to them.

The Muslim League, as at present constituted, does not admit of [*sic*] anyone, except a Muslim.

I may commend to your attention a suggestion that the Muslim League should be divided into two sections—one dealing with Muslims and Muslim interests, and the other with minorities and the interests of the minorities. Both the sections will work in close co-operation and create a united front against the Congress.

The minorities section will consist of the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Scheduled-Castes, etc.

I hope you will be kind enough to give sympathetic consideration to the suggestion. It will be very kind of you if you could find time

to send a message to the Anglo-Indian community of our district, which has its eyes fixed on you.

I hope you will oblige me by acknowledging the letter.[1]

My best, humblest and sincerest regards are yours.

Sincerely yours,
ZAHURUL HASSAN SHARIB
M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., F.R. Econ. S.(London)

[1]Jinnah, while expressing sympathy for the aspirations of the Anglo-Indian community, replied that he had noted the suggestions. See *SHC*, Punjab II/ 29. Not printed.

48

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh

SHC, Sind VII/69

23 August 1946

Dear Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,

I have received your letter of the 14th of August.[1] I have noted all that you say, but one thing is certain that whatever the obstacles may be in our way, we must go ahead and face them all. It is for your local leaders to manage things. It is not possible for me to do anything from here, and I am sure you will appreciate this.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hon'ble Pir Ilahi Bakhsh
Secretariat,
Karachi

[1]No. 24.

49

M. A. Jinnah to Mojibul Haq Ansari

SHC, Students II/120

23 August 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th of August[1] and thank you for it. Muslim India looks to the youth of Islam, and I am glad that you

are beginning to realise that there are some amongst us who are misleading the poor Momins.

Unity is the only salvation for Muslim India. Muslim League will welcome anyone who wants to join honestly to serve our people and work for the achievement of Pakistan. Ours is a democratic organisation, and it is taken for granted that it must act according to the highest standards of justice and fair play to all according to our constitution, rules and regulations.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mojibul Haq Ansari, Esq.,
Momin Manzil,
Asalatpura,
Moradabad

[1]Referring to the exploitation of the Momins [Weavers], who were treated by most other Muslims as a lowly caste, Ansari had suggested that the gulf between the League and the Momins be bridged by giving them their due share in the services and the Assemblies according to their population. See *SHC*, Students II/119. Not printed.

50

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram

SHC, Punjab V/25

23 August 1946

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of August,[1] and I am sorry that I was not able to attend to the letter earlier.

I am glad that you are keeping in touch with the leaders of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Also, there is a Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League at Delhi. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is the Convener of the Committee and his address is 8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi. Mr. Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot is also a member of the Committee of Action. Therefore, I would advise you to get in touch with them.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. Rallia Ram,
Mayfair Hotel,
Murree,
Punjab

[1]No. 9.

51

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1106/479-82

23 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My letters to you dated the 17th and 19th instant.[1] Am I silly in supposing that your Pakistan and your Pakistan demand are not serious and genuine propositions? Am I silly in thinking that your rejection of the Interim Govt. plan of June 16 did make, and was intended by you to make, for progress? Am I silly in supposing that your rejection of the Constituent Assembly plan should lead to its abandonment (your own word) and was intended by you to lead to such an abandonment? Am I silly in supposing that you had decided to reject the British proposals if the Congress accepted them, and vice versa? You got a jolt and a jerk on the 26th June but you kept your balance and ultimately had your way according to your principle and policy. Am I silly in supposing that this principle and policy is intended by you to isolate the Muslims (the main bulk of them) from British-Congress dealings, whatever they might be—a fight or a rapprochement? Am I silly in supposing that, although this principle and this policy is possibly not understood even by your close lieutenants in your Working Committee, they are—the principle and the policy—for the ultimate good of India and [*sic*] as a whole?

If I am silly in all these suppositions and if those suppositions are not true to fact, the least I can say is that I would be puzzled. I do not really see how my suppositions may be wrong.

If you really wanted parity in the Central Government and you had got that in Wavell's first plan of 1945, and if your people want to get into offices and to cling to them if they can, how was it that you rejected the plan on the flimsy excuse that Wavell proposed appointing a Unionist Muslim although Unionists were and are Leaguers?

In the same way, if you had got your five seats in Wavell's second plan of June 16, and Congress was proposing to have a nationalist Muslim only within its quota of six seats, how was it that you rejected the proposal, unless your motive and intention were different from what you were proclaiming? You wanted Congress to reject the plan. The rejection by any major party means the killing of the plan. Such a killing on your part is inconceivable and illogical unless you wanted the Congress, the country and the British Govt. to forge ahead.

Your rejection of the Constituent Assembly plan led to your rejection

of the Interim Govt. plan. You could have maintained your acceptance of the constitution-making plan, as you had already accepted it and in so doing had given a go-by to unsullied Pakistan which you would not have done had your Pakistan and Pakistan demand been serious and genuine propositions, if you wanted to get into the Central Government. I do not think you refuse to get into it because you want the Viceroy's veto to be retained and the plan retained as it was conceived on June 16. I think you do not get into the Central Govt., the present form, status, powers and functions of which you accept as a *fait accompli,* because you want to keep out of the Constituent Assembly, in order that it may be abandoned [*sic*]. I think you would welcome a jump towards the Indo-British Treaty.

But what about this inevitable interlude of Muslim Direct Action? I may concede your statement that the troubles are the handiwork of *agents provocateurs* and Mr. Suhrawardy's contention that they are the result of the Hindus being goaded into violent action by the British. But then what does it mean? Clearly that the British want the League ministries to go out of office. Would you allow this or would you forestall the British by withdrawing the ministries on your own? The latter course would kill two birds with one stone. Direct Action must not mean inter-communal butchery and slaughter. I hope you will agree.

[UNSIGNED]

[1]Not traceable.

52

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/80

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
24 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you and I hope the suggestions I made are receiving your attention.

The other day I read a rather revealing article by Mr. Yusuf Afghan which I enclose herewith.[1] I invite your attention to the passages marked. It seems many important observations made by you in your speech before the League Council at Bombay were blacked out by most papers. Some, I think, did not appear even in the *Dawn.* It is

very desirable that the full text of the speech should be widely publicised. There are startling revelations in your speech which show up the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a lurid light. They have not yet replied to any of the charges, which only shows that they are irrefutable. Our cause suffers from lack of full publicity. I suggest that your speech should be published by the central office of the League and its copies should be widely distributed both in India and foreign countries, particularly England and USA. It would be appropriate if an introduction were written to the speech setting out the background and the context of the conditions in which it was made so as to make it easy for readers to understand the full import and significance of your remarks. I offer to write the introduction if I receive a full and correct version of your speech.

Apart from this particular speech, I think it would serve a useful purpose if several small pamphlets setting forth our demand, policy and attitude were widely circulated in England and also USA. If you approve of the suggestion, I am prepared to do all I can to give it a practical shape.

May I also suggest that the time has come for you to come down to Delhi personally to direct the whole campaign and watch the situation at first hand.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

53

Mirza Mohammad Ali Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/283-4

MANSA,
24 August 1946

Dear Sir,

The present condition of the country and the high-handedness of the Congress, on account of the unjust support of the Government, has necessitated that the Muslim League, in order to gain more numerical strength, should change its name in such a way that its doors may be opened to all non-Muslims. The amendment in the name which suggests itself [to] every mind without prejudice to

the previous well-established name is Muslim and Minorities League. The Hindu Congress which is in majority is unduly taking advantage of its name by wrongly asserting that they are the representatives of all communities. The above-suggested amendment will certainly give a blow to the above-mentioned Congress assertion and will fully belie its claim, whereas the Muslim League would lose nothing by this nominal amendment of name, inasmuch as the original name will be kept intact showing that the Muslims are a separate nation. I therefore most respectfully venture to submit the above-mentioned for your consideration.

With best respects,

Yours,
M. M. A. BEG
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

54

A. M. Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/290-2

4 KEELING ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
25 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am only a silent observer of the political trend[s] in the country. I have been watching the struggle of the minority communities for securing a place of safety in the country's future constitution and of the majority community's efforts at the unification of all interests in one whole [*sic*] India and a common constitution for all communities and creeds in the country.

What has struck me as strange is that while each party has been trying to secure for itself special safeguards and representation, no attention whatsoever has been given to the imperative needs of the country at the moment. If the parties had taken a perspective view of the country and visualised what difficult tasks they have to perform in the reconstruction schemes, they would have jointly come forward to meet the situation instead of quarrelling with each other.

I, therefore, address you, not with a view to challenging your decision to keep out of the Constituent Assembly and the Interim

Government but with a view to placing before you a survey of the country's industrial backwardness and its mounting overdraft of chronic troubles such as unemployment and poverty, which have degraded us in the eyes of all civilised people of the world. My motive, therefore, is clear.

I draw your attention to the relative importance of the work that lies ahead. It is to lead the country forward in the economic field. This itself is a Herculean task. Surely, you can accomplish it better in our community than anyone else. You have already gained for the community almost everything that you wanted in the political field. What little you could not gain is not of that [*sic* for such] importance that it should jeopardise the community's plan for economic development.

True, that no economic development of the country can be possible without the political power behind it and a national government responding to the call of the nation. But the long-term programme gives us a chance for drawing up a constitution for the establishment of a national government with the joint efforts of the leaders of all communities. This constitution, when it has been agreed to by all the parties concerned, will place the requisite political power in our hands. We may not have in the beginning all that we want but no constitution could be inelastic. Despite the present fundamental differences in political points of view amongst the parties representing the different groups, a real change may creep over the national character within the next few years, which may result in changing the constitution in many respects.

The Muslim League will [*sic* for would] neither lose respect nor prestige in the country if it revised its decision and accepted the offer, which the Viceroy has again made in his yesterday's broadcast. The rejection of the offer will not only be suicidal but it may [also] result in widespread communal rioting in the country.

We have quarrelled enough in the past. Forty years ago, what A. H. Lowell wrote about us is true even to-day. The following quotation is given from his book, *The Government of England*:

The people of India are not a nation, but a conglomerate of many different races and religions, side by side in the same place, yet unmixed and sharply separate. It is this, as Seeley pointed out in his *Expansion of England,* that has enabled the British to conquer and hold the country. If the inhabitants could act together, and were agreed in winning independence, they could get it. In short, if they were capable of national self-government, the English would live on a volcano, and their occupation would be brief. The mutiny was suppressed because it was not universal. The Sikhs helped to put down the Sepoys; and so long as large sections of the people distrust

one another more than they do the English, disaffection has little chance of achieving a notable result.

I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to you to revise your decision and advise the Muslim League to accept the offer, which the Viceroy has again made.

The survey, that I have referred to of the condition of the country, will be found in the pages appended hereto.[1] I have written it as a general survey of my plan for the All India Muslim League Planning Sub-Committee of Engineering and Manufacturing Industries.

With compliments,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. ABBASI
Retired Ex[ecutive] Engineer

[1]Not traceable.

55

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 990/96-7

LAHORE,
25 August 1946

Our most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

May the great God bless you and grant you a long life to give us the correct lead. At this juncture I take the liberty of conveying to you the feelings of a great many of your faithful followers. If the negotiations break down on an important issue, there is no question of a retreat. But we take it that the issue of the national[ist] Muslims' inclusion is too small.

If we allow the wreckage of the constitutional advance of the whole of India on this issue, we are directly or indirectly giving the national[ist] Muslim the importance which he does not deserve and giving him a chance to chuckle maliciously on our discomfiture.

We do not carry conviction to the world opinion, if we try to bind the Congress not to take a Muslim out of their own quota.

It is perfectly clear that the negotiations must break if we push this point too far. We ourselves will never accept any limitation on our choice, and how can we reasonably and rightly impose a restriction on the other party.

The inclusion of a national[ist] Muslim does us not a bit of harm,

because he is a "Hindu". It is argued that in this way the Congress demoralises the Muslims. Even if so, our sphere of work should lie among our own men. We suggest the following: At the next elections, if they be fair and free of Govt. interference, no national[ist] Muslim has the shadow of a chance. Of course he can come in through an electorate with a joint voting, but then he will be a "Hindu" and we do not suffer.

If it be possible to make it a law that the MLAs cannot change over from one party to the other, unless they resign and seek re-election, we shall put an effective brake upon our self-seekers.

For success in the next elections we must have power. For many reasons it is most desirable that there should be, all over India, a League-Congress coalition. Of course this is impossible so long as we stick to our demand.

Lastly, we plead for a real change of heart towards the nationalist Muslims. It is true that some of them are only self-seekers, but there are others who have an honest difference of opinion. Perhaps we antagonize them, one and all, quite unnecessarily. Let us try affection. If we once say that we shall welcome a nationalist Muslim in a Hindu seat, and that we take it as good for ourselves, then we can be quite sure that the Congress will lose all enthusiasm on behalf of the nationalists.

We do hope that our opinion will receive some weight. It need only be said that this is the opinion of a large section of your thinking followers here.

Ever yours lovingly and obediently,
SOME PUNJABI MUSLIMS

56

M. F. Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/37-9

BOMBAY,
25 August 1946

Ameer-i-Millat,

I have had the privilege of meeting and having a longish conversation with you when you were in England in 1932, but I am writing these lines simply as the submission of a Muslim to the father of the people. It is, I realise, presumptuous to address you on political matters, but

if an old Arab woman could interrupt Caliph Omar in his sermon, has not every Indian Muslim an inherent right to put his views before you?

You are the best judge of what action to take on the Viceroy's broadcast, but allow me to offer a few observations. If you decide (theoretically, of course, the Working Committee or the League Council may decide but Muslims have entrusted their destinies to you and not to any committee or council) that after the assurances broadcast by the Viceroy (which the Hindu press will certainly try to minimise), it is in the interest of Muslims to step into the Interim Government, cannot a way be found to deal with the question of a nationalist Muslim? League must insist on the monopoly of Muslim representation—on the basis of the verdict of the Muslim people in the last elections—but is it necessary to object to a nationalist Muslim, and even an innocuous Muslim like Zakir Hussain (who, I know, refused to work on the Sapru Committee, after obtaining your instructions), so long as the nationalist Muslim is admitted to be not a Muslim representative but only a representative of the Congress!

The question of League's entry in[to] the Constituent Assembly is of greater importance than even the Interim Govt. Thanks to your skill and ability in the Delhi negotiations, Muslims have secured much in the long-term plan, which it would be desirable to save. The Viceroy says that the Congress is prepared to abide by the decisions of the Federal Court in the interpretation of long-term proposals. This may be less than fair about the grouping clause, but the universal acceptance of this principle for all differences of interpretation will be a good safeguard against the Congress majority playing with the interpretation of subjects for the Centre etc., etc. Let the Federal Court (Gwyer and not Kania) decide, for example, what is *ultra vires* of the Assam Assembly or the General [*sic*] Constituent Assembly.

Even allowing for the worst, the long-term proposal will enable you to right the wrong done to the Muslim majority provinces in the Communal Award, and give Muslims representation on a population basis in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh and N.W.F.P. This will be a decisive step towards Pakistan. Similarly, with [Dr. B. R.] Ambedkar in C group, you may give separate electorate to untouchables in Bengal and aboriginals in Assam.

With your cool head and wise statesmanship, we are sure you will give the Muslims a correct lead but we hope that, unless it is absolutely unavoidable, you will not lead the Muslims, who though

brave are weak in stamina, to fight on.

[*One page of letter missing*]

Collector at Godhra at the same time, and was officially degraded. Both these statements can be verified by the Viceroy from the Chief Secretary to Bombay Govt. and if the information about Iengar is correct (as I know it, on most reliable authority, to be correct) should he not be replaced, in this key appointment, by a more impartial officer?

For B group, I understand, Govt. of India offered the Secretaryship to S. A. Rahman, I.C.S., acting Judge of High Court, a capable and sound officer. He asked for the pay which he was getting as H.C. Judge (Rs. 4,000). This was refused, and now probably a Hindu will be posted; cannot this be corrected, or cannot Govt. get Aminuddin, I.C.S. (Chief Controller of Exports), a senior and capable civilian, from the Punjab who can be a good match for Iengar.

I understand one of the first questions of procedure, which will be discussed in the preliminary session of the General [*sic*] Constituent Assembly, will be whether the provinces alone or the group should determine the constitutions of the provinces.

Have you heard the rumour that C.H. Bhabha (a Director of Oriental) has been rewarded by Patel, for securing out-of-turn promotion for his son Datyabhai (an employee of Oriental) who has superseded Mehta.

And now let me apologise for the length of this letter, and pray that God may guide you who carry the heaviest burden any Indian Muslim has carried for centuries, wisely. May you bring the wanderer home.

M. F. SHEIKH

57

Ebrahim A. Lakdawala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/293

EXCEL FILE CO.,
1ST HUSNABAD LANE,
SANTA CRUZ,
BOMBAY,
26 August 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I take the liberty to write you that worthy principles of Islam have

been deteriorating [*sic*] by your Direct Action resolution as it has simply excited the illiterate Muslim masses in various parts of India. I do not see any mistake for [*sic*] their ignoring your request to pass the Direct Action Day peacefully as the same was too late to reach their ears. Had it been on the very day of the resolution it would have [had] greater effect. Any man with [a] little common sense would hold you responsible for the Calcutta riots and further denounce the Muslim Government lacking the capacity of able administration. No doubt blind followers of Muslim League find fault with the anti-Leaguers but time is approaching fast when they will find the facts as soon as their conscience is provoked.

You have not only made Congress your enemy but all other parties like Scheduled Castes, Sikhs, etc., etc., and made the foundation of British *raj* stronger and stronger. It is only advisable to stand with one enemy and drive away the strongest one, the Britishers, which I strongly believe is a rule universal. Britishers have kept hold of everything which they have by only this universal rule.

My earnest urge to you is only to join hands with the Congress and for a coalition Government which would prosper [*sic*] Muslims as well as others.

I am indeed very much interested in personal views exchanged and hence I shall be very glad to have your appointment at your convenience when you can spare your time.

With best regards,

Yours truely,
EBRAHIM A. LAKDAWALA

[PS.] Please acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

58

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, Punjab V/81

28 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th August,[1] and there is nothing to prevent you from your fixing together the entire speeches of mine. Of course, as you say, some bits were left out by most of the papers, but it is easy for you to get together those speeches and

complete them. You can get it from the *Dawn*, the *Statesman*, the *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Eastern Times*, and so many other papers.

There is nothing to prevent you from writing small pamphlets, which should be broadcast in England and the U.S.A. I entirely approve of it, and I advise you to get in touch with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and the Committee of Action.

As regards your letter of the 20th August,[2] if Dr. Zia Uddin comes to Bombay, I shall be glad to see him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad Esq.,
4A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh

[1]No. 52.
[2]No. 41.

59

Kuldip Singh Goindi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/41

PREM NAGAR,
SIALKOT CITY,
29 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote you a letter in 1939 for a book on Pakistan, which you kindly sent me free although its price was rupee one. I thank you for that.

Now I request you to inform every Muslim and every Sikh that we Sikhs belong to a separate nation and have nothing to do with Hindus. Muslim Leaguers should have no grudge against us, because we don't want Sikh *raj*. You are fighting against Hindu *raj*. As far as we are concerned, I have talked with thousands of Sikhs on this subject; they have got just the same idea about Hindu *raj* as you have got. We, from the core of our heart, don't want Hindu *raj*. But the difficulty is this that Hindus are broadcasting that the Sikhs are Hindus, which these selfish persons say for their own interest, so that we should fight with [*sic*] Muslims and they should enjoy the fun. This is a very serious question. Why should we fight with Muslims when we actually

love them and they love us. We are ashamed to be called Hindus.

Kindly publish this in your paper, the *Dawn*.

Today is *'Id* day and so I send my heartiest congratulation to you.[1] I remember how Muslims treated us with scents and flowers on our Guru Nanak's birthday in Lahore. That was not a show; rather they were serious about it.

Yours sincerely,
KULDIP SINGH GOINDI
Proprietor,
The Northern Finance Corporation

[1]Jinnah thanked him for his good wishes. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/42. Not printed.

60

H. P. Jehangir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/302-3

185 LAMINGTON ROAD,
BOMBAY,
29 August 1946

Sir,

I humbly place before you my humble *'Id tohfa* [gift] with the sanguine hope that it will prove acceptable to your worthy self.

2. The patent dishonesty of the Viceroy and his bare-faced collusion with the hypocritical Congress makes the blood, not only of Muslims but of all right-thinking men, boil, and calls for scathing condemnation. No other Viceroy has stooped to such low depths as this so-called soldier-statesman has done. It is the prime duty of the Viceroy to hold the balance even between the two major communities; but this sorry specimen of an Englishman seems to have succumbed to the lure of Congress gold and sold his conscience. It may be that with dire threats the Congress has paralysed this man without guts. There is no other hypothesis to explain this mean conduct.

3. I have kept myself abreast of the political affairs of our country and humbly submit my article on this auspicious *'Id* day by touching on certain aspects of this burning question of the day which I have not encountered in any paper. I feel that it can rouse the apathetic conscience of the general public.

[*Para 4 omitted*][1]

5. That the Almighty may crown your indefatigable efforts on behalf of the Muslim nation with success is the earnest prayer on this auspicious day from the heart of—

H. P. JEHANGIR

[1]Contained his complaint about not printing of his letters by *The Star*.

61

Khan Mohammad Yamin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 341/1-3

JUNNUT NISHAN,
MEERUT,
30 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Under your instructions Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has issued a circular letter to all members of the Muslim League party not to attend any committee meetings.

Without going into the question of validity of this letter, I want to follow the instructions contained therein.

As it is issued under your authority as leader of the party, I have to clarify one point from you.

I am a member of Departmental Standing Committee on which the circular letter is clear that as a member of my party I have not to attend those committees.

But on the Committee of a bill (Motor Vehicle Amendment) I am to act as Deputy President and preside, as the Govt. of India's Law Member, whoever he may be, cannot preside, as he will not be entitled to be treated as a member of the Assembly until he takes oath in the Assembly as an official.

The Member-in-charge of War Transport Dept. also cannot be a member of the Committee unless elected by the Assembly.

This bill is of great importance to Muslim operators and as I had to preside, I have got 9th Sept. fixed for it.

Ghulam Bhik, one of the panel of Chairmen, is also a member of this Committee who alone is entitled to take the chair in my absence.

In 1930, when the Congress had boycotted the Assembly, V. J. Patel had continued to act as President. Deputy President, when in the position to act as President or Chairman, should also be free to

do so. The Deputy President receives a salary like a retainer's [*sic* for retaining] fee and my duties as a member should be differentiated from the duties as Deputy President. If you allow me to attend under the circumstances I will do so, otherwise not. I have explained constitutional position. The Committee of Action has not yet decided to boycott the Assembly and under the circumstances my absence from the Committee may be construed as dereliction of duty imposed on a Deputy President.

I am free to act as I like as a member but not as Deputy President for whom duties are laid down in rules.

I shall be obliged if you kindly let me know your instructions by urgent telegram as I have booked my berth to go to Simla on the 6th September.

Yours sincerely,
KHAN MOHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN

62

Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 559/552-3

MORADABAD,
31 August 1946

Govt. of India have asked me to accept membership of Indian delegation to UNO General Assembly with reference to dispute between India and South Africa. General Smuts[1] will represent South Africa. In my view India is practically at war with South Africa and we should all unite to help Indian settlers whom Smuts wants to drive out by making their life hell. If India fails to persuade UNO to intervene, Southern Rhodesia [now Zimbabwe], Northern Rhodesia [now Zambia], and all countries of East Africa will follow Smuts' intolerably racial and discriminatory policy. All Indian political parties are unanimous in fighting discrimination against Indians settled overseas. Muslim League has never been behind Congress in support[ing] their cause. You have also promised full support to South African Indians in their struggle. I am familiar with problem to

be argued before UNO Assembly and I believe I can be helpful in putting their case [across]. Most of successful merchants and industrial[ists] are Muslims with whom white men are generally unable to compete and wish them to leave South Africa. I feel I should accept this offer. Kindly telegraph your opinion[2] Moradabad address.

RAZA ALI

[1]Jan Christiaan Smuts, South African statesman and military leader; Prime Minister, 1939-48.
[2]Jinnah advised him against accepting the membership of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly. See F. 559/554, *QAP*. Not printed.

63

Muslims of Dowlaishwaram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 835/131

DOWLAISHWARAM,
EAST GODAVARY DIST.,
[*Undated*] *August 1946*

Sir,

We, the Muslims, young and old boys of Dowlaishwaram, assembled in the mosque for *Jum'a namaaz* have celebrated the Direct Action Day on Friday the 16th August 1946 in the most befitting manner according to the strict instructive notification circulars of the Presidency Muslim League in a most disciplinary [*sic*] manner so as to show that our nation is a civilised one. We observed a complete *hartal* by keeping away from our usual avocations by closing all the Muslim shops and by not going to the colleges and schools. After the *Jum'a,* we offered special prayers beseeching the Almighty *Allah* to crown us with the necessary strength and spirit of sacrifice in our righteous and just struggle for complete and unbreakable success for the achievement of our inevitable independent state of Pakistan.

At about 10 o' clock in the night, while we were in the mosque for *'isha* and *taravih* after finishing our procession in a glorious and disciplined manner, a group of forty members of Youth Congress came in a procession rounding through the Muslim streets [and] uttered slogans near the mosque such as:

Down [with] the Pakistan scheme, Pakistan *Murdabad,* through the blowing of horns.

They have come purposely to insult and disrespect us and to put the blame on us if we would have interfered with them. We were not at all irrespective [*sic*], irresponsible and indifferent to the instructions of our Quaid-i-Azam. It is a great insult to the Muslims and our spirits were roused, the blood, in our veins, boiled. We paid a deaf ear, strictly abided by the instructions of the Presidency Muslim League to be peaceful and rational and not to be beastly and unprincipled. We not even uttered a single word of insult to the Congress. It implies that they are sowing the seeds of Hindu-Muslim civil war of which its [*sic*] result will be bloodshed in the country. It is not polite and just on the part of the Congress and moreover it is a great shameful and disgraceful deed on the part of the Congress and a blemish to the character of the Congress Working Committee.

We have submitted our grievances for necessary immediate action.

Yours most obediently,
MUSLIMS OF DOWLAISHWARAM

64

Ahmad Ali Afaqi to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (103-B)

DARYA GUNJ,
DELHI,
[*Undated August 1946*]

Respected Sir,

The Musalmans have been very impatiently [a] waiting the outcome of the League and Congress negotiations and they are in suspense. As far as I have gathered from the newspapers, it is painful to write that League is going to accept some very humiliating terms. I am not in a position to say definitely that my presumption is right, but if it is so it will not only lower the prestige of the League but there is every likelihood of disruption and disintegration among the Musalmans who are groaning under the heels of the Congress.

To be brief, I want to impress on you that two points are very important; first the inclusion of nationalist Muslims, second the most important is the grouping of the provinces. As regards the question

of the nationalist Muslims is concerned [*sic*], it has become one of the fundamental principles. League has all along been fighting for sole representative character and the breakdown of the Simla negotiations was due to this very factor. When the League has taken this bold stand that it will not allow any nationalist Muslim to be nominated by the Congress, it must stick to its position—may it be an unjust stand. Because often very trifling matters become vital issues for the sake of prestige and honour and if you will go through the pages of history you will find a number of examples such as Jenkin's War[1] in the days of Walpole.[2] Therefore, at this juncture any tactical retreat will lower the prestige of the great organization. Even this tactical retreat can be tolerated if there is substantial gain and also some face-saving device. You are surely going to face a very difficult situation in the Constituent Assembly in the event the League going to accept the plan [*sic*].

As far as I have studied the present complicated political situation I can say it without the least fear of contradiction that there is no let-out from this lurch and sooner or later we will have to launch the Direct Action. To postpone it at this critical stage, when the feeling and sentiments of the Musalmans have been roused to such a high level, will be the greatest blunder on your part. In this connection I want to impress on you that the consequences of the League's Direct Action will be reacted [to] in the British Parliament as well as throughout the world. The British Government cannot tolerate disturbances as well as suppression of Musalmans and a change of policy is bound to take place in their own interest. The Viceroy has intentionally ignored the League only to discredit the Congress on a very minor plea such as safeguard of minority, etc.

At the end, I most humbly request you, Sir, to stop further negotiations and launch Direct Action, to save the honour and prestige of the nation.

Yours obediently,
AHMAD ALI AFAQI

[1]It is known as the War of Jenkin's Ear. One of the ears of Robert Jenkin, Captain of the British vessel *Rebecca*, was cut off by the Spanish Coastguard in 1731, after pillaging the vessel. The incident, *inter alia*, led to the declaration of war by Britain against Spain in 1739. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 12, 1967, 998.
[2]Robert Walpole, British Prime Minister, 1715-1717 and 1721-42.

65

J. B. Ferozuddin and Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 559/558

CALCUTTA,
1 September 1946

Today Fazlul Huq responding your *'Id* appeal for unity unconditionally joined Muslim League and gave written statement pledging wholehearted loyalty devotion support to League. All Muslim merchants, gentry, masses pray kindly lift ban on Fazlul Huq and save Muslim Bengal. For heaven sake don't disappoint Muslims. Fazlul Huq signed pledge with Premier Suhrawardy.

J. B. FEROZUDDIN AND OTHERS

66

A. Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/70

WADHUMAL UDHARAM ROAD,
KARACHI,
1 September 1946

Respected Sir,

The *Sind Times,* the only Muslim English journal now in Sind, was started by me in December 1945, when Rashdi's *Muslim Voice* was carrying on a scurrilous campaign against the All India Muslim League. The *Sind Times* has served so well the Muslim League cause in Sind and it has been well recognised by all shades of opinion. It has regularly been sent to you, and I believe its services must have been appreciated by you too.

You, as I am inclined to believe, know I am one among those who have pinned their unshakable faith in [*sic* for on] you and made the Muslim League a life-business. And the *Sind Times* with its services is unalienably [*sic*] linked to the Muslim League. The *Sind Times* has now gathered a good deal of momentum and made itself an effective voice. Now I want to convert it into a full-fledged daily. All arrangements have been made and preparations are complete. But I earnestly wish its inauguration be performed, and the occasion

graced, by you.

I have consulted various political bigwigs here, the Premier and other Ministers; they will all be too pleased, as your presence will renew the enthusiasm of the young, revitalise the League branches and spur them into [*sic* for on to] action. This occasion will further dispel the mutual differences among certain Muslim Leaguers and cement them all into a solid block.

I am fully conscious of the pressing and urgent calls on your precious time; but my hope rests on this: the cause of Muslim press is so dear to you.

We wish to start the daily as early as possible, say by 15th September, 1946. A word in reply shall be eagerly awaited by us all.[1]

Let us hope you would snatch some moments from your busy diary and grace the occasion.

Your most sincere loyalist,
AZIZ

[1]See No. 86.

67

Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, Punjab IV/37

SRIKOT, KATRAIN,
KULU VALLEY,
1 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah

In your *'Id* message you said, "Let there be no fratricidal war among Muslims." Don't we all wish that? And in the same issue I read the names of the newly nominated Council [Committee] of Action by you. I read those names and drew the conclusion that you prefer any one of those men to Firoz. That means you must be sure that advice on this Committee is less valuable than those of the men of your choice. Or is it because he happens to be not as old a member of the League as the others? You yourself said that every Leaguer is equal in your estimation as long as he is a member of the party. Any way, length of membership of the party is no criterion to [*sic* for of] the man's honesty, courage or spirit of sacrifice. All that [*sic*] are relative terms. To be a member without losing a big job or an important position, the possibility of other jobs were the loss of titles

and honours [*sic*], is easy.

Whatever the argument, you yourself condemned cliquish alliances and groupings. The other day when I touched that subject at your house in Bombay, but [*sic*] you still seem[ed] to show favouritism to certain groups in the Punjab. Please, Mr. Jinnah, doubt creates bitterness and may cause a serious split. People are not frank with you, some out of respect or fear and some out of mischievousness. My frankness may be undiplomatic but I don't ever intend to be diplomatic with you. And I tell you the reason why; because I really admire and love you. Not because of your position as leader of the Musalmans of India, no; if you had been of any other nationality or faith, you still would have been leader of those people because you are a born leader. This is what makes you a born leader. I admire in [*sic*] you and love your analytical mind, your courage and endurance, your honesty and integrity of purpose. I wish sometimes I were your daughter and were allowed to speak to you like one.

I know you suspect me of ambition; you are right but not the kind you think. I am guilty of this not for Firoz. I am ambitious for the Muslims of India. My feeling about Firoz in that connection is limited only to the fact that I am sorry that you don't make use of a man like him. He is not an irresponsible youngster nor too old to be really active; he is trained in organizational work; besides, he has known more about the outcome of recent political developments than any one of your advisers. He as well knows the foreign reaction to any action of Musalmans in India better just because he has experience of having worked abroad, and still you do not avail yourself of his services. He has [been] and goes on working on his own. If you think that it is best, let us leave it at that; only don't prefer stooges who have glib tongues and know how to flatter and formulate clever sentences.

Please forgive me if I wrote anything that meets with your disapproval. I think a lot about you up here because I wish you were here as well for a much-needed rest. Wishing it so much I wrote yesterday that disillusioning letter out of sheer fright that you still blame us for having been instrumental of [*sic*] your buying property here because we want you so much to be near us. But I know you would love it up here.

You have been so wrapped up in politics and worried about the fate of millions that you have forgotten personal feelings and relationships. Please don't. Politics are personal feelings and relationships as well. They are not just between one human and another but between a pulsating full-blooded mass of humans

towards one—their leader. It is not files and statements and resolutions but the heart, blood and all the varied emotions and feelings of millions of people towards their leader that make a party live and give it impetus to gain strength. And I am one of those followers with all those emotions and feelings, and accepting you as my leader. You must know that I feel and think in matters of the party, otherwise I cease to be your follower. All should tell you exactly how they feel. Honesty is the first and the strongest bond between a leader and a follower; that is why I write to you and that is only to know that you don't mind the vein in which I wrote.

Always yours,
V[ICKY] N[OON]

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 85.

68

Ali Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/313-4

BARH,
DISTRICT PATNA,
1 September 1946

My revered President,

As there is much controversy here on the Bombay Resolution[1] of the Council of All India Muslim League regarding the renunciation of titles and decorations, I beg to request you to kindly give a press statement or give me a reply, for which act of your kindness I shall ever be thankful and obliged to you. Matter of enquiry is as follows:

i. That the Secretary, Barh sub-divisional Muslim League has got two *sanads* and one wrist watch from the British Govt., one for recruiting and one in connection with National Saving Certificate.
ii. That one *Khan Bahadur* and one *Khan Sahib* have proclaimed intention to renounce their titles on condition when [*sic* for that] the Secretary renounces his *sanad*.

Now I want to ask you whether the Secretary is bound to renounce his *sanads* or not by the Bombay Resolution. If not, what should he do or what is proper for him. Should he resign his *sanads* or not when those two title-holders are ready to renounce their titles on the

conditions mentioned above? Now I write with the hope of an early reply,[2] as the situation is worsening here due to the above facts.

I remain, Sir,

Yours etc.,
ALI AHMAD

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 497-8.
[2]See No. 77.

69

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/26

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
2 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of August 23rd.[1]

According to your suggestion, I have written to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Iftikhar Hussain, and offered them the help of the great *sanyasi*[2] of south India who would be the fittest person to expose the combination of British-cum-Hindu imperialism which has now been imposed over the heads of Muslims who have been cleverly bypassed by both. Your statement[3] in the yesterday's press is just the correct analysis of the Indian situation. I do hope that both of them will think fit to accept this vital help at this critical juncture. What the Muslim nation needs at this time is a flood of publicity, the necessity of which I have been emphasizing for the last six months. Hindus do things with greater rapidity than the Muslims who have been sleeping all these years and if it had not been for your timely help, the whole nation would have been wiped out according to caste-Hindu plans. For, Mahatma Gandhi has again and again said in his speeches at various times that the majority of Muslims and Christians come from the low-caste Hindus and should revert to the old fold. The desire for capturing the Central Govt. of the land and to work for a united India is also a part of the plan to slowly and steadily work for the conversion of Muslims and Christians back to the Hindu fold which is being [*word illegible*] itself of extinction.

Since there is no hope at present to bring [*sic*] caste-Hindus and

the British imperialists to a reasonable frame of mind, the best [bet would be] to seek Russian help as has been suggested in the cutting.[4] I am for the Muslim case to be taken to the U.N.O., and as Arabs sought Soviet [help] the Muslims of India should do likewise. In my opinion it is extremely imperative to send a Muslim delegation immediately to England and America, not only for propaganda purposes but to explain the [Muslim] case to the British and American public [who] has already been won over by the caste-Hindu propaganda in both the countries. A friend of mine wrote to me from America that Congress is doing propaganda that caste system does not exist in India any [more]. But after reading Swamiji's letter he wrote back saying that his view is the correct one and should be made there [*sic*] so, I sent him a big parcel of Swamiji's books against the caste-Hindus and their imperialist ways. This should be done on a much bigger scale. If Begum Shah Nawaz could be spared at this time, she along with this Swami should be sent at once to England and America.

Sir Sultan Ahmad's efforts to open negotiations again are laudable. But the Hindus again condemn it, for they are too happy over the possession of single party rule. I do hope he will succeed in convincing the Viceroy of the wrongs that have been done to the Muslim nation.

You have asked the nationalist Muslims to unite for a common front. For this you will have to make personal efforts.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan once said to me whether any Muslim League leader has asked me to discuss anything with him. So if you invite him personally to have a heart-to-heart talk, I am sure something will come of it. For I know he said that the Pathans could rather go with Afghanistan than with the Punjabis with whom they have nothing in common. So, please do try to contact him now while you are in Delhi. He is sure to come there. Then Allama Mashriqi has always longed to see you. I have had contacts with his followers and they all complain that their leader has always wished to see you, but has never been given an opportunity. He has quite a lot of following which you will need if the fight for freedom has to be carried on. Every Muslim organisation should be merged in the League now and only you can do that by contacting various mushroom leaders. You can send them telegraphic invitations. The whole Muslim world is looking up to you as also the minorities. You will be their saviour in the long run. Therefore, please do resort to every diplomatic move that may bring about solidarity in the Muslim nation. If diplomacy could bring about your desires, no direct action could be needed. Before resorting to that every diplomatic move should be found. No

time should be lost. Whatever has to be done should be done in haste. Otherwise with Central Govt. in their hands the Caste-Hindus will begin to legislate laws inimical to the integrity of Muslims and minorities, and frustration will follow in the ranks of Muslims who are now ready to take orders. I have already sent a cutting to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in which the hand of caste-Hindu rule became evident within two days of the assumption of power. The *Gow Raksha* [Cow protection] *Mandals* [Groups] are raising their heads under the patronage of Rajan Babu [Rajendra Prasad], the Food and Agriculture Member-in-charge. These are dangerous signs.

Please guard your life from enemies' sinister moves. The I.N.A. may be used against you. Your life is precious to those who look upon you for guidance.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]No. 50.
[2]Swami Dharam Theerath.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 249-53.
[4]Not traceable.

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President, Indian Muslims' Meeting to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/131

ADEN,
2 September 1946

Indian Muslims in Aden in a mass meeting unequivocally declared their unswerving faith in leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and reiterated their resolve to stand by the Muslim League and wholeheartedly approved League's resolution of non-participation in the present Interim Government.

PRESIDENT, INDIAN MUSLIMS' MEETING

71

Secretary, Muslim Institute to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/61

ROODEPOORT,
JOHANNESBURG,
2 September 1946

Muslims of Roodepoort condemn the action of the Viceroy and the British Government in handing the reins of Government in India to a fascist caste-Hindu organisation, undermining the fundamental rights of Musalmans and breaking the solemn pledge given to the Muslim League. We wholeheartedly support the Muslim League in the stand they have taken and we have complete faith in the leadership of our Quaid-i-Azam. Muslim India will not rest until the goal of Pakistan is achieved.

SECRETARY, MUSLIM INSTITUTE

72

A. Krishnaswami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/43

2/11 MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
3 September 1946

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith a cutting[1] from the *Free Press Journal* which appeared on the *'Id* day. I am bringing this to your notice as I feel that you should take cognisance of that. Some weeks ago the Congress papers raised a storm over the *Dawn* having published a relatively inoffensive cartoon, namely that of punching Mr. Nehru and Lord Wavell in the face. They clamoured for action and they wanted restrictions to be placed on the paper but here is a cartoon which incites people to assassinate and suggests that assassins have your approval. Just because it is a Congress paper it seems to enjoy unlimited liberty. We have published in the *Liberator* of yesterday a challenge to the *Free Press Journal* and the Government, which I am enclosing[2] with this cartoon. I am sending you a copy of the editorial[3]

that appeared in yesterday's paper.

With best regards and good wishes,[4]

Yours sincerely,
A. KRISHNASWAMI

[1]See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/44. Not printed.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/45. Not printed.
[4]Jinnah appreciated his stand for fair play adding that the matter of offensive cartoon was receiving his attention. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/46. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 72

AN OUTRAGEOUS CARTOON

SHC, Non-Muslims II/44

Our attention has been drawn to a cartoon published in the *Free Press Journal* at Bombay on Thursday, August 29, 1946 under the heading "Sweet dreams on '*Id* day". The *Free Press Journal* is an organ of the Congress persuasion and is considered a 'leading nationalist journal' among the coterie of 'nationalist journals'. The cartoon offends all canons of journalistic ethics, is vulgar, provocative and intended to stir up racial hatred and encourage violence. We ask what action the Congress Government in Bombay and the Interim Government now installed in power, propose to take to prevent such vilifying cartoons from being published? We await the decisions of the respective Governments, now that their attention has been pointedly drawn by us.

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/263-6

8 HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
3 September 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much better now, though I have still to be in bed for the greater part of the day. The progress has been slower than expected. I hope you have been keeping well.

I suggest we send Altaf Husain to England immediately for about a month or six weeks. To send any official delegation would, to my mind, not be the right thing to do. He can go ostensibly in connection with *Dawn's* work, and while he is there he can organise a campaign of our propaganda [and] can have some pamphlets prepared, printed and distributed, putting [across] the Muslim League case. Letters and contributed articles can also be arranged to be published in some of the newspapers. Our case is not known and, to my mind, it is absolutely necessary that our case be put across before the Parliament re-assembles on the 8th of October. Yusuf Haroon is going to England on the 10th of September and I propose that he should go to England on the same day. Yusuf's presence there will be instrumental in providing certain facilities to Altaf Husain. It would cost us about five thousand rupees or so. As Yusuf will be in England, I hope you will agree with this proposal of mine.

To me it seems absolutely necessary. Altaf Husain will be able to organise the Muslim League in England which I must say has been doing good work. If you agree with this proposal,[1] please tell Yusuf 'yes.' He will telephone to me and then I shall send Altaf Husain to Bombay for a few hours to take directions from you. The time is short and immediate steps are to be taken.

I have called a meeting of the Committee of Action on the 8th and have invited Presidents and Secretaries of Provincial Leagues to meet the Committee. We are likely to be in session for about a week after which it may be necessary to meet you and discuss certain matters.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See No. 78.

74

Ihsanullah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/132

ADEN,
4 September 1946

We Muslim Arabs in a huge congregation held in Aden presided by religious *'ulama,* leaders and notables expressed our support to

Muslim cause in India and stand by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his demands

KHAN BAHADUR IHSANULLAH

75

Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana to K. H. Khurshid

F. 257/12

MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 September 1946

Dear Sir,

I shall be grateful if you would please place the enclosed resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League before the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours truly,
MUMTAZ MOHAMMAD DAULTANA
General Secretary,
Punjab Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 75

F. 257/13

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League on the 2nd of September 1946, under the presidentship of Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League places on record its contempt for the unholy compact between British imperialism and Congress Hindu capitalism which has resulted in the formation of the so-called Interim Government, and voices the emphatic determination of the Muslim people of the Punjab not to recognise this Government in any way or to consider its decisions and mandates as having any validity or sanction whatsoever for them.

The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League conveys to the Quaid-i-Azam and the All India Muslim League Committee of Action, the complete readiness and eagerness of the Muslims of the Punjab to bear all the consequences of the repudiation

of the civil authority of this contemptible Government, and request them to form a programme of direct action as is based on a full acceptance of the implications of such a repudiation.

76

Durga Dass Chopra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 177/17-19

RAHON,
JULLANDUR DIST.,
4 September 1946

Respected leader of India,

With due respects I venture to address this letter to you and for this intrusion upon your most valuable time I humbly request you to kindly excuse me.

It was in [the] 1919 movement that I, although then a mere college student in Lahore, took a leading part in [the] agitation against the Rowlatt Act. It was a pleasant scene at that time to observe unity [which] then existed between the two big nations—Hindus and Muslims in India. The rulers were really much afraid of that unity. But the Hindu leader, Mr. Gandhi, spoke and wrote in a way that poisoned that unity and he, gradually by his acts, speeches and writings brought India to the present plight of disunion and selfishness and mistrust everywhere, coupled with much noise for unity. When I ponder over the political atmosphere of today and compare it with that of 1919, I cannot help the conclusion that Congress, under the influence of Mr. Gandhi, has gone to a degradation itself and has brought India to the present sad state of dissatisfaction, disunion and active hostility against one another. I many times wrote to the key personalities of the Congress and frankly confronted them with their own sayings and writings that point to only one conclusion that the responsibility for all this lies on the shoulders of themselves [*sic*]. It was in August 1942 that Mr. Azad as well as Mr. Gandhi spoke from the Congress platform that let the Muslim League be handed over the governance of the country and that the Congress shall have no objection at all provided the British quit India. If they were sincere in their words, why so much agitation and opposition against the establishment of Interim Govt. by the League only, 4 months back.[1]

It is a sad affair that the so-called key personalities of the Congress never pay heed to poor man's letters and their secretaries reply evasively. While I can say from my experience that the League personalties are far more cordial and mannerly and have got the courtesy of paying heed to poor man's letters and views.

I again humbly request you to kindly excuse me for this intrusion.

Your most humble servant,
DURGA DASS CHOPRA

[1]Two subsequent paras relating to his personal woes and seeking Jinnah's patronage, omitted.

77

M. A. Jinnah to Ali Ahmad

F. 884/327

5 September 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the first September.[1] The Bombay Resolution[2] is quite clear with regard to the renouncement of titles and I cannot draw on dealing [*sic*] with various matters. I think it is really for your Provincial League to deal with the matter.

I cannot really appreciate the spirit that one *Khan Bahadur* and one *Khan Sahib* are willing to renounce their titles if somebody else does something. The letter and the spirit of the Resolution is that the Muslim League has appealed to every Muslim not to have any title or distinction conferred on him by the alien Government as a protest against the policy adopted by the Viceroy and the British Government. I cannot say more.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 68.
[2]See ibid., note 1.

78

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 773/50

BOMBAY,
5 September 1946

My dear Liaquat,

I have received your letter of the 3rd[1] delivered to me by Yusuf Haroon, and I am glad that you are much better now and I do sincerely hope and pray that you will soon be all right.

Your suggestion about Altaf Hussain is a good one and accordingly, as desired by you in your letter, I told Yusuf to phone you up and carry it out. I should be very glad to see Altaf Hussain and have a talk with him if he can conveniently come here as, for the present, I am staying on in Bombay.

Please take care of yourself.

With very kind regards to both of you and love to children from us,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 73.

79

Sh. Mohammad Salim Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/4

HAVELI SHEIKHAN,
SABZI MANDI,
PATIALA,
6 September 1946

Respected and holy Quaid-i-Azam,

I am and always have been a devout admirer of you[rs]. It will not be an exaggeration if I may say that there is none in [*sic*] Muslims today who can stand on [a] par with you as regards the selfless services and sacrifices for the nation's cause. We, the Muslims, fully know the difficulties in your way. Hindus regard you as a criminal and I am ashamed to admit that there are even, some Muslims who,

for the sake of [a] few chips or for [a] few sentences of praise by Hindu press, are even selling their nation's good and well-being by opposing the League at this critical juncture in the history of Indian Muslims. Realising this thing, I sacrificed [a] few valuable months of studies of my B.Sc. (final). I am a student of the Muslim University Aligarh and I worked for the League in the central as well as provincial elections in the Punjab and U.P. I came to know by personal experience that the Muslim League is the only organisation of the Muslims. But it cannot be denied that there are some of our brethren in enemy camp. As long as they remain there, our task of getting Pakistan is doubly difficult. So the standing need of the *millat* at this moment is to get these *millat*-sellers back amongst us. I fully appreciate the speech that you made at Bombay [a] few days back inviting all Muslims outside the League to come in [to] its fold. I hope that every Muslim who has got even an iota of *eiman* in him will avail [himself of] this chance. Mr. Fazlul Huq's decision to join the League is welcome. At this moment we should not go back upon [*sic*] bygone days but we should take Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League though we may have to give them some concessions. It is no time to think about personal or caste differences. It is a question of life and death for Muslims. If they win in getting Pakistan then Islam in India is saved from disaster. If they lose then the happenings of Spain are before us. Were not Muslims in crores there but what the Christians did with them? At the time of surrender, Muslims got very fine terms but after fifty year[s] there was not a single Muslim left there. They were made to become Christians on [*sic* for at] the point of a sword and [*sic* for or a] pistol [*sic*] and those who refused were slaughtered and burnt mercilessly.

So I will request you to create a hundred per cent unity amongst Muslims at every cost. If the League is to admit some demands against its set decisions then even the unity of the *millat* at the moment is worthwhile having.

These are only my humble suggestions. You are the maker of the Muslims what they are now and you only can guide them rightly.

In [the] morning news of All India Radio, I heard that Maulana Tahir of the Punjab Jami'atul 'Ulama has requested you to hold an all-party conference of Muslims. In my humble opinion the idea is not bad. In that conference you can exhort them to join the League by sacrificing their personal interests for the sake of the *millat*. I think that every Muslim who has got even a trace of regard for Islam will not be able to stand outside the League and let the history of Spain repeat itself in India.

I may mention in the end that I am here on summer vacations and am trying to strengthen the League here. Though the majority here is of the Hindus, but [*sic*] the League is still very strong. Direct Action Day was very impressively observed here and on Sept. the 3rd, black flags were hoisted on every Muslim shop and house to show Muslim disapproval of the Hindu Government, with [a] few quisling Muslims at the Centre.

Your devoted servant,
MOHAMMAD SALIM AHMAD

80

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/423

SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE,
KARACHI,
7 September 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is my humble suggestion that a representative of the All India Muslim League may be deputed to represent the Muslim League viewpoint on the occasion of the impending *Hajj* ceremony at Mecca. In this connection either Moulana Shabbir Ahmed or any other *'alim* of his calibre may be selected.

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal

81

Farah Omar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 558/399

ADEN,
7 September 1946

We being 300,000 Somali Muslims under British protection pray for your energetic service for Islam. Blessings of *Allah* be with you.

HAJI FARAH OMAR
A Somali leader

82

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/27

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this to tell you that there is again a split in the Akali Party. Six members of the Panthic Party are planning to join the Congress party and so the remaining 16 members, led by Giani Kartar Singh, have again thought of opening negotiations with the League. The editorial of the *Ajit* paper [*sic*] of 6th September reveals this new hopeful move. This opportunity would [*sic*] be caught by the forelock and immediate negotiations should be reopened by the League with those members who have also complained that, although you have asked the Sikhs in general to negotiate, you have not given a direct invitation to any of Giani Kartar Singh's Party. I think this is a golden opportunity to win over the Sikhs to fight their battles and so have [*sic*] always been anxious to keep the gulf between Muslims and Sikhs yawning all the time. But without Sikh-Muslim unity, there cannot be peace in the key province of Pakistan. This is a very critical time for the Muslims who have been outmanoeuvered by the British and caste-Hindu *banias*. You should outmanoeuvre both of them now by making peace with the Sikhs at any cost. If Churchill could come to terms with the Communist Russia, his inveterate foe, why should not the Muslims follow the same policy for the sake of saving the Muslim nation and a blood-bath of everybody. The Prophet of Islam [PBUH] also made friends with *Hazrat* Omar who came to kill him[1] by embarrassing [*sic*] him and the latter then completed the work of Islam that the Prophet [PBUH] intended to do himself. No prestige should stand in the way of opening a way for peace and negotiation. I know you have gone to the farthest limits in giving concessions to the caste-Hindus and in trying to appease them in various ways; but any further opportunity that could avoid bloodshed should be grasped and given a trial.

The Hindus now feel as if power has been transferred to them with a few quislings at their side. It has been the meanest conspiracy ever perpetuated [*sic*] by any nation. But a way out of it has to be found and a right royal battle to be fought, be it a diplomatic war or any other. The former is [the] better to adopt. I was very pleased to

read of Sardar Shaukat Hyat's tour in the Punjab to make the Muslims industrial-minded. Schemes of this kind can only save the Muslims from Hindu clutches. Then Abdoola Haroon's plan to bring a printing plant from England is another brick to lay the foundations of a powerful Pakistan. But the most powerful foundation of a nation can only be laid on the uplift of its women and girls. No nation can rise half slave and half free. If women are kept backward and ignorant, men will never be able to go ahead alone. Muslim girls and women are the most backward out [*sic*] of all the communities and therefore if the Muslim nation has to rise and stand shoulder to shoulder with other nations its first duty will be to open [up] ways for the Muslim girls. Uptil now the Muslims can claim only one private school, Madrasatul Banat in Jullundur, while Hindus have [such schools] in hundreds all over the province. I hope you will give your first attention to this side of planning.

The Punjab press is going on making mischief all around. I write [*sic*] to my son-in-law, Mohammad Yunus, who is Secretary to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that now all Muslims should come to terms and Badshah Khan should meet you and settle things amicably and peacefully, for after all Frontier comes in the B Group. My daughter wrote back that the Pathans are getting annoyed at the fact that the Punjab will thrust Urdu language on the Pathans.

Now the Hindu Press is spreading all sort[s] of lies about the Muslim League. I think if, after the settlement is made in Delhi, [you] could make a general statement about the different groups and minorities' safety etc., much of the mischief could be allayed. Uptil now it is only one party talking and that party is only talking [out] of fear, but if you make a general statement, everybody concerned, I think, most of the doubts would subside [*sic*].

[*Para illegible*]

I do hope God will give sense to the Congress people to come to terms with the Muslims now.

Wishing you good health and good luck all-around,

Sincerely yours,

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Before his conversion to Islam, Omar was a heathen bitterly hostile to Islam. He was told, while on his way to kill the Prophet, by someone that his sister and brother-in-law had already embraced Islam. Enraged, he made for his sister's house where he heard her recite verses from the holy *Qur'an*. He furiously beat up his sister but she refused to renounce her new faith. Omar then asked her to recite Qura'nic verses for him, which she did. Tears welled up in Omar's eyes and rolled down his cheeks, and he left at once for the place where the holy Prophet[PBUH] was closeted with some of his companions and embraced Islam there and then. See M. Tayyib Bakhsh Budayuni, *Sirat-un-Nabi* (English translation), Vol. I, Lahore, 1979, 198-200.

83

Muslim Welfare Society, South Africa to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/62

84 PRINCELOO STREET,
PRETORIA,
SOUTH AFRICA,
7 September 1946

We, Muslims of South Africa, heartily congratulate and support you and the League for the firm stand you have taken in upholding the prestige and honour of the Musalmans of India at this critical stage of our existence. In this uphill battle for recognition we shall never be despondent.

With courage and fortitude, *Insha Allah* we shall triumph. Clouds may seem dark and desolate for the moment but there is always [a] silver lining. Islam rejuvenates [itself] after every Karbala. It will rise again with the same alacrity as it is suppressed [with]. Remember the golden deeds of the deathless ones and the blood of its martyred sons. The British had its [their] Dunkirk[1] at the hands of the Nazis and while the booms are still echoing attempts are made to obliterate us jointly by the British and Hindus but we shall go on to the end. We shall fight with growing confidence and strength. We shall defend Islam and achieve Pakistan whatever the cost may be. We shall fight in villages, in cities, in provinces, all over India. [We] shall blaze our trails, we shall never surrender. Armed and guarded by the wisdom and sagacity of the leadership of yourself and your councillors, we shall carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, our triumph with its power and might steps forth to our rescue and liberation. A deadlier and more stunning stab in the back could not have been meted out to us than now by the British whom we mistook for friends and on whose altar our kith and kin not so long ago shed their blood and sacrificed their lives and now when victory is achieved their successors are cast to winds and their sacred memories besmirched. As to the few quislings and traitors, they are nothing but mere tattered lackeys frisking at the heels of their Hindu rulers who will soon realise the folly of their treason. So hold your head high beloved Quaid and march on with a fluttering banner, for you are no ordinary person. Your name made history in the world. Your golden words will rank high when the historians will pass judgment on the achievements of the Muslim League. Direct Action indeed we confirm. Our motto should

be: through suffering we shall succeed. We entreat every Muslim of India to unite and enlist under the banner of Muslim League. May the Almighty give you and your colleagues long life and strength to prolong the struggle until success is achieved. *Aameen*

MUSLIM WELFARE SOCIETY OF SOUTH AFRICA

[1]A port in Northern France from where British forces (more than 300,000 men) were evacuated to Britain in May-June 1940 after they had been forced by the German advance to retreat to the French coast. Dunkirk symbolizes the spirit of defiant resistance and refusal to surrender or give up in the face of formidable difficulties.

84

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/101

ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
9 September 1946

My dear Jinnah,

I have read your appeal to the Khaksars on *'Id* day[1] to join the Muslim League at this critical moment. I have also received a few appeals from other Muslim Leaguers.

I know Govt. well enough and to tell you the truth I am convinced that, consciously or unconsciously, you and the Musalmans are being used by the Britishers against the independence of India. I also do not believe in the satisfaction that Mr. Gandhi or the Congress feels at their entry into the Interim Govt.

If, therefore, you can convince me by your writing to me that you mean to achieve Pakistan as a part and parcel of the independence of the whole of India and will work with Mr. Gandhi on this clear basis against the British plans, I shall throw the whole force of the Khaksar organisation with you and we shall die in thousands. I also believe that the Hindus as well as the Congress will concede Pakistan if you clearly agree to wrest India from the British hands. I shall in that case work willingly with you to the last ditch.

In case you do not agree to work on this clear condition please stop bad-naming the Khaksars by these false appeals any more as we

have resolved to work out our destiny alone. I shall await your reply with interest.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 247-9.

85

M. A. Jinnah to Viqarun-Nisa Noon

SHC, Punjab IV/38

10 September 1946

Dear Mrs. Noon,

I am in receipt of your two letters dated the 31st August[1] and 1st September 1946,[2] one with regard to the property and the other with regard to the political matter, and I thank you for all that you have said and brought to my notice.

Of course, you will appreciate my difficulties in not dealing with the various matters that you have brought to my notice by means of correspondence, nor do you expect me to do so, but I am looking forward to meet you very soon, when I may be able to discuss all the points that you have brought to my notice.

As regards the property, I have not heard anything from Noon yet, and I am waiting for it. I hope he is going ahead with the matter, as arranged in Bombay before he left.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. Firoz Khan Noon,
Srikot, Katrain,
Kulu Valley,
Punjab

[1]*SHC*, Punjab IV/36. Not printed.
[2]No. 67.

86

M. A. Jinnah to A. Aziz

SHC, Sind, VII/71

11 September 1946

Dear Mr. Aziz,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of September[1] and I am very glad that you realise the pressing and urgent need of starting an English daily in Karachi. Please go ahead with it without any delay and I wish your venture every success and prosperity.

As regards my coming to Karachi for the purpose of the inauguration, it is not possible for me at present to do so. I would, therefore, advise you to go ahead and your venture would carry all my good wishes.

I may tell you that I have been reading the *Sind Times* weekly with interest, and I shall certainly continue to do the same with regard to the full-fledged daily.

Hoping that it will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League and the interest of the Muslim India and the establishment of our cherished goal—Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. Aziz,
Advocate,
Wadhumal Udharam Road,
Karachi

[1]No. 66.

87

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/37 & 65-6

GUL-I-RAANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
12 September 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you ever so much for your kind inquiry after my health. I am very

much better now though the complaint has not yet disappeared altogether. I am taking as much care as is possible to do under the circumstances.

The Committee of Action started its work on Sunday last. We have been meeting every day for about six hours. We have so far [had] discussions with Presidents and Secretaries of Provincial Muslim League, with *salars* of National Guards from all provinces, and with the Central Parliamentary Board. It is felt by all the members of the Committee that a discussion with you immediately is absolutely necessary.[1] The Committee is likely to continue for another three or four days. It is a big problem, as you yourself must be realising, and if the Committee continued its work till your arrival, you could then meet the whole Committee and discuss the matter with it. It is to my mind advisable if the whole Committee could meet you. Apart from other things I think if you were in Delhi now for future discussions it will [*sic* for would] be more central and convenient for people to take your advice from time to time. Mamdot is going to Bombay for a particular purpose. He will tell you about it and seek your guidance. I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping well.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]A discussion was held on 28 September. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 301.

88

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/28

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am so glad that you have given another opportunity to the Caste-Hindus and the British Government to make an honourable settlement with the Muslim nation by accepting the Viceroy's invitation to you and discuss the political situation once again and perhaps for the last time. I do hope that those in power will realize once for all that Muslims mean business this time. The enemies of the League go about saying that the Muslims are incapable of doing anything. But

in spite of this malicious propaganda, they are taking every precaution to guard themselves and I think they are trembling in their shoes as well. I do hope and pray that some honourable settlement will be brought about if saner counsels prevail on the other side.

Last night it was announced on the radio that you are sending a deputation to England to place the League case before the members of Parliament. This is a very good step indeed. For, our friends in England tell us that only [the] Congress view has been strongly presented and nobody knows much about the Muslim League.

I hope you will include a woman in the deputation. I suggested to you and also to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that a Hindu, who has understood the Congress game thoroughly, should also be sent along. Just as the Congress people include a few non-Caste-Hindus and quislings in their camp to show to the world that they represent everybody, you should also now try the same weapon to show that not only Muslims fear Caste-Hindu domination, but there are also millions in their own fold who fear and detest them and don't want a Caste-[Hindu] Govt. over their heads. You should also have a few minority members too [*sic*] sympathizing with your cause. There are many everywhere who are waiting to be won over by the Muslims. This point should not be neglected. The Congress is roping in everybody by choosing their henchmen from every province. The real leaders have been left out altogether. The Indian Christian Association, an all-India body of Christians, sent several telegrams to Pandit Nehru asking him to take men for the Constituent Assembly nominated by the representative body of Christians, but Pandit Nehru took no notice with the result that north-Indian Christians are non-plussed and don't know where to go. If the League makes an effort to win them over it will strengthen their cause and refute the Congress argument that the League is only a communal body. Now it is the question of two camps in the country, the Hindu and the Muslim. Therefore, I consider it diplomacy to win non-Muslims over to your side. The cutting I am enclosing[1] shows that there are millions of Hindus who also would claim you as the[ir] leader if only you showed a little encouragement to them. You are going to prove a saviour not only to the Muslims but also to those who want to flee from Caste-Hindu domination which will surely come if you slacken your efforts. All other minorities will sing praise[s] to your name fifty years hence when the result of your efforts become[s] evident. Therefore, please do enlarge your horizon now and take those into your fold who are willing to proclaim to the world that they prefer Muslim rule to Hindu rule.

I am also sending you another cutting[2] which shows quite another picture of Calcutta riots for which the League has been blamed by the Congress. I don't know whether you have read it or not. It also shows what the Congress Ministry is doing in Bombay to the labourers there. Non-violence stunt has been thrown to the winds now. It was only a means to an end. Although Mahatma Gandhi is again and again shouting against violence, he, who is the sole dictator in other things, is not heeded in matters so vital as the raising of wages of the labourers. The cutting exposed the principles of the Congressmen.

The hand of the dictator [Sardar] Patel is beginning to show its effects on the Broadcasting Department, where he wants to nip the Urdu language at its source. The cutting points to this. The Caste-Hindus have started attacks upon Muslims at every step.

I wrote to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Iftikhar Hussain, as suggested by you, but I have received no reply. I know they are extremely busy; but every possible help to expose the Caste-Hindus should be utilized at this moment.

I hope you got my other two letters, one addressed to your Simla-Delhi address and another to your Bombay address.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jai Prakash Narain, Member of the Congress Working Committee, alleged that communal riots had been engineered by the Muslim League. See *SHC*, Punjab V/87. Not printed.

89

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/106

FLASHMAN'S HOTEL,
RAWALPINDI,
14 September 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me at the outset inform you that I and my people are waiting for the word of command from you. I assure you that I am determined to do all I can to uphold the honour of Islam in India.

I am here on a professional visit and am returning to Peshawar, where I expect to have your reply. Let me also invite your attention to one or two things. A meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Organising

Committee was held on 25 August at Peshawar. Mr. Nishtar was present at the meeting. I was away on that day in Kashmir where my mother was seriously ill. On my return, I was informed that a provincial Committee of Action was [*sic* for had been] formed on 25 August. My name was not included, though some absentees in that meeting were included. Nishtar, who was lying in the dust after his defeat in the election, is soaring in the sky because of your kindness and favour. To this, I have no objection. My only objection is that he is using his new position to crush me and to humiliate me.

I read in the *Dawn* of 12th and 13th September that the Committee of Action met the leaders of the Muslim League parties in the provincial legislatures. This caused me no end of surprise, as I was not invited to such a meeting. I do not know why. I have written to Liaquat Ali Khan on the subject.

I am writing all this [so] that you should know how I feel about it. My loyalty to the League is as strong as ever. I assure you that these pin-pricks will not deflect me from my path of duty.

I hope you are keeping well. May *Allah* give you strength to lead us to victory. *Aameen*

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

90

President, Anjumane Afghanan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Bombay II/60

EXPRESS

BOMBAY,
14 September 1946

The manner in which Muslims in general and Pathans in particular are waylaid surrounded and slaughtered by organised Congress bands under police nose is unpardonable and it is up to you to inform the Viceroy and make it clear that unwary Pathans were slaughtered in the most cruel and merciless fashion like mice.

PRESIDENT, ANJUMANE AFGHANAN

91

M. A. Dinath to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/66

JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
14 September 1946

Executive decided to launch five-year fund for benefit of Muslim victims of rioting and their dependents. Would appreciate message.[1]

DINATH
President,
Transvaal Muslim League

[1]Jinnah thanked him for his concern and sympathies for the innocent Muslim victims of communal violence. See *SHC*, FC II/67. Not printed.

92

Casim Sulaiman Adamjee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 196/1-3
[Extracts][1]

CHAPRAJBARI,
JETPUR,
17 September 1946

My dear Jinnah,

I venture to pass on a probable solution in the existing situation, as a mere suggestion to ponder.

If we are joining the Interim Government on a parity basis vis-a-vis Congress, the distribution of portfolios ought to be on equal and equitable basis.

The important portfolios should correspond [to] the importance of the community concerned. Just for instance:

Muslim	*Hindu*
External Affairs	Internal Affairs
Defence	Finance
Industry	Commerce

or *vice versa* and so on and so forth.

My reason for assigning [portfolios] thus is that the Muslims are

much more concerned with the foreign policy of India than any other community or any one else, being a neighbour of Muslim countries on all sides. Equally important are Defence and Finance. Muslims as a race and religion [*sic*] are martial people, whilst Hindus are good at accounts and more efficient at £, s & d and monetary system. (Even Mogul Emperors entrusted Finance Ministry to Hindus). Then, we are far behind them both in industry and commerce essentially. A Sikh, with only three million[s] of men [*sic*] and unconcerned with the rest of world, is not competent enough to hold such a portfolio as Defence. He must be content with a minor post. Others also come under the same category.

The premiership in the Interim Government should alternate between Muslim [League] and Congress, each term. It is the outlook of the Congress whether they select a Hindu or any one else out of their group (say, a Parsi or a Schedule Caste or others) for the premiership for their term of office but the premiership must be on alternate basis between the two major political parties, by turn.

With the exception of the Muslims in majority party (League), all other communities and parties, having merged with the Congress, form one part as against Muslims and are to be considered as such, a party.

The provincial administration should also be run on the same basis and coalition ministries should be formed in all the provinces of India.

Party politics must end. The rule by majority will never solve the problem. Numerology should not decide the fate of the nations. The tyranny of numbers must go for ever. India is unsuited for party politics. Perpetual majority rule cannot bring about harmony.

Muslims do not enjoy a clear majority in Sind, Punjab, or Bengal. They rely upon some outside votes in all these provinces. The Frontier Muslims have a simple majority, although there may be a different political outlook among the sections for a time, but it is convertible sooner or later.

In the United Provinces, Bihar, Assam, Central Provinces, Orissa, Madras and Bombay, the Hindus have a clear majority and perpetual rule. This is intolerable. We cannot be safe from atrocities and brutalities by any safeguards or more statutes. The only way is coalition ministries of the two major political parties everywhere, with alternating premiers, and equitable distribution of important portfolios and minor posts to the rest.

After all we have to live together and work side by side, and hence both the major political parties must share the responsibilities

and the powers on equitable basis. A way to be paved for a concord.

If we agree to a coalition at the centre, there must be form of a set-up of coalition ministries in the provinces too.

If they [Hindus] have a sincere desire for an Indian union, they must compromise to some concrete workable, amicable and harmonious settlement.

May I expect an acknowledgment of this letter.

Sincerely yours,
CASIM SULAIMAN ADAMJEE

[1]A portion of repetitive nature omitted.

93

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/134

C/O THOMAS COOK & SONS,
BERKELEY STREET,
LONDON W.I.
19 September 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Perhaps you may be knowing that I have come to this country sometime now as Government of India industrial delegate to visit German industries in British and American zones. I very much wished to see you before leaving India, but knowing how busy you were with more vitally important matters, I thought I would leave you alone.

I have been keenly watching the London *Times* news about India, and it has been very disappointing to read how treacherously Muslim League has been by-passed. But I, as other Muslims here, have every confidence that under your able guidance, backed by Muslim solidarity, we will pull through this unexpected shock and critical moment. Unfortunately the news we get here are [*sic* for is] coloured in favour of Congress. This is perhaps because A.P.I. is a Hindu-controlled agency. But I and my other friends here are doing our best to bring [it] home to the Englishmen to meet the Muslim India point of view. I am very glad to know that Muslim League is sending a mission for this purpose. I enclose a cutting of *The Times* which will give you an indication [of] how these people think.

I am leaving for Germany [in] a couple of days for about a fortnight. Hope you [are] keeping the best of health. May God keep you long to guide us.

With personal kindest regards,

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

94

Mohammad Amin el-Husaini to M. A. Jinnah

F. 478/7

CAIRO,
20 September 1946

May *Allah* keep you in His protection, *Aameen*
Beloved brother Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Musalmans all over the different countries are feeling profoundly distressed about their Muslim brethren in India and are anxiously and carefully following the course of events [and] the now-a-days [*sic*] happenings in that country. They are fully conscious of their duty which Islamic fraternity imposes on them to cooperate with them (Indian Musalmans) and to keep them constantly informed about their position in the present turmoil. They feel that there is a sinister plan against the Musalmans of the various countries and that the only way to combat and resist these nefarious designs is that they all knit themselves together, work in cooperation and prove a source of strength to each other. The benevolent work, which our Indian Muslim brethren have done in this field, is remembered by all in terms of gratefulness and we appreciate its real value. Some of the Islamic institutions and organizations have already started mobilizing whatever resources they can for the help of their afflicted Muslim brethren in India. You will firmly believe, we hope, that our hearts are with you and we shall cooperate with you in all your struggles intended for the good of Islam and Musalman. We pray that *Allah* may grant you all help. Verily it is He who hears and grants.

MOHAMMAD AMIN EL-HUSAINI
Mufti of Palestine

95

A. Malik Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1012/122-9
[Extracts][1]

QUILON,
TRAVANCORE,
20 September 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In May 1943, I did start a weekly paper *Mithram* from the end of 1943, from Quilon, an important Muslim centre in the State. It was practically impossible to get a new licence then and, therefore, I was obliged to resume publication of an old weekly. Hardly had I published three issues [when] the Government hurried to cancel its licence and justified their action on technical grounds. The talk then was that the paper was being published for advancing the cause of Pakistan with your full support and sympathy. The C.I.D. people reported to this effect to the *Dewan,* an inveterate enemy of Pakistan, and the result was the cancellation of the licence. But within a few weeks I managed to obtain a new licence in my name with a deposit of two hundred and fifty rupees.

Out of a population of about sixty-two lakhs of people in the State, the Muslims are about five lakh only. Their economic condition is poor and in point of literacy they are poorer than the depressed classes. Of course, there are a handful of wealthy Muslims but they are always at the heels of the Hindu majority. They have a small heart for the cause of Muslim education and social organisation. We are ashamed to say that the Aligarh Medical College Endowment Committee had to meet with a cold reception at the hands of the wealthiest Muslim gentleman in this State. Had it not been for the generosity of a few Cutch Memon Muslim merchants from north India, who had settled down here for trade, the Muslim cause in the State could not have been pushed an inch forward in the path of progress that we see today. In the whole State the Muslims could boast of a single Muslim High School, situated at Alleppey, the foremost Muslim business centre. But it is staggeringly disappointing to say that due to mismanagement, the Government have taken over the school. In the ancient town of Quilon referred to even in the history of Ibne Batuta, the only Muslim educational institution is a primary school founded

40 years ago by my father.

There is no institution imparting religious instruction through the medium of Arabic and Urdu. There is not even a translation of the holy *Qur'an* in Malayalam, the mother tongue of about thirty lakhs of Muslims in Kerala. There are no useful translations in Malayalam of books on Islamic culture and Islamic history. It is not incorrect to say that the Muslims in the southern extremity of the sub-continent are a set of people without any spark of Islamic life left in them. It was under these circumstances that I began publication of a newspaper three years ago. The necessity of a Muslim paper and Islamic publications had not been more keenly felt before than now.

My endeavour in the direction of establishing a press and continuing the publication of the paper had been receiving a set-back due to economic disabilities. I was eagerly teaching the Muslims of the State, the meaning of Pakistan and was infiltrating [*sic*] its principles into their hearts, so much so that they now think and act on the lines of Pakistan, the cherished ultimate goal and salvation of Muslim India. It is gratifying to note that the Muslims generously subscribed towards the election fund, for collection of which I have in my humble way done my duty.

There have been several Muslim associations in the State opposing one another on trivial personal animosities which state of affairs continued till very recently when a common organization for the State has been now formed—The Travancore State Muslim League.

I have been trying my best to raise funds for purchase of a press. But I regret to state that I had to meet with disappointment. I have no other alternative left than to appeal to you for timely support in the name of Islam. I shall ever be grateful to you, Sir, if at least a second-hand printing press and material are arranged to be placed at my disposal under your supervision and direction so that I may be enabled to do my humble service as a true servant of Islam. This earnest request, I am sure, will not be discarded by you at this juncture.

May *Allah* shower on you all His choicest blessings and endow you, the saviour of Muslim India, with long life and prosperity.

Awaiting the favour of a kind and sympathetic reply,

Devotedly yours,
A. MALIK MOHAMMAD

[1]The portion about his meeting with Jinnah; hostile behaviour of Hindu press; and efforts for Hinduisation of Travancore State, omitted.

96

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/108

PESHAWAR,
22 September 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your reply of 20 September 1946[1] to my letter of 14 September 1946.[2] I quite agree with you that I am oversensitive but I have been built that way. I shall try to fight this weakness.

Wherever I am in trouble, I shall write to you and tell you how I feel about various things. I request you not to get offended. Your reply has restored that balance which I lacked when I wrote to you on 14 September 1946.

This is to assure you once again that I shall try my best to do my duty. I pray to *Allah* that I may not be found wanting when the hour of trial comes.

May *Allah* give you long life and the strength to lead the Muslim nation to victory.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 89.

97

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/29

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you some more cuttings[1] from the press. I particularly want to bring the fact of minorities' leanings towards the Muslim League, to your notice. Now that things are settling down and everybody has seen and is keenly watching the doings of the Caste-Hindu Govt.

at the centre, it has set people thinking and they are beginning to realize what the implications of such a step would mean [*sic*] to those who do not see eye to eye with the Caste-Hindus who are taking full advantage of bringing in full *Ram raj* in the land of many nationalities. You are the only break on this momentous change that is moving like an avalanche on the whole country. Indian Christians are realizing it to their cost and hence their opinion against the Hindu *raj* in the press. It is true, particularly true of north Indian Christians who have been sacrificed at the cost of bringing into the Constituent Assembly Adibasi Christians in order to prevent them from accepting either Christianity or Islam *en mass*. Deeply laid political games have been played against the Indian Christians of north India and men of ordinary calibre have been selected from many places instead of those who can think and act. Although the Muslim League will be in majority in the two groups, B and C, yet larger interest would be better [served] if those who are not one with the Hindus [are won over]. This step will have far-reaching effect on the world opinion. [*Subsequent portion illegible*].

I am also sending you some cuttings[2] from the Hindu press to show how much [regard] they have for the greatest of Muslims of India and of Asia [*Portion illegible*]. The Muslim point of view is not known to most of the people in England. I am also sending literature and articles clipped from the *Dawn* to Mr. Bayd who is writing a pamphlet on Pakistan. But this kind of work is only a drop in the ocean. A mighty campaign is required if Muslim voice is to be heard in the world. The Congress is again sending Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit to America to do further propaganda in favour of the Caste-Hindus. Why should not the League take similar steps immediately. I have written all this to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. This matter should be taken up seriously at the forthcoming meeting of the League on the 8th instant at Delhi.

I am sending you the latest article of Louis Fisher who seems to be a paid agent of the Hindus to malign you and the Muslim nation. I have heard he is being paid large sums of money from Birla-Tata funds for propaganda. From the tone of most of the leading papers of India it seems that the machinery of the govt. has now been turned against the League. For I noticed that most of the pro-League papers have now switched to maligning it. What action is the League going to take against it? I think the millionaires of the Muslim nation should now open their purses for the work of the League propaganda.

I think Mr. Amjad Ali alone could support the entire Punjab Muslims

at this critical juncture. You should appeal to the rich Muslims to make the utmost sacrifice for the sake of survival of the nation. The true picture should be drawn before them if they do not see the seriousness of the question. Every province should have a Muslim Birla and [*sic* for or] Tata who should now come forward to save the nation.

I am glad you have made an appeal to all the nationalist Muslims to make a common front at this time. Zahiruddin, the Muslim leader, has called for a round-table conference of all Muslims. I hope you will soon call for it.

I think you can also win over the Sikhs. But the difficulty is that Hindus are trying their level best to keep the Sikhs to themselves to fight their battles with the Muslims. Hindus are a morally and physically coward race and so they want the Sikhs to act as their militia. Do you know that four thousand Hindus left Murree in two days before somebody gone [*sic*] out that the Muslims would create trouble. The whole town became empty. Their cowardice drove them to take this action.

Let me again repeat what I have written to you. May God give you health, strength and courage to steer the ship of the Muslim nation and minorities to a successful end.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab V/30. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

98

B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/19-21

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI,
22 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I send you herewith answers to the questions which you put to me at our recent discussions. Needless to say, they embody only my own personal views and cannot bind anyone else.

As regards rules of procedure, my office has prepared a tentative draft; but it needs continuous revision in the light of new material and is not yet in a form which can be regarded as satisfactory. If you

are content with this imperfect draft, I shall be glad to send you a copy. In any event, it is meant to be no more than a working basis for the Committee on procedure; and it will not be placed before the Committee unless the Committee themselves ask for it.

Here my function as Constitutional Adviser ends. But you were good enough to mention to me, in some details, more pressing problems connected with the Interim Government and to say, at one stage, that you valued my opinion. I shall therefore take the liberty of saying a few words on the subject.

Let me begin on a personal note. Almost the whole of my official life in the districts of Bengal and Assam was spent in predominantly Muslim areas at a time when the communal problem was hardly known. Chandpur, which figured in the papers recently as the scene of loot and arson and communal frenzy, was my first sub-division in Bengal nearly 35 years ago; Sylhet, another recent storm-centre, was my last district in Assam. I have the pleasantest recollections of both places, where I spent nearly nine years of my early official life. My views on present-day politics are inevitably coloured by these memories of happier days and by the hope that some way may be found of bringing them back.

The problems which confront us today are problems which concern Hindus and Muslims alike. In foreign affairs—whether in Indonesia, or in South Africa, or in the Middle East, or on the North-West Frontier—there is no cleavage between Nehru's views and those of the Muslim League. In the domestic sphere, our main problems are: first, putting an end to the fratricidal strife which is now going on in Bengal, Bombay, and elsewhere and in which the principal sufferers are Muslims no less than Hindus; secondly, procuring adequate supplies of food to stave off famine, which, again, would affect both communities; and thirdly—and ultimately, perhaps, the most important of all—, planning in all its vast ramifications, including large power and irrigation projects, for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the common and forgotten man. In none of these matters is there likely to be any divergence of interest or policy between Hindu and Muslim; and between them they would provide a fruitful field for co-operation now and for at least a decade to come. My own view—for what it is worth—is that the League should come into the Government to work as a united team with the Congress and the minorities for the accomplishment of these common tasks.

How team-work is to be secured is best settled by direct contact between the two organizations. To suggest this in the present atmosphere of suspicion and bitterness may seem a counsel of perfection; but I

recall certain words of a great English statesman addressing his Unionist colleagues on the eve of the Irish settlement twenty-five year[s] ago:

> Now and again in the affairs of men, there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence, when some great act of faith touching the hearts of men and stirring their emotions achieves a miracle that no art of statesmanship can compass. Such a moment may be passing before our eyes now as we meet.

To come back to the Constituent Assembly. A constitution is only a means to an end; when by working together as a team, the various parties realise that the ends are common, there will be little difficulty in agreeing upon the means.

Yours sincerely,
B. N. RAU
Constitutional Adviser

Enclosure to No. 98

F. 21/22-7

Question 1

The subjects for discussion at the preliminary meeting, so far as they can be foreseen at present, will be:

1. the election of a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman or Vice-Chairmen;
2. the election of a Committee to draft rules of procedure (such a Committee was set up by the Philadelphia Convention);[1]
3. the election of a "Steering Committee" to prepare the resolutions to be brought before the Constituent Assembly (such a Committee was set up by the Quebec Convention);[2]
4. the election of a Finance and Establishment Committee;
5. the appointment of an Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas under para 20 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, 1946;[3]
6. the appointment of a corresponding committee to negotiate with the Negotiating Committee of the Indian States;
7. discussion of such of the reports of the above committees as are ready. (The report of the Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens etc. will not be ready for discussion during the preliminary session.)

The phrase "general order of business" is indefinite, but will cover the subjects mentioned above. There may, of course, be other subjects which this phrase would include but which are not enumerated in the above list.

Question 2

Whether there should be a committee on rules of procedure and, if so, what should be its composition and how its members should be chosen are all matters for the decision of the Constituent Assembly. At the Philadelphia Convention, which framed the Constitution of the U.S.A., there was a Committee of three, consisting of a delegate from Virginia, a delegate from New York, and a delegate from South Carolina. The Committee was appointed on the 25th May, 1787, and its report was considered on the 28th May [1787]. At the Quebec Conference, there does not appear to have been any special committee on rules of procedure. Certain rules of procedure were proposed and accepted at the meeting of the Conference itself on the first and second days of the session. At the Adelaide session of the Australian Convention[4] also, there does not seem to have been any such special committee: the standing orders and the practice of the South Australian House of Assembly were proposed for adoption at a meeting of the whole Convention and accepted on the second day of the session. At the South African Convention[5] also, there does not appear to have been any special committee for rules of procedure.

Whatever may be the composition of this or any other committee that may be appointed by the Constituent Assembly, there is no reason to think that minorities will not be given fair representation.

Question 3

The Advisory Committee will have multifarious functions to discharge and will very probably have to split up into sub-committees; one on the rights of citizens, one on the protection of minorities, one on the administration of excluded and partially excluded areas, and one on tribal areas. The Committee will, therefore, have to be a comparatively large one and may consist of about 40 members (including co-opted members), who need not all be members of the Constituent Assembly. They will doubtless include:

a. a certain number of Hindus from Provinces in British India where the Muslims are in a majority;
b. a certain number of Muslims from Provinces in British India where the Hindus are in a majority;
c. a certain number of Sikhs from the Punjab and the N.W.F.P.;
d. a certain number of members of the Scheduled Caste[s];
e. a certain number of Indian Christians;
f. at least 1 Anglo-Indian; and
g. at least 1 Parsi.

The Committee will probably have to be given power to co-opt additional members, particularly for the tribal areas. It need hardly

be repeated that the precise composition and mode of election of the Committee will be matters for the Constituent Assembly to determine.

Question 4

The mode of election of the Chairman will have to be decided by the Constituent Assembly itself, with the Provisional Chairman presiding. If the Constituent Assembly so decides, there can be a rotational Chairman. In the Constitutional Conventions of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and South Africa, there was no rotational Chairman: the same person was Chairman throughout the Convention. At international conferences, there has been a practice of making the office rotate, e.g. at the San Francisco Conference and, more recently, at the Peace Conference in Paris. Which plan is to be adopted for the Chairmanship of the Constituent Assembly will be for the Assembly itself to decide.

Question 5

The Sections will elect their own Chairman and, broadly speaking, it will be open to them to frame their own general order of business. But it is possible that the Union Constituent Assembly may, by agreement between the major communities, prescribe certain rules of procedure not only for itself but also for the Sections. For example, the Muslims being in a minority in the Union Constituent Assembly and the non-Muslims being in a minority in Sections B and C, it is conceivable that by agreement in the Union Constituent Assembly a particular mode of voting or a particular mode of electing the Chairman may be prescribed both for the Union and for the Sections. If this happens, the rule so prescribed will be binding on the Sections as well.

Question 6

The confusion regarding the grouping clause has been removed by paragraph 3 of the Viceroy's letter to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad dated June 15, 1946,[6] and that position has now been accepted by the Congress and the acceptance has been emphasised by the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his broadcast of September 7, 1946.[7] Any further explanation might start a fresh dispute as to the meaning of the explanation.

Question 7

Broadly speaking, the answer is in the negative, provided the Group and Provincial Constitutions confine themselves to their legitimate sphere.

Question 8

The dispute mentioned in this question relates to the interpretation of that part of paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, 1946, which defines the Union subjects. It will be one of the duties of the Constituent Assembly, when framing rules of procedure,

to provide machinery for the decision of disputes regarding the interpretation of any part of this document. Several alternatives are possible: these have been mentioned in Part VII of the pamphlet on "Points of Procedure".

Question 9

The opinion of the Federal Court has not, in express terms, been made binding on the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. In practice, however, the Chairman will find it impossible to depart from the Court's advice, just as, in practice, the Governor-General does not depart from the Court's advisory opinions given under Section 213 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Question 10

The same machinery that has been suggested in the answer to Question 8 above may be utilised for deciding disputes of the kind mentioned in the present Question also. If the alleged conflict (with paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement) is discovered after the resolution has been passed or the decision has been taken, the matter will have to be brought back before the Constituent Assembly for reconsideration. The rules of procedure will have to provide for such a contingency. From this point of view, the suggestion made in Part I of the pamphlet on Points of Procedure, namely that the Constitution should be framed in two or more stages with a sufficient interval for criticism of the first draft, acquires additional importance.

[1]The Convention, at which George Washington presided, met in 1787 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and framed and adopted the constitution of the United States of America, which after ratification by each state went into effect on March 4, 1789.

[2]At the Quebec Conference convened in October 1864 to discuss a federal union of the British colonies in North America, a scheme of federation was decided upon, which was enacted by Parliament as the British North America Act 1867, whereby the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario were united federally. New Foundland and Prince Edward Island declined to join the union, which was named Canada.

[3]Appendix III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

[4]The Convention called by the British colonies in Australia to draw up a federal constitution met in Adelaide on March 22, 1897, and adopted a draft constitution, which was enacted by Parliament; a royal proclamation set January 1, 1901, as the date for establishing the new Commonwealth of Australia.

[5]A national convention, which met in 1908 and 1909 under the chairmanship of John Henry de Villiers, approved a draft constitution for South Africa. After it had been adopted by the Parliaments of the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Natal, the British Parliament enacted it in September 1909. The South Africa Act came into force on May 31, 1910, and the four colonies became the provinces of the Union of South Africa.

[6]No. 541, *TP*, VII, 947.

[7]See the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 September 1946.

99

Mohammad Sharif Hasan to M.A.Jinnah

F.896/67-8
[Original in Urdu]

GALI CHABUKSAWARAN,
LAL KUNWAN, DELHI,
24 September 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

May you live long with glory. It is humbly submitted that now-a-days there is hardly any distinction between a Muslim and a Hindu. Such a distinction will benefit the Muslims, not only in this temporal world but also in the life hereafter. It is a saying of the holy Prophet [PBUH] that whosoever imitates the appearance of a particular faith will be resurrected with the people of that faith. Hence, I request you to please grow a small beard. Seeing you with a beard, millions of Muslims will start growing beards and thus Muslims will become distinguishable as Muslims and, for reviving a neglected *Sunnah* of the Prophet [PBUH], you will be generously rewarded by God Almighty. You might have noticed that thousands of people have started wearing a cap like the one worn by you. Similarly if you grow a beard, which behoves a Muslim, millions of Muslims will start copying you voluntarily.

I hope you will give serious thought to my humble request.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SHARIF HASAN

100

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/31

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you some more cuttings[1] from the so-called socialist Hindu press whose bitter and uncompromising attacks against the Muslim nation seem to have no end. Any prospect of a compromise,

instead of being welcomed and appreciated, is vehemently attacked, which points to the fact that the Hindus as a nation desire nothing short of complete domination, as well as surrender on the part, of the Muslims. It is a thousand pities that even the terror of a civil war and a perpetual internecine and fratricidal war in India does not prevent them from carrying on a war of communal hatred and ill-feelings and bitterness.

The fact [that] the Punjab is a Muslim province and will remain a Muslim domain, no matter what happens, also does not deter them from spreading and fanning bad feelings amongst the various communities. This temporary instalment [*sic*] of the Congress regime with the help of those who have betrayed their own cause seems to have made them lose their balance of mind and to [*sic*] use every means to deteriorate [*sic*] the already inflamed situation. I do not know whether you have the time to go through so many newspapers daily that give vent to such bad feelings. It is for this reason that I sent you the cuttings of the matters [*sic*] that should be brought to your notice.

2. Mr. Brailsford's articles contributed to the press are worth reading. I have also sent a part of his article that emphasizes the fact that for the sake of peace the Congress should and must make concessions to the League; otherwise the new scheme of the Mission fails.

3. Number 3 cutting is a picture of children in Lahore who are being taught to perform *puja* to the national heroes which is a dangerous sign for future India from the point of view of Muslims and Christians. Are our children and grandchildren going to be idol-worshippers as is the aim of Hindu India and subordinate to those who aim at such ideals? All these deeds are being perpetrated by Congress Hindus and not Mahasabhaites as is the opinion of some of the Indians and foreigners. Congress is now in the clutches of Mahasabhaites who mean to turn India into a Hindu land. It is evident on all sides. The *Gau Raksha Mandals*, the Hindu *abadis* and Muslim *abadis*, the *Jai Hinds*, the *Charkha Sanghs*, the Hindi *Samelans* and a host of any [*sic*] signs point to this direction.

4. Number 4 cutting points to the fact [*sic*] what the Congress ministries are going to do against the riots which they attribute to the Muslims. It is not strange that it takes two to make a quarrel but the power-intoxicated Hindus now close their eyes to [the] world-established [*sic*] maxims. Muslims are being [made] the target of all evils everywhere. Everything bad is attributed to the Muslims. The Hindus have adopted the same attitude towards Muslims now what [*sic*] the Britishers [had] adopted when they became the masters after

the fall of the Mughal empire. Are the Muslims going to remain victims for ever and submit to insults and humiliations without retort? I hope not. If the Congress succeeds today in defeating the League's objects [*sic*], Muslims will be slaves in their own motherland for ever and with them the minorities unless they accepted to [*sic*] become their henchmen.

There are again rays of hope in [*sic* for on] the horizon of a peaceful settlement. May God give light and wisdom to those who have refused to peer into a dark future of India.

My prayers are for your long life so that you may save not only the Muslim nation but the other minorities. I am coming to Delhi for a couple of days. I am very anxious to meet you and I wonder if it will be possible for you to see me any time you are free. I will be there on the 27th and 28th.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.

101

Sayed Mahmoodaly to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P & P III/169

WATER COURSE ROAD,
KARACHI,
24 September 1946

Respected Sir,

Perhaps you are aware that there is no Muslim Gujarati paper at Karachi although a considerable proportion of the Muslim population is Gujarati-speaking. The inevitable result of this has been that the Gujarati-speaking Muslims are not fully informed of the Muslim League views and ideals. In order to fulfil the crying need of a Muslim Gujarati paper at Karachi I have decided to start a daily paper under the name *Zulfikar* which will be wholly devoted to the service of the cause of the Muslim League and Muslim nation.

The first issue of the *Zulfikar* will appear on the 1st October 1946, and I take this opportunity to request you to please favour me with

your message[1] to be published in the opening issue.

I am,

Yours obediently,
SAYED MAHMOODALY
Manager,
Daily Zulfikar (*Gujarati*)

[1]Jinnah wished the venture all success and welcomed the assurance that the paper would be devoted to furthering the cause espoused by the Muslim League. See *SHC*, P & P III/171. Not printed.

102

Miss I. C. P. Nath to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/47

WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICE,
147A ESPLANADE ROAD,
FORT, BOMBAY,
25 September 1946

Muslim League Zindabad!

Sir,

Will you kindly allow me to introduce myself to you as a well-wisher of Muslim League. I am an Indian Christian of 32 years with no one to care for me. I am a born Hindu but after taking too much pain have learned to admire the Muslims, especially by going through your views regarding Pakistan. I have always been your admirer in regard of [*sic*] your demands and ideas. I, being a high Caste-Hindu, can help the Muslim League better than a Muslim. When a Muslim speaks for a Muslim, he cannot have so much weight as I can. Besides anything else I should know and understand their feelings and attitude towards Muslims. My mind is full of ideas and my heart is out of control with earnest desire to join the Muslim League without changing the religion. I want to write, speak on radio, give lectures, etc., but not while I am in India. Let me take my share of duty towards Pakistan. I request you to give me a chance. I beg of you not to give in. Let me assure you that you will win in the long run. It breaks my heart to see Muslims treated in a disgraceful manner. I was in Calcutta from 14 to 19 of the last month. I saw the women insulted by Sikhs. I cannot write much but I would request you to grant me a personal

interview even if it is for five minutes. I would love to do anything you may wish for Pakistan.

With all my best regards and hearty wishes in everything you undertake. Long live Pakistan and may God Almighty bless all those who have interest in it.

Yours sincerely,
MISS I. C. P. NATH

103

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/109

PESHAWAR,
26 September 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

From reports received and the talk I have had with deputations of tribesmen from the tribal area, it appears that the Pathans in the tribal belt are for Pakistan. They have sensed the danger and are not going to succumb to the wiles of Abdul Ghaffar. An Afridi deputation is coming tomorrow.

Today two deputations have come from Kurram. One is going down to meet you. The other deputation, headed by Lal Said Mian, challenges the representative character of the deputation which is meeting you. There are personal differences between the two. Samin, Pir Sahib of Manki, and I will do our best to bridge the gulf which separates them.

In the interest of our cause we should not accept either as representing the Kurram Agency till such time as they have come together.

You will please impress upon those who meet you that they and the others should close up their ranks. It should not be hinted that you accept the one or the other as representing Kurram. The other deputation will follow the first one.

League work is in full swing. We are organising the Muslims and explaining to them the issue involved and the fight which is ahead.

I have not seen you since long and would like to meet you sometime in October.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

104

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/110

PESHAWAR,
26 September 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just now posted a letter[1] to you about the deputations from Kurram. This is in continuation of that letter. A deputation of highly respectable people, representing the tribes of the Kurram Agency, is coming to meet you. It consists of five and is led by a young man, Lal Said Mian, whose father and family wield great influence in Kurram. Lal Said Mian will deliver this letter to you.

You will please receive them and hear what they have to say. In Kurram, Shias and Sunnis have been at loggerheads. On this deputation representatives of both Shias and Sunnis have combined for the first time to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]No. 103.

105

Kulwant Singh Virk to M. A. Jinnah

F. 930/24-5

P.O. PHULLARWAN,
DIST. SHEIKHUPURA,
26 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am conscious of the heavy demands on your time but I am venturing this only to relieve myself of a torment.

I am a Sikh villager of Akali persuasion.

Since 1942, I have regarded you as the sole leader of the minority thought in India. This belief was reinforced by my intimate contact with Giani Kartar Singh, the Akali leader, who seemed to have a conviction that the Sikhs stand or fall with the Muslim League.

Your acceptance of the British proposals, which verily strangulate the Sikh aspirations, created some doubts regarding this belief and your resolutions and speeches which seemed deliberately to ignore the injustice to the Sikhs have tended to destroy that belief altogether.

The writings of Lahore journalists and the speeches of your Punjabi lieutenants have sprinkled salt on my wounds.

In spite of the much noised [*sic*] traditional bravery of my community, I am nervous about the future. I see annihilation—absolute and certain—before both our communities as clearly as the pen in my hands, unless we make an all-out joint effort.

Are we incapable of it now? Have we parted ways?

Yours sincerely,
KULWANT SINGH VIRK

106

Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah
F. 575/3-6

[*Extracts*][1]

167 MIDDLEMARCH ROAD,
COVENTRY,
26 September 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

This is my first letter in this year not because I had slackened or ceased to work for the League but it was simply because I thought that you were too busy to attend to any correspondence and I did not want to distract your attention.

I understand you want to help the League branch here so that it may be able to convert more efficiently and quickly the public opinion in favour of Muslim India. Moreover, I think it will become an indispensable and most important branch of the League in case All India Muslim League is outlawed [*sic*]. I submitted to you last year the necessary papers for affiliation of this branch but I have received no communication whatsoever from you so far. I think this was due to overwork.

Anyhow, I put before you a plan which may give you an idea as to how vast a field for work lies in front of us here. I could not be expected to do more than I have done with my limited resources and

no help from you, not even a general direction and information.

The plan is:

i. You should send a dependable, reliable, efficient, hardworking and honest man to take charge of [the] presidentship from me. The reason for this request will be stated in the later part of this letter.

ii. A first-class head office of the Muslim League branch [of] Great Britain should be set up in London with paid staff. The office should have four rooms at least.

iii. A first-class weekly paper—organ of the League.

iv. Social functions etc.

v. Paid speakers (from £1 to £3 a week each according to time and ability) for all large towns. They will speak in the open on every Sunday.

I beg to say that I have succeeded in establishing fifteen sub-branches of the League in this country.

During my stay in Edinburgh, all Urdu and English pamphlets were written by me, stencil-cutting and typing was done by me, printed by me, fastened by me mainly, packing and address-writing or pasting was mainly done by me, fixing of postage stamps was done by me, carried by me to the post office. A relative of mine used to help me a little occasionally. I should have known that nobody would carry on my work in my absence.

Obviously, nobody is ready to do so much work which involves so much time. I have ever been asking my Edinburgh friends to send the Roneo machine here but despite their repeated promises I have not got it so far. *Insha Allah*, next week I will go to Edinburgh myself to bring it with me.

My two years' experience has taught me not to trust any one. Everybody, but a few, wants name but no work. Editor, Mr. Suleri, Joint Editor, Mr. Ahmad, and Publication Manager, Kemal R. Chevdari, all proved true to the above allegation. It has been a one-man show as far as publication of *Pakistan* and other pamphlets was concerned.

I like to serve the great cause that you and the whole Muslim nation stand for but my weaknesses are in front of you. I, therefore, ask you to please send someone from India who can afford to stay here and take my place. I would have gone home last year in December if there was [*sic*] someone who could step into my place. I do not see here even now anyone who can do so.

This is the most critical period that we are passing through—I am conscious of it. I wish to give my life in this *jihad*. But alas! I will not be able to stay much longer without support from home which will not

come, and dying of starvation here will not be appreciated even by *Allah*.

These are the facts and I am upset just now. Annual session is drawing nearer everyday. May I receive your command immediately so that I may settle my mind one way or the other.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours most respectfully,

ALI M. KHAN
President,
Muslim League Branch, Great Britain

[1]Some parts of the letter have been omitted since they related to internal party differences or appeared superfluous.

107

I. M. Jada to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/76

P. O. EVATON,
TRANSVAAL,
26 September 1946

Revered leader and brother-in-Islam,

We have dispatched telegraphically, through Reuters Ltd., to you a remittance of £32.12.6 as our humble contribution[1] towards the relief of distress caused amongst Muslims in the present political turmoil in India. We are whole-heartedly behind you with the fullest confidence in your great courageous leadership.

Yours-in-Islam,
I. M. JADA

[1]Jinnah acknowledged receipt of the donation. See *SHC*, FC II/77. Not printed.

108

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/123

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
27 September 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 17th August[1] was delivered to me today.

I have already attended to your case and have submitted my report thereon. When I hear from Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co. that the suit has been finally withdrawn, as has been promised by Mr. Fazlul Huq on his own initiative, I shall not fail to let you know.

The quiet atmosphere of Calcutta has once again been disturbed during the last two or three days resulting in stray stabbing cases and loss of life.

I hope you are in good health.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/122. Not printed.

109

Mohammad Ramzan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/386-9

D.I. KHAN,
NWFP,
28 September 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg your pardon to crave upon [*sic*] your precious and valuable time. I know you are too busy, but as a true and humble servant of Islam, I think it my duty to lay a few suggestions which, I think, would prove most useful for the Muslim nation in the near future. You are our leader and we are to obey and, *Insha Allah,* as for

myself, I am ready to sacrifice everything for the cause of Islam.

Your differences with the British and Hindu Congress are well-known. I need not repeat them. What I want to impress upon you is the fact that the Muslim nation stands solidly at your back at this moment by the grace of *Allah*. You need not bother about the Muslim quislings. We have got our ministry in Bengal and we will succeed in Sindh, *Insha Allah,* and will have a very stable and firm Muslim League ministry there in December. You had recently appealed to the Muslims outside the Muslim League to give up their differences and join the League. It is time to take Malik Khizar Hayat Khan in[to] the Muslim League and form a strong League ministry in the Punjab. Please don't miss this opportunity. We will thus have three Muslim League ministries in India and our unfortunate province will still remain in the hands of the Hindu *bania*. What I want to state is that if the Hindus and British do not agree to grouping and the exclusion of the Muslim quisling from the Viceroy's executive council, please do not give up your demands and do start direct action. This is the most opportune time for a trial of strength when ten crores of Musalmans are agreed and united and are quite ready for every sort of sacrifice. If you avoid the fight today, you will have to face it tomorrow or next year, because the Hindu is not going to agree to Pakistan. The fight with the Hindu and [the] next with the foolish Sikhs is to come in the near future.

My programme for direct action is that after you install your three stable Muslim League ministries in Bengal, Sindh and Punjab, you make your headquarters in Punjab, and call upon the brave Pathan to start the battle first. We are accustomed to jail and I am confident that after starting our direct action in NWFP, we would be able to defeat this corrupt and dishonest Hindu Congress-governed ministry in a month or two. The nature of the Pathan is such that he cannot tolerate the *zulm* on his brother. The whole of the Waziristan and hills will be in flames and the Ministry will be crushed to pieces by the grace of *Allah*. The poor Pathan was unfortunately misled and deceived during the last general elections, on account of bad leadership of the Muslim League organisation, by the well-organised and experienced Congress, and sweet words of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who spent money like water in the whole province and saved a lot for himself. The Pathan must compensate the Muslim League for that and that is why I suggest that you should settle yourself in the Punjab and lead the whole show. We have got no leader in the Muslim League even now. The old leaders have been condemned, some by the people and some by their own selfishness. If you have a

tour of this province and then start direct action, please rest assured that you will succeed, *Insha Allah*. You may show this letter to the members of the Direct Action Committee and specially to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar who knows me well. I have got no grudge with anybody nor am I even an acquaintance of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. I have never seen him in my life. I know you have got the best brains with you but these are the humble suggestions of a soldier of Islam.

In the end, I will once again request you not to budge an inch from your position. If the enemies of Islam do not agree with you, *Allah* will help you and He is helping you. Have confidence in *Allah* and start law-breaking in the whole of India if you do not succeed in NWFP. I once again thank you. I have got many suggestions about the NWFP Muslim League and direct action, and [am] ready to come, if I am needed.

I am,

Your brother-in-Islam,
HAJI MOHAMMAD RAMZAN KHAN
M.A. LL.B.
Advocate

110

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/124

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
28 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Mr. N.T. Williams, the solicitor, whom you have met several times. He is at present in England.

I cannot understand the pranks of Yusuf Haroon. If individuals want to jump into the limelight by stunts I do not think the Muslim League should be the platform for such an exhibition. The present is not the time when any blessed Muslim Leaguer or self-assumed leader should rush to the press and make statements or take silly steps. The present is the time when one should hold his tongue and

follow your dictation. The League should speak with one voice and not with more. I may be wrong but I do feel that Yusuf Haroon's stunt is not conducive to the well-being of the organisation.

Nehru is moving very cleverly towards carrying on purely Congress propaganda in the highest of circles abroad at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. The persons who are carrying out the propaganda will have the additional status of being the Indian ambassadors or authorised representatives of the Government. This move, in my opinion, is fraught with additional danger to Musalmans.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Enclosure to No. 110
N.T. Williams to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/125

HOWRARD HOUSE,
4 ARUNDEL STREET,
STRAND, LONDON,
18 September 1946

My dear Hassan,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 9th September with its enclosures. Your letter arrived early this morning and I have not had an opportunity of reading the statement but I will do so within a couple of days and do my best in my own fashion to assist in any way practicable.

You will have seen from my letters to Ahmad how strongly not only I but friends of mine on this side feel and the pity of it is that the League has no propaganda machine as has Congress. One of our best words for many years together has been "justice" and I am convinced it will be obtained.

My kindest wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
N.T. WILLIAMS
Solicitor and Notary Public

111

M. R. Nayyar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/384-5

HOSPITAL ROAD,
LUDHIANA,
28 September 1946

Dear Sir,

I hold Messrs Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru responsible for the present disturbances all over the country because of their short-sightedness and greed for power. I wrote [to] Mr. Nehru and Lord Wavell so too.

I happened to travel with A. H. Islam Rizvi of Lucknow in the same bus from Mussoorie. He impressed me a great deal. Really speaking a Muslim character, his mental outlook is quite different from that of a Hindu. Unlike an argumentative Hindu he is rational.

After Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President of the Congress, for a man with soul it was painful to observe Gandhi group pandering to the lower instincts of the British by accusing Bose of being a revolutionary, out of mere jealousy and disease [*sic*] of leadership or greed for power, while Mr. Bose was crying out that he was not connected in any way with the revolutionaries. At the time Mr. Nehru, like a diplomat, kept silent.

The lease of life of Gandhi and Co. is coming to an end and it can lengthen its life [*sic*] only by settling down into Government at any cost. Mr. Nehru is afraid of Gandhi's power and hence does not revolt against [him] at the expense of higher instincts in life. But he wants to enjoy the fruits of the labour of others, like a thief [*sic*] opportunist.

[*Remaining portion omitted*][1]

Yours very sincerely,
NAYYAR

PS. I can go to Delhi whenever you think I should see you. Thank you.

[1]It contained some uncharitable remarks about Gandhi.

112

Muniruddin Haindady to M. A. Jinnah

F. 884/392-6

17 ALI UMER STREET,
BOMBAY,
30 September 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

It would indeed seem presumptuous to write to you offering certain suggestions with regard to the present critical situation of the Muslims of India, but it is because I feel fully convinced that your love and devotion for the cause of the Muslims is so great that any suggestions that might help their cause would be welcomed by you, that I am addressing you these lines.

The present talks that you are having with the Viceroy at Delhi mean much for the future of Muslims. I am not one of those who is [*sic* for are] without hope that the negotiations would, God willing, end successfully. The qualities required are tact, statesmanship and diplomacy and these you possess in ample measure. Of course questions of principle and prestige are involved, but anything that might ultimately lead towards the attainment of one's object should be the criterion.

The enemies of the Muslim League do not want that your negotiations with the Viceroy should succeed. It appears that the Congress, having got all power to itself by artful scheming, does not want to share it with the Muslim League. It is therefore possible that it might not agree to the exclusion of a so-called nationalist Muslim from the Interim Government because it thinks that on this question you would be insistent, the negotiations would fail and Nehru *raj* would sway over Hindustan. I feel that the time has come to defeat this mischievous move.

I would therefore make this humble suggestion to you that you might accept the long-term plan after obtaining an assurance from the British Government that the provision of the grouping of provinces is compulsory, and [that] the British Government would not give its sanction to any constitution that is framed which ignores the basic provision regarding the compulsory grouping of provinces. As regards

the Interim Government, you might accept the assurances of the Viceroy contained in his broadcast of 24th August 1946, and decide to send five nominees of the Muslim League to the Interim Government. The main features of that broadcast, as you are fully aware, are:

i. It is a coalition Government, in which both parties are represented, that is needed at the moment.
ii. The Interim Government would be re-formed if the Muslim League decides to come in.
iii. The Muslim League need have no fear of being outvoted on any essential issue.
iv. The most important portfolios would be equitably shared.
v. In the field of provincial autonomy, the Interim Government would have no power to intervene.
vi. The constitutional position of the armed forces is in no way changed by an Indian being in charge of the defence portfolio.

I would suggest that you might put the British Government on its faith [*sic*] by declaring that you were going to test that faith in spite of what the Congress leaders might think or say with regard to the short-term or long-term plans. The failure of the present negotiations might drag the country [in] to a senseless civil strife which might result in terrible suffering to both Hindus and Muslims. You would therefore be acting on humanitarian grounds if you do not allow the negotiations to fail. I would therefore request you that you might not even raise any objection if the Congress insists on having a Muslim member in the Interim Government from its own quota, because the fact that the Muslim League commands the support of a vast majority of Muslims has been admitted, both implied and expressed, by the British Government and the Congress.

I know it might seem ridiculous to you to accept my humble suggestion but I can assure you that, although it might be considered by your opponents and even by some friends as a climb-down, it would, in truth, be not a climb-down but an act inspired by humanitarian motives of a highly commendable character.

In this connection I wish to bring to your attention a remarkable chapter from the glorious life of our holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace and blessings of God be upon Him). It relates to His great act of statesmanship in agreeing to the terms of the truce of Hudaibiyya which were considered at that time to be humiliating by the Muslims. You may get full details about the truce of Hudaibiyya from the

'ulama. If you study the terms of that truce it would indeed appear that the Muslims had agreed to terms which were quite unfavourable to them, but in truth the truce of Hudaibiyya paved the way for the victory of Islam. On that occasion the following verse was revealed to the Prophet[PBUH] which dispelled the doubts of those Muslims who considered the terms to be humiliating:

> Surely He has given Thee a clear victory that *Allah* may rectify for Thee that which has gone before of the faults attributed to Thee and that which remains behind, and complete His favour to Thee and guide Thee on a right way and that *Allah* might help Thee with a mighty help (the holy *Qur'an*: *Surat Fath*—the Victory.)

The time has indeed come when you should out-manoeuvre your opponents in the game of politics. The Congress wants that the League should remain in [the] wilderness. You must defeat their purpose. As the truce of Hudaibiyya paved the way for the success of the cause of Islam, your acceptance of what may be much less than your original demands would pave the way for the success of the Muslim League cause, *Insha Allah*.

I wish you all success.

With best regards,

I have the honour to be
Your humble follower,
M. A. HAINDADY
B. A. LL.B.
Advocate

113

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 891/49-54

KARACHI,
[*Undated*] *September 1946*

Dear Jinnah,

Being a Muslim, I think it my duty to give you some information

and suggestions which, if executed, may help us in achieving our object.

Muslim League has rejected the [Cabinet] Mission's proposals and there is a need of great caution in adopting any course. Hindu and Sikhs have become fatal [*sic*] enemies of Muslims. Uptill [now], they had neither courage nor power to crush them. Now, as the circumstances have changed, they have got both the things. Hindus are much better organized than Muslims. Every Hindu keeps brickbats, acids and knife-like things in his house. Though they say that they have done so merely in self-defence, but [*sic*] it makes no difference as they have begun to take offensive attitude also. The recent riots in Calcutta, Allahabad and Bombay are before us. In Allahabad, on Good Friday, when Muslims were coming out of a mosque, some Hindus threw brickbats at them and so the disturbance broke out. In all the cities, wherever disturbances take place, there is the mischief [*sic*] of Hindus.

They are the beginners [*sic*] but the poor Muslims, who are compelled to take part in the disturbances, for their own sake, are held responsible. At the same time they are the worst sufferers because they do not think [*sic* for consider] Hindus as their enemies (as Hindus think [*sic*] us to be) and are not prepared as yet. This is the greatest tragedy which is taking place with them nowadays.

In my opinion this is due to lack of League's own press. There is no League's English newspaper in Peshawar, Lahore, Karachi and many other big cities. As the *Dawn* is published from Delhi there is an urgent need of English papers which should back up League policies in other big cities also. Press is the biggest tool in the hands of a political party; besides, you and other League leaders should often give statements in the papers and ask the Muslims to unite and have their self-interest [*sic*] for the sake of the nation's interest.

All the good orators in Muslim League like Firoz Khan Noon should go on tour to different provinces and villages and deliver speeches before the Muslim masses. (The gist of the speech should be that all the Muslims should unite under the League flag and be organised and disciplined). A nation can only learn to do [*sic* for make] sacrifices when it sees the leaders doing [*sic*] sacrifices. Now the League members have given up their titles. They have done this

sacrifice and this is not hidden from everybody. The respect of these leaders has increased much more in our eyes.

There is a great need of League propaganda in Frontier Province. The League leaders should go to the Frontier Province without delay and deliver speeches there explaining them everything; to get united in the name of Islam and be organised and disciplined. Frontier should be the backbone of League. Hindus and Sikhs are more afraid of Pathans than anybody else.

In Sind also there are two Muslim seats [*sic*] and those are *Hurs* and Makranis. They are Leaguers even now and if they are organised and disciplined they can prove very useful for the Muslim nation.

The League leaders should meet their *Pirs* and leaders and hold them in their hands [*sic*] and ask them to be united under the League banner and be prepared for all sacrifices. The prominent Shia and Qadiani leaders should also be in your hand. Give them big offices in the League. That does not matter. The Congress is trying its utmost to separate [*sic* for divide] the Muslims among themselves. She is following the Britishers in her policy.

In League there is an urgent need of lawyers and economists. In election the League should select the influential, the ablest, and the faithful and give them tickets for membership of the assemblies.

Another suggestion I may give you is to form subscription committees on a large scale as the Congress has [done]. Muslims are prepared to contribute as much as they can. This will solve the financial problem of the League to some extent.

A critical situation is coming ahead. Hindus are fully prepared. They have the intention to fight with [*sic*] Muslims. There is an urgent need of preparation and organisation in Muslims. The League should at once take necessary steps, otherwise Muslims will be the worst victims in the future inevitable grave situation and they will regret it afterwards.

Excuse me for my dirty handwriting and bad English.

I am,

Your devoted servant,

[UNSIGNED]

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/32

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The suspense regarding an honourable settlement with the Muslim League seems to be so long and the mischief of the Hindus seems to go on and on and there is no end to it as we read the press day after day. It seems that the Congress is bent upon irritating the Muslims and not willing to share power with them.

Cutting number one[1] points that Pandit Nehru repeats the same irritating things. What are you going to do about it? It seems clear that the Caste-Hindus are being baited by the Wavell Govt. that is out to establish Hindu *raj* at the point of British bayonets.

I am so glad that you have decided to send a League deputation to America to explain the Muslim point of view there, where Gandhi and Congress viewpoint holds the field. I have just heard from an American friend, who is collaborating with us to expose the Caste-Hindus and explain the Muslim position there. He writes, "Every American reporter in India, except Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times,* seems to consider Mr. Gandhi and the Congress party perfect. They will not even consider any other viewpoint. Gandhi and Congress are for maintaining caste. If Gandhi goes against caste he loses votes". This shows that the American public already holds a fixed view which is difficult to displace. Therefore, the deputation that goes should be such that will be able to shake off the wrong propaganda. I am glad Begum Shah Nawaz is going with the deputation. I will show my friend's letter to her this evening in order to prepare her for the long task ahead. I will again suggest that you should include a Hindu in the deputation to expose the Caste-Hindus' sinister moves and there is nobody better for this work than the Swami from South India who has spent a lifetime in exposing the Brahmans and their wicked designs and how they are struggling now to capture political power again to revive their old schemes.

His book *Menace of Hindu Imperialism* and the latest book *New Light*

on India should be used as propaganda in America against their designs. I don't think you could have had the time to read the latter book despatched to you last month but it is a book which fights for the cause of Pakistan and should be widely used at this time by the League for publicity in India as well as in foreign lands.

Praying again that God will give you health, strength and wisdom to steer the ship of not only the Muslim nation but [of] other minorities [also,] who are looking up to you for help.

May you live long,

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.

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Note by Abdul Rahman K. Brohi
F. 132/59-67

[Extract][1]

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HYDERABAD, SIND,
1 October 1946

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, the present Revenue Minister of Sind Government, usually contests election to the Sind Legislative Assembly from Dadu-Johi constituency. He himself is a resident of these *talukas*. Before the elections, he used to practise as a pleader at Dadu and had only that connection in the District. He is actually a zamindar and a landowner of Sehwan *Taluka*. For the ensuing elections, he seems to be sure of getting a League ticket for the same constituency, but his success at the election is very doubtful and cannot be assured without his remaining in power as a Minister in charge of an important portfolio like that of Revenue Department. That is why Sheikh Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah], the Premier, has made him a Minister and given him that portfolio with its powers to ensure his success at the elections.

2. Pir Sahib has continued to be a Minister in each and every ministry that is formed in Sind, but his personal position is rather very shaky due to his self-seeking motives and selfish actions in his own constituency as well as in Dadu District. For the sake of putting up his own son as Chairman of District School Board and as President

of the District Local Board, Dadu, Pir Sahib has taken steps to belittle and unnecessarily trouble and harm some of the powerful, influential and respectable Muslims of the District, merely because they did not condescend to be a party to his selfish machinations. He is now bent upon taking revenge on such selfless and independent men and has thereby created enemies in his own constituency. He is thus taking improper advantage of the power and position given to him by the Muslim League seat and thereby is not only adversely affecting his own position but even ruining the good reputation of the Muslim League and giving a bad name to such an organisation of the Muslims, and thereby giving a chance to the enemies of Islam to start propaganda and attack this organisation.

3. Feeling that his position is not safe, Pir Sahib has put his amorous eyes on the seat formerly contested by Ali Akbar Shah Sahib, viz. Mehar and Kakar *Taluka* constituency. Pir Sahib is fully aware that with the Muslim League ticket granted to Ali Akbar Shah Sahib, the latter's position is so strong that he is likely to be returned unopposed. He is, therefore, worried over this and the self in him is forcing his hands to take steps to see the miracle happen—the miracle of having two seats at his disposal in Dadu District instead of only one so that he may be the monarch of all he surveys in that District. He has accordingly started false propaganda against Ali Akbar Shah Sahib and is trying his best to bring round Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, the Premier, to his own malicious views and will thereby harm the interests of the Muslim League. The fear now is that these improper and undesirable tactics on the part of Pir Sahib, which have resulted in his own insecurity in his own constituency, are being further applied in the most improper manner to gain the seat of Mehar and Kakar *Talukas*. These actions on Pir Sahib's part are not only bound to result in a serious and dangerous split in the Muslim League party but are very likely to result in a great and more dangerous split in the Muslims of the District, due to which there is every likelihood of bloodshed in [*sic*] the contending parties.

4. A few selfish and unreliable petty zamindars, who had opposed Ali Akbar Shah Sahib in the last elections in spite of his getting the Muslim League ticket, have been set up by the Pir Sahib and with their help and the help of officials under his control, he has wrongly set up proceedings under Section 110 *(badmashi)* against a very respectable zamindar and a near and dear friend and worker of Ali Akbar Shah Sahib and a staunch Muslim League worker, viz., Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi, who is a *Sardar* of the Jatoi clan and a very live worker of the Muslim League. This action on the part of Pir Sahib has resulted

in issue of warrants of arrest against Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi. The idea of Pir Sahib underlying all these tactics is to get the best of Shah Sahib's friends arrested and keep them in jail and set up false propaganda by sending false petitions against them, and thereby frighten all those who worked for Shah Sahib and show to them that their fate will be the same as that of Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi and that they will also have to go to jail, if they persisted in working for Shah Sahib.

5. By being instrumental in getting Sayed Gul Mohamed Shah of Sehwan disqualified from the presidentship of District Local Board, Dadu, and by getting Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi arrested under Section 110 *(badmashi)* and putting him behind bars, Pir Sahib's designs are to clear the ground and set up his own son, Pir Nawaz Ali, as President of the District Local Board. The qualifications of this worthy son of his worthy father are well-known to the public, particularly to the neighbouring zamindars of Pir Sahib, who have been sure victims of *zulm* and tyranny perpetrated by Pir Sahib's worthy son on them. Owing to the sudden dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, Pir Sahib is now in a fix and is ready to compromise with Gul Mohamed Shah and even cancel the disqualification order passed against him, but he is working harder still to see Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi behind bars for sufficiently long, thereby to harass Ali Akbar Shah Sahib [so] as to force his hands and get disgusted to withdraw in his favour [*sic*].

6. Acts of omission and commission on the part of Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi, for which Pir Ilahi Bakhsh is after him, are that Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi is:

i. A friend and admirer of Ali Akbar Shah Sahib, a well-wisher of the poor class and not only a Muslim Leaguer, but a Pakistani Muslim Leaguer.
ii. A Muslim League worker in [the] last Assembly election, not only a mere worker but one with fervour and sincerity of purpose and one who spent large sums of money out of his own pocket to help the Muslim League candidates.
iii. An opponent of a few petty and undesirable charactered [*sic*] zamindars whom he has given hollow defeats in Local Board elections and zamindars who filed false complaints against his men just to take revenge for which judgement given by sessions courts are on record to show that such false cases were merely the outcome of election competition. Such zamindars have now under advice and [with] connivance of Pir Sahib given statements to drag Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi to a court of law under Section 110 *(badmashi)* and thereby keep

him behind bars to clear Pir Sahib's own way in his elections.

iv. An opponent of Pir Sahib's son for the chairmanship of the District School Board.

v. An opponent of Pir Sahib's son for presidentship of District Local Board, Dadu, and a supporter of Gul Mohamed Shah of Sehwan who possesses a clear majority in the District Local Board. For this, Pir Sahib will probably never forgive Haji Abdul Majid Jatoi.

7. In view of the above circumstances, this earnest appeal is made to the high command to reach Sind as early as possible and study the conditions actually prevailing and decide for themselves and give League tickets only to deserving candidates in the very interest of the League organisation and stop the present Sind Muslim League leaders in power from such wrong actions on their part.

8. During the last elections, by giving the League ticket to Shah Sahib, the Muslim League had put a stop to the false propaganda started by the Congress and the coalition party that the Muslim League was not an organisation of the Muslim masses but one of *Nawabs,* title-holders and capitalists. This was disproved and falsified by giving ticket to God's good man like Ali Akbar Shah Sahib who is neither a *Nawab* nor a title-holder nor even a capitalist, the only qualification of Shah Sahib being 30 years' public life for the service of Islam.

9. Even after elections to the Assembly, Shah Sahib has done praiseworthy work, which has opened the eyes of the so-called local leaders; a few of such acts are as under:

a. Strengthening the Muslim League party in the Sind Legislative Assembly.

b. Carrying the message of the Muslim League to Muslim masses and explaining Muslim League programme to them by touring all over Sind.

c. Bringing together parties like [those of] Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and Khuhro Sahib in the interests of the Muslim League.

d. Withdrawing from the presidentship in spite of a clear majority in favour of a young and energetic Muslim like Yusuf Haroon and getting him elected to the presidentship to enable him to be of service to the Muslims.

e. Bringing together Yusuf Haroon and Khuhro Sahib by removing their misunderstanding to do service to the Muslims.

f. Framing best possible programme for the Muslim League party and keeping all on the alert by pointing out defects in

them without fear or favour and thereby giving a correct guidance.

g. Above all, showing absolute selflessness and even refusing to work as a Parliamentary Secretary in order to keep his independence for guidance of the Party.

h. Treating all propaganda against him by the Congress and the Coalition party with the contempt it deserved and paying no heed to the personal attacks on him and thereby keeping the prestige of the Muslim League.

10. Before any harm is done to the Muslim League party in Sind, this strong appeal is hereby made to the high command to pay immediate attention to this matter and study the political career of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh Sahib, the present Revenue Minister, and take an early action to make necessary impartial enquiries and set matters right. In his nine years of membership of Sind Legislative Assembly, Pir Sahib has never remained true and faithful to his own party and his anxiety has always been to remain true to his ministership to which he has been sticking like a leech. His principle has always been to secure a ministership whatever the party in power.

11. This forceful appeal to the Muslim League high command is sent out to take steps to set matters right, or else such selfish and power-grabbing self-seekers, the so-called League leaders of Sind, will throw Sind and its politics in such a deep ditch from which even the high command will not later on be able to retrieve it.

ABDUL RAHMAN K. BROHI

[1]Portions of repetitive nature omitted.

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F. H. Elkhairabadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 132/50-8

MOST SECRET

NAIRANG MANZIL, AMBALA,
1 October 1946

Dear and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

The hearts of all the Musalmans of India have been wounded by this stab in the back that they have received from the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. The Labour Government has maintained its reputation of traditional enmity with the Indian Musalmans. The

causes in brief are as follows:

i. Hindu propaganda in the press and on the platform and through social contacts in India and abroad and the lamentable lack of publicity and propaganda in favour of the Muslim cause.
ii. Wealth and powerful organisation of the Hindus.
iii. Hindu monopoly of foreign trade and commerce.
iv. Backwardness of the Indian Musalmans in trade and industry and their general economic poverty.
v. Disruption of the British empire and the inability of the British people to hold together the fabrics of their socio-political structure; their general bankruptcy and economic ruin as a result of World War II; the huge liabilities of the British Govt. and their miserable status of a debtor nation and economic subservience to U.S.A.
vi. Dire need of the British people to keep up and extend their export trade in order to save themselves from starvation. Hence their need to wind up their political empire and to retain their economic domination over India and South-East Asia and to barter away the Govt. of India in return for trading concessions.
vii. Ability of the Hindus to deliver the goods in a trade pact between Britain and India in furtherance of British trading interests.
viii. Fear of Russia and partly of the U.S.A. and the desire to use India as a pawn in this game of power-politics and as a poise to keep the balance of power in the Middle-East and South-East Asia.

2. With the above-mentioned ends in view, the British Govt. has let down the Muslim League and aligned itself with the Hindu-ridden *Bania*-dominated Congress. The British Govt. has gone back upon its plighted word and acted in a most shameless and treacherous manner. Muslim hearts are bleeding and their anger and resentment know no bounds. The Labour Govt. has made the Musalmans the slaves of the Hindus, themselves slaves of the gods. They have committed a rape on history and have made the Hindus the masters of India against the course of nature, without their having shed a drop of blood. The Muslims naturally want to fight it out with the Hindus and are determined not to let them become rulers of India for a song. If they want to rule over India, they must kill and conquer the Indian Muslims in a civil war. *Akhand* Hindustan can be built on the corpses of the Musalmans and not over their living heads. But

Muslims must act with wisdom and restraint and not let their passions get the better of their good sense. At present they have to contend and fight with four forces:

a. The armed might of the British Govt. which is bent upon imposing Hindu rule over the whole of India and crushing the Musalmans.
b. The Hindus who are their deadly foes.
c. The Sikhs who dispute and challenge their predominance and sovereignty in the Punjab.
d. The Indian States, most of which are Hindu.

It is obvious that the Musalmans cannot fight all the three forces at one and the same time. My plea is that they should first of all fight and settle with the Hindus who are their real enemies. In my opinion the aim of the League policy should be to create such [*sic*] conditions in which it may become impossible for the exclusively Congressite Interim Govt. to function. For the time being the League should try to neutralise the opposition of the British Govt. and of the Sikhs and the Princes. So far as the British Govt. is concerned, my view is that Muslim agitation against the British Govt. should remain constitutional and non-violent and the Muslim League should go on temporising until it is able to outmanoeuvre the British Government and bring it to such a pass and create such conditions that it can no longer support the Congress Govt. and no longer finds it profitable to bolster up the case of Hindu domination over the whole of this vast subcontinent. In the meantime the League should also carry on an intensive propaganda drive against the present policy of the Labour Govt. in India and abroad. It should go on playing on British fears of Communist Russia and canvass all possible support for the Muslim cause in Muslim countries.

3. The League should placate the Sikhs by helping them to form a greater Sikh State consisting of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot and the predominantly Sikh *tehsils* of Ludhiana and Ferozepore and Ambala District, namely Jagrawan, Muktesar, Kharar, Rupar and Samrala. The federating Sikh States should be encouraged and supported in forming a group or union of Sikh States, which will serve as a buffer between Hindustan and Pakistan. In the Punjab, we can give them adequate safeguards and liberal representation in the services. As you are aware, without a compromise with the Sikhs, peace and security, even the bare attainment of Pakistan, is scarcely possible.

As regards the Princes, the League should encourage and support the personal rule of the Princes as against the Hindu democratic elements which are aligned on the side of the Congress. This will

have two advantages, namely:

i. It will weaken the Hindu States by internal conflict between the ruler and the ruled.
ii. It will prevent the States from going to the side of the Congress in its fight with the League.

4. Now I deal with the Hindu-dominated Congress Govt. with which the League has to fight for its life. The League's Direct Action programme should be directed wholly and solely against the Hindus and the Hindu Congress Govt. at the Centre. As I have already stated above, the League should not at this stage come into conflict with the British Govt. as that would place the Musalmans between two fires. The Muslim campaign against the British Govt. should be non-violent and constitutional and it should be economic rather than political. I am opposed to the idea of non-payment of land revenue as it is a provincial subject and further because it might lead to the Muslim lands and landed interests being confiscated and sold to the Hindus. Such a campaign is likely to result in the Muslims being dispossessed of their lands, and in consequence the Muslim rural population, which forms their bulk, being deprived of their livelihood, and thus their already great economic distress might be aggravated. This would have further effect of making our countryside an easy prey to godless communism apart from the possible danger of Muslim lands passing on to the hands of the Hindus.

5. I propose the following programme of Direct Action for your consideration:

a. Complete boycott of all kinds of Hindu and British goods until both of them come to terms with the League. All Muslim Leaguers should take a vow on the holy *Qur'an* to observe strictly this boycott programme.
b. Complete social boycott of the Hindus.
c. As a necessary corollary of the above, the Muslim industries, factories and Muslim shops and hotels should be set up to cater to the economic needs of the Muslim community.
d. Complete boycott of Hindu services and Hindu labour.
e. Non-payment of all central taxes and excise duties in all the Muslim majority provinces. Any attempt by the Central Govt. to realise these taxes should be resisted both by the provincial governments and the individuals concerned.
f. Ticketless travelling on a very wide scale should be resorted to so as to paralyse the railways.
g. Illegal and secret possession of firearms and lethal weapons on a wide scale in all the Hindu majority provinces.

h. In the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims should be granted arms licences on a very wide and liberal scale.
i. Non-payment of both the provincial and central taxes in the Hindu majority provinces, but the Musalmans living in the rural areas, where they own lands, should not resort to non-payment of land revenue and other local rates and cesses, as that would lead to their being dispossessed of their lands.
j. The League workers should join hands with the Communists and encourage and support them by all possible means—moral and financial. Strikes among railway employees, postal employees and workers in Hindu factories, mills and industrial concerns, should be particularly encouraged and supported by League funds whenever necessary.
k. Muslim skilled labour, and such labour as may be indispensable, should refuse to work for the Congress Govt. at the Centre and in the Hindu majority provinces and for Hindu employers generally. Muslim workers and Govt. servants and employees should not cooperate with the Congress Govt. at the Centre and with Congress Govts. in the provinces and with their Hindu officers in all possible ways.
l. I am not in favour of Muslim servants of Congress Govt. at the Centre or of the Congress Provincial Govts. resigning their jobs. Rather they should stick to their jobs helping the Muslim cause and not cooperating with the policy of the Congress Govt. They may be turned out by the Congress Govts., but they should not resign. Resignation of Muslims from the services—civil, military and police—can only result in weakening Muslim power and strength. Remaining in Govt. service, they can help the League and harm the Congress as far as their will and competence go. Let the Congress Govts. incur the odium of dismissing the Musalmans from the Govt. service. They may leak out the secrets of the Congress Govt. and act in a manner prejudicial to the Congress and the Hindus. By resigning they will only further the Hindu cause and would be doing what the Hindus want them to do without any blame attaching to the Congress Govt.
m. In the Muslim majority provinces, wherever there is a League Govt., it should not cooperate with and defy as far as possible the Congress Central Govt.
n. The League should organise Muslim mass contact movement for furthering the League cause.
o. League propaganda should be made among the Muslim

officers and rank and file of the Indian Army, with a view to bringing about revolt when the time for it comes.

p. League propaganda should be carried on vigorously in foreign countries, especially in Muslim countries and in Russia.

q. A movement of *jihad* against the Congress Govt. in the NWFP and in the trans-border areas should be immediately started and the cooperation of the *pirs* and *mullas* should be enlisted at all costs. The nucleus of the Direct Action and *jihad* movements should be in the NWFP but it should have its ramifications in all the Muslim majority provinces. For this purpose the support of the *pirs* and *'ulama* should be obtained. The NWFP is the only province where in case of Direct Action the League can establish its centre in safety and security and from where it can organize a regular army for civil war. The N.W.F. and trans-border people are mostly armed and the arms can be smuggled into the N.W.F. from the trans-border, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. It is, therefore, necessary that the League should capture the provincial govt. there. In the past, the League had been indifferent to the NWFP considering it to be an entirely Muslim province where there was no need of propaganda or making any special efforts, with the result that Muslim League candidates were not returned in a majority to the Frontier Assembly. I think that it is in the NWFP that League propaganda and League organisation are needed more than in any other province in British India, because it is the only Province where League cannot be crushed by the Central Congress Govt. and from where the League ideology can be spread in the trans-border areas, Afghanistan and other neighbouring Muslim countries. In my opinion the League committed a great blunder in neglecting this Province, owing to which the Frontier Province instead of being the stronghold of Pakistan has become the stronghold of the Indian Congress. I, therefore, strongly urge that no amount of money, effort and propaganda should be grudged for converting this Province to the creed of the League. There are four factors which favour the success of Direct Action in the NWFP:

i. Non-Muslims are practically non-existent in this Province and in the case of confiscation of land and property as a result of non-payment of taxes and land revenue there is no danger of the lands passing into the hands of non-Muslims.

ii. The people of this Province are more or less armed and there

is no dearth of manpower.

iii. The trans-border and Afghanistan are at its back and there is safety and escape in the recesses and fastnesses of the hills.

iv. The *pirs* and the *mullas* who have very great influence among the people of the NWFP and the tribal areas can be easily won over to the cause of Pakistan.

6. It is very essential both for the establishment of the parallel League Govt. in the Punjab and for the success of Direct Action that there should be a League Govt. in this Province. The balance of strength between the communities in the Punjab is such that even a few Muslim votes going to the Congress Coalition Party can tilt the scales against the League and prevent the establishment of a League Govt. For obvious reasons it is essential that there should be a League Govt. in the Punjab. Without a League Govt. the League's campaign of Direct Action can either not succeed or succeed at very great cost of men and money and may also prove disastrous to Muslim interests in agricultural land and urban property. For this reason it is essential that Sir Khizar Hayat should be brought over to the League side. No effort should be spared to win him back to the League. For this purpose the League leaders of the Punjab and Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah should, in their individual capacity as well as official, contact Sir Khizar Hayat and try to convince him of the extreme desirability of his rejoining the League in the larger interests of Islam and Muslim India.

7. I am reading for the last few days about your interviews with His Excellency the Viceroy. I can't deliver a sermon to Solomon, but I would lay a suggestion for your kind consideration. There is a provision in the Cabinet Mission Scheme that after the Sections have framed the constitutions for the Provinces and the Groups, it will be for a Provincial Assembly to decide whether it will remain in the Group or out of it. In my opinion you should insist that for opting out of a Group, the provincial Assembly should decide by a two-thirds majority, otherwise there is a danger of provinces seceding from the Groups and the Group structure falling through, as was suggested with malicious glee by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This danger is especially marked in the Punjab, where the Muslim majority is small and precarious and in Assam where there is a slight Hindu majority.

Yours sincerely,
F. H. ELKHAIRABADI

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Fatima Nabi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/136

119 HIGH STREET,
LONDON,
2 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim students in Britain are following the course of events in India very closely and fully support the attitude of our national organisation—the All India Muslim League. The need of unity amongst Muslims is paramount at this hour and realising this the Muslim students here have decided to organise themselves in a strong body which will be a branch of the All India Muslim Students' Federation.

Fortunately Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon was here last week and we utilised this opportunity of holding a meeting of Muslim students in Britain under his presidentship where we decided upon some concrete steps to be taken in this connection. Enclosed herewith you will find a brief report of the meeting countersigned by Mr. Haroon.

It is proposed to convene a convention of Muslim students in Britain some time in November 1946 in London. We are endeavouring to secure the participation of some eminent Muslim League leaders of India. This convention will elect the office-bearers of our organisation here and, God willing, our work will go on.

We shall feel honoured and encouraged if you send some message for the occasion.

We are alive to the realities of the situation in India and are conscious of our responsibilities in that regard. Under your inspiring leadership and guidance, we are sure to march to our cherished goal—Pakistan.

Praying for your health and long life,

Yours obediently,
FATIMA NABI
Convenor,
Convening Committee,
AIMSF Branch, Britain

Enclosure to No. 117

SHC, FC II/137

A meeting of Muslim Indian students was held in the Islamic Cultural Centre on Saturday, the 28th September 1946, at 5 p.m. to hear the report of the members of the delegation of the All India Muslim Students' Federation attending the World Students Congress held at Prague in August 1946. Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, MLA (Central), President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, was in the chair.

After a brief introduction of Mr. Haroon by Mr. Z. A. Suleri, leader of the AIMSF delegation, Mr. Haroon addressed the Muslim students for an hour. During the course of his speech he dealt with the present political situation in India and the attitude of Muslim India to the present Interim Government. He acquainted the audience with the true state of affairs inside the rank and file of the Muslim League and their preparedness for any sacrifice called upon by Quaid-i-Azam. He exhorted the Muslim students in Britain to organise themselves on a united platform and work for the cause of Pakistan.

Mr. Z. A. Suleri gave an elaborate account of the work done by him and the AIMSF delegation at Prague. He was followed by other members of the delegation, Messrs Khateeb Masood Hussain, Riaz Ahmed Khan and Mushtaq Ahmed Patel, who narrated briefly their own work and impressions of the World Students Congress. The reports were thoroughly discussed by the Muslim students present at the meeting.

Two members of the delegation, Mr. Hussain and Mr. Khan, differed from Mr. Suleri, leader of the delegation, on matters of procedure and policy pursued by him (Mr. Suleri) at the Prague Congress. It was decided that the above members submit their reports to the AIMSF for decision.

Thereafter, Miss Fatima Nabi moved the following resolution which was passed unanimously amidst applause:

In view of the fact that there is a definite need of a strong representative organisation of Muslim Indian students in Britain, it is resolved that following steps be taken for the formation of such a body which will be a branch of the All India Muslim Students' Federation:

a. A convening committee be elected to supervise and conduct the elections for the formation of this organisation.
b. Membership be enrolled from all over Britain and a definite date be set for enrolment.
c. The last date for nominations and the date of elections be fixed and the latter be conducted under a high-ranking Muslim League official from India.

The following Muslim students were proposed and elected unanimously to serve on the convening committee for this purpose:

1. Mr. Khateeb Masood Hussain
2. Mr. Abu Sayeed Choudhury
3. Mr. Riaz Ahmed Khan
4. Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed Patel
5. Mr. Ahmed Mohiuddin
6. Mr. Abdul Azeez
7. Miss Fatima Nabi (Convenor)

Miss Fatima Nabi was elected as the President of the above committee. The convening committee was authorised by the meeting to draft and send a letter to Sir Stafford Cripps and the Secretary of State for India with regard to the attitude of Muslim Indian students in Britain to the recent invitation extended to them by the London *Majlis* for a reception in their honour.

FATIMA NABI

118

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram

SHC, Punjab V/34

3 October 1946

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,

I have received all your letters including the last one dated the 1st October,[1] and I thank you for keeping me informed about the Punjab situation. They are very instructive and useful points, which you have been bringing to my notice from time to time, and I read them with interest.

I received your letter informing me that you were arriving at Delhi on the 27th September but unfortunately by the time I received this letter I had no means to communicate with you, and I did not know where to write to you, and thought that you must be in Delhi. Not knowing your address in Delhi, I was not able to get in touch with you. The best course is that if you happen to be in Delhi you will be good

enough to telephone me. I shall certainly fix up an appointment and will be glad to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. Rallia Ram,
5 Masson Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 118.

119

M. K. Shahjehan to Archibald Wavell
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 831/239-40

TIRUVANNAMALAI,
NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT,
3 October 1946

The Executive Committee meeting of the Muslim League, Tiruvannamalai, held on 22-9-1946, passed the following resolution:

The Madras Government is trying by various means and adopting the cunning policy to take away the mother tongue, Urdu language, of Muslims.

Muslims stand as one nation. The Urdu language also stands as one language for Muslims. The Urdu is not only the mother tongue of Muslims but also the basic language of our religion (Islam) [*sic*].

If the Urdu language will be tried [*sic*] to take away from any school or it will be taken by any reason, the Muslims on the whole will put the full efforts together with all kinds of sacrifices for the prevention [*sic*]. Urdu is the language of our religion. The unnecessary interference in our language should be dropped. The policy to take [away] Urdu should be withdrawn at once.

The majority has come in power and it does not mean that it should try to abolish the rights of the minority. The Congress high command and its ministry will not at all shine and become prosperous unless it helps the minority in all possible ways. The more the Congress ministry interferes in the Muslims'

problem the more the downfall to the [*sic*] Congress Ministry. The Committee once again request to drop the policy of abolishing the Urdu language and do justice for [*sic*] the minority.

Immediate action should be taken for the benefit of the good cause.

M. K. SHAHJEHAN
President,
Tiruvannamalai Muslim League

120

Syed Mohammed Alim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/340

P.O. KELEKARI,
DISTRICT RAMNAD,
3 October 1946

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Now that the Congress have entered the Government without the co-operation of the Muslim League, and Pakistan has not been conceded, it is necessary that the Muslim League should occupy five seats to the exclusion of Congressite Muslims. They cannot work the Indian Constitution without the co-operation of the Muslim League. Therefore, the Viceroy has invited you with a view to forging some sort of compromise between the Congress and the League. Sir, you should go to the Viceroy but if he wants you to agree to join the Government, tell him that if any Congressite Muslim is associated with the Government, we shall not accept it. If he asks you to accept the Government, tell him that we can accept only on condition that no Congressite Muslim is associated with it, otherwise not. All this is [a] device on the part of Britain to keep the Hindus and Musalmans of India divided. And it is due to this that they would concede neither Pakistan nor Hindustan. The British are afraid of India being partitioned and that is why they are not conceding Pakistan. The desire to keep possession over the wealth of India has not yet left their hearts. This is why they are not prepared to leave India. Similarly, the Congress device is to keep the Musalmans of India divided so that they, being unequal in number, may remain slaves to the Hindu Congress. In the present circumstances British domination is

preferable to being enslaved by the Hindus. Sir, please do consider in your Committee the plight of India and keep a watch over your prestige [*sic*].

May God grant us favour in this world as well as in the world hereafter. Verily, He is all powerful.

S. M. K. SYED MOHAMMED ALIM

121

Agha Shaukat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 597/1-3

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
3 October 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Very serious and deep activities are taking place behind the curtain. Some of the information in this letter may interest you. Political Dept. is active. The Congress is taking a very serious view of the Kashmir situation, particularly now after the two letters written by the Maharaja have been published in the *Blitz*.[1] The letters have created a stir in Kashmir's political circles. Gandhi is in correspondence with the Maharaja. He is said to be persuading him to appoint a Muslim Prime Minister. This much is clear that all political parties are unanimous in their hatred and uncompromising opposition to [Premier] Kak. Muslims particularly are desperately awaiting deliverance from his yoke. I am afraid lest the Congress may [*sic*] take the credit for all this. We realise that the Congress is playing its own game but the ignorant people are likely to be deceived. The Govt. policy being what it is we have no means of bring [*sic*] home the truth to them. Kak wants to destroy us one by one. In spite of the fact that the Chairman of our Reception Committee applied for permission to hold the annual session, the permission was refused. We cannot take the order lying down if we want to survive as a political force in the State. So I have under the instructions of Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas issued instructions that the order does not bind the Muslim Conference. We are, therefore, holding the session.

The Muslim League cannot afford to remain neutral any longer. Its non-interventionist policy unfortunately is having a very detrimental effect on the morale of the Musalmans. Now that the League has joined the Executive [Council],[2] I am sure you will now be able to

spare some time for the Muslims of Kashmir. Sir [Mohammad Saleh] Akbar Hyderi's name is suggested in connection with the change in the Premiership. He is reported to be enjoying Congress support. The feeling in Kashmir is that any one can be better than Kak. If you take the matter up with the Political Adviser I am sure we can hope for far better results. But at the same time we want some active and direct support in [*sic* for to] our movement. I was assured by the Committee of Action when I met the Committee in Delhi that they would make Kashmir a fundamental issue of League's programme. I was also assured that I would be informed before our session about their final decisions but we have still heard nothing from them. Four lakh [rupees] have, so far, been sent to the National Conference by the Congress as a part payment for the relief of sufferers during the recent movement. This is all being used for elections. But we still have faith in the Muslim masses. This much is certain that we alone cannot fight such a powerful and resourceful combination.

I hope this note finds you in the best of health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

A. SHAUKAT ALI
General Secretary,
All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference

[1]A weekly magazine, edited by R. K. Karanjia, published from Bombay.
[2]The Muslim League joined the Interim Government on 26 October 1946.

122

Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Bihar I/121

3 October 1946

Regular organised attacks on defenceless Muslims in Bihar, taking stupendous proportion. Cases of isolated and daylight murder, harassment of Muslim women on their movement by Hindus. Also mass attacks on Muslim population in villages reported from various quarters. Recent happenings at Benibad where two hundred Muslim houses burnt, women, children and males in large numbers butchered. Police and Magistrate failed saving Muslims' lives and property in spite of timely appeals to take precautionary measures at Benibad. Hindu Congress Govt. has not checked disturbances. Bihar Muslims not feeling secure.

Their patience being tried. Invite Your Excellency's intervention.

BADRUDDIN AHMAD
Secretary, Bihar Provincial Muslim League

123

Sardar Saeed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/93

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
3 October 1946

Respected Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I, as a Muslim, feel it my duty to bring to your kind notice whatever I think essential for my community and I hope you will excuse me for intruding upon your invaluable time. This suggestion can only be put into action by your honour without the least difficulty and which is otherwise impossible to carry out.

It is an admitted fact that the uplift of a community chiefly depends upon its financial resources. The major portion of the Muslims are labourers. If Muslims had their own mills and workshops, on the one hand the unemployment would be reduced and on the other the community would be benefited financially.

The question of providing adequate funds which might seem impossible for an individual is not at all difficult for a community.

We are ten crore in number in India. If it is urged by your honour that everybody should necessarily contribute one rupee per head for this cause, the amount of rupees ten crore can be easily collected. Certainly there are persons who will not be able to spare a rupee even, but no doubt there are those who can make up the deficiency by paying hundreds if not thousands of rupees for this purpose.

Hope this will meet with your favourable consideration,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SARDAR SAEED
Student

124

S. K. to M. A. Jinnah
F. 885/6-9
[*Original in Urdu*]

Extract

HYDERGANJ,
LUCKNOW,
3 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am an ordinary Sunni Muslim intermediate student who, in order to study science subjects, had to join Mahela College as these subjects were not taught in the Muslim College.

All the Muslims consider you as their king and are prepared to sacrifice their lives at your beckoning. God has granted you wisdom and made you the leader of the Muslims. All the wealth, respect and strength has been given to you by the Almighty, which as a Muslim would be acknowledged by you.

I feel incapable of giving you any advice but I hope you will excuse me for reminding you of your duty as a Muslim to say and lead the prayers, as ordained in the holy *Qur'an*.

I am anxious to hear the news that you have started saying the prayers and in fact are leading the prayers.

I wish that you could inform me through the newspaper *Tanveer* that you have received this letter.

Your humble servant,
S. K.
Daughter of Muhammad Khalil

125

Badrud Doja to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/91

CHATTA AGA JAN,
NEAR KALAN MAHAL,
DELHI,
4 October 1946

Respected Sir,

I respectfully beg to lay down the following few suggestions for your favourable and sympathetic consideration.

That every now and then it happens that some Leaguers cross floor of the House and join the Opposition, under some sort of temptation or otherwise. Thus Muslim League has to suffer severely and some times its power reduces [*sic*] to Sind status narrowly escaping from national disaster.

To avoid such type of calamities I would humbly suggest that the League should introduce a bill (law) through the provincial governments, and at the Centre as well, that before crossing the floor he [the member] should resign from the party and the position he got through the national organisation, and seek new election under the name of the party he wishes to join.

In case of an independent [member], this should be relaxed, but when he once joins any political body, his old status of an independent should be washed out, and he should be allocated [*sic*] with the new party politics.

In case the suggestion is approved kindly ask the Chief Ministers of Muslim provinces to introduce a bill covering all such weaknesses.

Apologizing for the trouble,

Long live Quaid-i-Azam!

Pakistan Zindabad

I am,

Your most obedient servant,
BADRUD DOJA
Secretary, Muslim League Ward 9

126

Abdul Rahman & Kassim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/36

ABIRAMAM POST,
RAMNAD DISTRICT,
4 October 1946

Sir,

With further reference to our communication sent to you on 19-9-1946[1] in regard to the criminal trespass by the Hindus on our ancient mosque at Reela Vadakkur *alias* Andanayagapuram, hoisting a Congress tricolour [flag] on a tamarind tree and hanging a bell on a bassia tree—we have to observe:

That we went to the site of the mosque referred to in response to the call of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Abiramam, to be present at the enquiries he wanted to make on the spot on 25-9-1946. We were surprised to note that at the feet of tamarind, bassia and banyan trees standing on the site, the Hindus have newly raised pedestal, hung flower garlands at the entrance of the mosque, suspended a festoon of leaves across the courtyard tying one end to the wall of the mosque and the other to the banyan tree, and drawn a *soolam* at the doorstep with *sandal* paste and with *kumkum*.[2] These innovations were made under the cover of darkness, indicative of the [fact that the] Hindus were in the know of the enquiry beforehand.

These, we believe, are made simply to provoke and precipitate matters and we the Muslims are greatly agitated and perturbed and our minds are wounded [*sic*] by these acts beyond all proportion. The Hindus are bent upon hastening a flare-up. We earnestly request the authorities to take quick action in removing the innovations perpetrated [*sic*] by the Hindus and thus help to restore peace and harmony.

ABDUL RAHMAN
KASSIM
Managing Trustees,
for the Natham Oor Pallivasal Trust

[1]See *SHC*, Madras II/35. Not printed.
[2]A red pigment used by Hindu women on the forehead.

127

Secretary, Jubbulpore Muslim League to Police Commissioner
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, CP & Berar II/53

JUBBULPORE,
4 October 1946

Dear Sir,

It is observed that the Hindus are openly parading and learning the use of *lathis*, batons and swords, etc., even at public places given below, in the early morning and evening in spite of restrictions imposed under Section 144 Cr.P.C. in the Jubbulpore City, and the Police has taken no action against them:

1. Shrinath-ki-Talaiya
2. Wright Town near Observatory
3. Gole-bazar
4. Hitkarni School
5. Akhada Faqir Chand Ustad
6. Nimwadganj grain market
7. Belbagh garden
8. Ganjipura
9. Alaf Khan-ki-Talaiya
10. Sunday market near the houses of Khatiks
11. Kariapather
12. Maharashtrya Vyam Shala, Madhatal
13. A.F.H. High School Cantonment

On the other hand Muslims, displaying and learning the use of *lathis* on private grounds, are being threatened and harassed by the Police. The circumstances are provocative of bad feelings between the two communities and the Police should not be allowed to close its eyes on one community really responsible for the breach of the order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. and be unjustifiably strict with the Muslims who do not disobey any such orders. The law and order is alike for both the communities and should be justly administered without exemption to any party.

It is, therefore, requested that the Police be strictly warned not to give vent to communal spirit in matters of administration and in the

discharge of their duties and should act honestly and impartially.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
City Muslim League

128

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah
SHC, UP III/147

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
4 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have to fight fresh elections in Sind. You had taken a very keen interest in the last election campaign and with your kind help Aligarh students were able to render useful service. Our students are again willing to do election work in Sind. Our main difficulty is financial. If you kindly help us, as you did on the previous occasion, it would be possible for our City League to send a large number of trained and experienced students for election work in Muslim constituencies of Sind. Last time, a committee with Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza as Chairman and Mr. Jamilud Din and myself as members was appointed by you to supervise the work of the students. The same committee can be entrusted with this work again. If necessary, Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and myself may come down to Delhi to discuss this matter with you on such date as you may kindly direct.

Wishing you good health and long life to guide the Muslim nation to our cherished goal of sovereign Pakistan,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
President,
Muslim University
City Muslim League

129

Mrs. Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/55

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
5 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Of course, we, lay people do not presume to question your superior knowledge of the situation, but we Europeans, who are without exception opposed to a Caste-Hindu *raj* do implore you to join the Interim [Government] even to wreck it from within. You have put up a splendid fight against great odds; even the *Evening Standard,* an influential London paper, asks you to join as they point out that you are the only person of culture and experience in India.

Of course, the Congress in their deceitful way are putting every obstacle against your League joining, so that they may have a clear fairway, but this must be opposed at all costs. Our European *MLAs* will all vote for the Muslims, as in Sind. Our Governor has already put the thin edge [*sic* for end] of the wedge, which has caused the *Congresswallas* to run to Delhi to the old *Bania* to kiss the part to make it well [*sic*]. Good luck, your star is mounting.

Yours truly,
MRS. A. ST. IVES-CURRIE

130

Mirza B. Mahmood Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1082)

8 YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
6 October 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am very glad to hear that after all the present negotiations are

nearing a settlement. I have all along been of the opinion that though we should never lose sight of our ideal or slacken our struggle for it, we should at the same time be ready to accept a compromise (for Islam allows compromise on such occasions) provided it is honourable and leaves us free to continue lawful struggle for further achievement. This is what is popularly known as accepting a thing under protest. As the Interim Government has immense power for good and evil, I was naturally very anxious that some way might be found for the Muslims to get in, and I am glad that your good handling of the situation and the co-operation of influential friends have made that possible.

If no further hitch crops up and a settlement is finally reached, which we all hope and pray for, I would draw your attention to the great need of strengthening and expanding the organisation of the Muslim League. To begin with, [following] five things seem to be essential:

i. Organising the centre, the provinces and the districts on a firmer and more representative basis.

[Sub-paras ii and iii illegible]

iv. Setting up central League organisations for helping the Muslims in the fields of commerce, industry, etc.

v. Extending and consolidating foreign relations.

There is of course a very vast field of work but even if a modest beginning is made, the foundations will be laid for future progress and prosperity. May God help you.

The expanded organisation will be beneficial in another way also. There is at present a fairly large number of capable Muslims who are ready or rather eager to serve the cause of Islam and the Muslims. The expanded organisation will open the door for absorbing them, otherwise they might become gradually alienated and even discontented, and some of them may eventually turn out to be a source of mischief.

I did not perhaps inform you that the very day I met you, I sent a note to His Excellency the Viceroy telling him that the Muslim League demands had the full sympathy and support of my [Ahmadiyya] community.

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA B. MAHMOOD AHMAD

131

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/14

FARANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
6 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry not to have written to you since [*sic*] a long time. The main reason was that I did not like to encroach upon your precious time when so many important things required your attention. May *Allah* help you in all your endeavours.

I may, however, inform you that recently I have taken over the management of an old Urdu paper, the daily *Hamdam,* in my hands. The paper was very popular in these parts sometime back and had a wide circulation. It deteriorated in recent years and I am trying to give it a new life to serve the cause of the Muslims and the Muslim League ideals and pray that God may bless my efforts.

To achieve this object, I have found much material bearing on the points at issue at the present day in [*sic*] going through the diaries regularly maintained by my father during his life-time. A careful study of these diaries shows how the Muslim cause has been distorted to the detriment of the Muslims. I want to use this material for educating the Muslim public and this will be one of the main features of the daily *Hamdam* in future.

Hoping that you will bless the paper.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL

132

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/35

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of October 3rd.[1] I am sorry I did not phone you for an interview during my two days' stay at Delhi. Now I must wait till you come to Lahore to guide the destiny of Pakistan's key province. I am hopeful that you will make Punjab your permanent home, as without your guidance and lead in the affairs of the province, particularly in the beginning, there is a danger of the key province of Pakistan being overwhelmed by those who are still wishing that the Muslims should not be freed from the clutches of Caste-Hindus. Your presence here is an absolute necessity. The Hindus tremble in their shoes when they hear that you are going to be in the Constituent Assembly and they feel that they have no one to match you in intelligence and cleverness and they are right in thinking so. May God give you health and strength to guide the Muslim nation to a successful end, and with the Muslim nation the other minorities are also safe in your hands. I do hope everybody of the minorities will soon realize that their salvation is with the Muslims.

I am forwarding some other interesting cuttings[2] from the press. It is painful to read that while efforts are being made to bring an honourable settlement, men of [*sic*] Jai Prakash Narain['s ilk] should issue such a biting statement in the press to make matters worse and spread ill will amongst the people on wrong assumptions.

The cutting[3] about the League antics in the Frontier is annoying indeed. The Hindu press will go on attacking the League and even go to the length of being mean in calling the League propaganda a malicious work. They don't want the Muslims to unite. They are playing the British game of divide and rule.

Then another cutting[4] about India through Birla eyes is also interesting. With what speed the Hindu capitalists are buying off every concern in India, there is no mention of all these deals in the Hindu press. They are keeping such things secret. This tide of the press control will have to be stemmed in Pakistan areas, otherwise

the mischief will go on uncontrolled. I hope you will see that they are not allowed to spread lies about the world and India in this manner.

Bhabba's Friends cutting[5] also discloses what type of councillors the Congress has chosen as its representatives—all capitalists.

Let me again wish you health and strength for the great work you are doing for the Muslim nation and the minorities.

May you live long,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]No. 118.
[2,3,4&5]Not traceable.

133

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/36

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
8 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are some more interesting cuttings[1] from today's press that must be brought to your notice. A befitting reply should be given in Urdu as well as English Muslim press to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's statement on the Interim Govt. He is such a simple man that having seen the Congress installed in the Central Govt., he has actually forgotten that the Congress not only was insulted and affronted by the British Govt. for the last 60 years of its life but it suffered even more heavily than what the [Muslim] League has borne.

The League may be insulted [*sic*] in the eyes of the Congressmen but the Congress had to face assaults, insults, jails and even death at the hands of Britishers with whom they have now shaken hands and buried their past so quickly. Has Khan Sahib forgotten that Panditji's father and mother were physically assaulted by the British police; that Lala Lajpat Rai died of the wounds inflicted by them; that Vallabhbhai Patel was put in Ambala jail next to a latrine which caused him serious illness? Has he forgotten all this so soon that now he thinks that an invitation by the Viceroy to you is such a big insult? It is an irony of fate that human beings forget things so quickly and begin to point fingers at others, for which they themselves

were to blame. There is so much in the Hindu press that needs to be replied in a befitting manner to shut their mouths on many matters. I hope you will bring this matter to the notice of the press. Of course, I do not want my name to be dragged into it.

Nizam of Hyderabad has donated such a large sum to a Hindu University; why can't he donate large sums for the cause of Muslim nation? He should be approached in this matter. The Hindus are never tired of carrying on campaign of hatred against him and have never [said] a good word for him. Then, how many Hindus contribute towards Muslim institutions? None.

There is the plan of the nationalist Muslims of Sind, who do not know that they are causing such a grave and lasting injury to the cause of the Muslim nation by fighting against their own kith and kin. No stone should be left unturned to defeat these traitors.

Look at the way the Hindu press represents your willingness to settle the Hindu-Muslim tangle. I do hope their calculations about the shuffling of portfolios, when you enter the Interim Govt., are not correct. The Muslims must demand important portfolios like Defence, Broadcasting (Information) and Commerce, etc. When things do get settled down, I hope you will keep in mind the attitude of the Hindu press in the Punjab and take proper action against those who have unnecessarily delayed the settlement by malicious propaganda, which could easily have been avoided.

Wishing you good luck and good health for all the good work you are doing for the nation. We are praying that your efforts will bring good results very soon.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.

134

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/37

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
9 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The whole world is longing for a League-Congress settlement but the

Hindu press goes on its way by maligning you and the [Muslim] League, attributing vicious motives for every step you take to bring about peace in the country. Here is the editorial of the *Tribune*[1] poisoning the mind of the people against the possible settlement. It is amusing reading indeed. The Hindus seem to believe in the fact that if a lie is repeated a thousand times, it becomes a truth. They are feeding [*sic*] the Punjab mentality with vicious lies. I do hope you will take note of this fact, and the moment League comes into power, such malicious propaganda is banned altogether for good. I am hoping and praying that you will succeed in wresting an honourable settlement from those who were and are still longing to make all non-Caste-Hindus, Muslims and other minorities as wage-slaves of the Caste-Hindus.

The second cutting[2] discloses the plans of the Congress-controlled Government to carry on their imperialist designs like their predecessors to exploit the workers of the land. This cutting shows that they are planning to keep the League out of the defence policy. I do hope you will see that this portfolio is given to a Muslim League member.

Every day and every hour our eyes are waiting to read in the press or hear on the radio that you have succeeded in your efforts for a settlement.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Not printed.

135

Sabir Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/36

CHANDAUSI, [U.P.,]
10 October 1946

Sir,

The burning topic of the day is, why does the Muslim League not agree to the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim by the Congress in its own quota?

It is said that this inclusion would raise the number of Muslims to six and would reduce the number of Hindus to four.

The offer appears to be quite generous. But the question is why

this generosity? Is it because the Congress wants to give a major share to the Muslims? Perhaps not so. Maybe, the Congress wants to prove by it that it represents nationalist Muslims as well. But we hear of the Congress representing not only the nationalist Muslims but Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Depressed Classes as well. If the Congress is true to its words, why then does it not distribute all its quota amongst all the important communities like Sikhs, Depressed Classes, Parsis and Christians? Why should there be separate representation of these minorities? If the Congress does this and makes the minorities agree to it, there remains no necessity of an eleventh member and the [Muslim] League should readily agree to 5:5 formula.

But the pity is that the Congress has already lost its representative character by accepting separate representation of these minorities and hence the Congress becomes a body of *Soran* Hindus and Hindus only and as such, it has no justification for labelling simple unsophisticated Muslims as part and parcel of the Hindu group.

Our dearest Quaid-i-Azam cannot and should not become a party to this vilification of a Muslim.

Yours truly,
SABIR HUSAIN QADRI
ex-Honorary Magistrate

136

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/38

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am again sending a cutting[1] from the press about the so-called danger to the Interim Govt. on the Muslim League's entry into it. The Hindu had become so confident about his comfortable position in the Central Govt. without the Muslim League that he started dreaming of the establishment of *Ram raj*, and now that there is a chance of the League joining it, he has begun to attribute sinister motives to the Muslims joining the Govt. But, I think that it would be a Himalayan blunder to sit aside at this critical juncture and let the

Hindus throttle the Muslims by various ways. Even if there is no settlement with the Congress, the League should capture its five seats and save the Muslims from being strangulated as they are being done at present. Within a month's time, a great harm has been done to the Muslim nation on various pretexts. There is nobody to speak on behalf of them. The Congress Muslims cannot and do not see the dangers that are in store for them under the Hindu rule, and I think they are deliberately closing their eyes to the catastrophe that awaits them if there is a majority Hindu rule. Therefore, it is useless to depend on them for Muslim protection. Therefore, it is best to get into the Govt. and save the Muslims from assimilation. This editorial itself points out how the Muslims could resist various steps taken by the Hindus. They are longing that the League should stay away.

The other cutting[2] exposes the inner working of the Hindu mind. How they long that the negotiations should break down. On the very eve of a settlement, they go on spreading poison against you, the uncrowned king of the Muslims, and write in a most undignified manner.

The Pakistan area is being fed with poisonous matter. Although in the end, he does write in a hopeful manner about the settlement, but the headlines deceive the readers. It is a pity that the press is doing its utmost to spoil the whole affair. It will not allow the public mind to come to a compromising attitude. It goes on inciting it into a feeling of hatred and ill feeling. While the Hindu press is allowed to go on unchecked to spread mischief, the Muslim League paper, *Nawai-i-Waqt*, has been asked to deposit security. This is the justice of the Congress-controlled Govt. of the Punjab.

May you live long,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

137

Syed Aleshan Naqvi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Hyderabad I/106

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
11 October 1946

Continuance telegram eight October[1] addressed to Pandit Nehru. Pleased to read that you had very kindly referred to the treaty of *Hudaibia* which I had mentioned in above telegram. Kindly try to get compromise in consideration of the above treaty as early as possible so as to avoid the disturbances because the riots are still in full swing in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta. I assure you if you compromise on any terms which are not to benefit Muslims at present the same will be proved useful in furtherance of the cause of Islam in future. They will be obliged to come to you if your wish [*sic*] is purely sincere. Let the other party know that you are not anxious to get power but you only want to serve the people for establishment of peace. Let me have a chance to see you in this connection to put my views before you for the welfare of Muslims and wire me so that I may proceed to Delhi soon.

SYED ALESHAN NAQVI
Secretary,
Anjuman Sibghatullah International Society

[1]Not traceable.

138

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/111

PESHAWAR,
11 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Two by-elections are likely to be held in the NWFP after the autumn season concludes on 21.11.46. These are occasioned by the resignation of the Nawab of Hoti and the death of Raja Abdur Rahman, ex-League member.

Our Provincial Organizing Committee decided sometime ago that

such nominations should be made by the Muslim League Committee or *Jirga* for the constituency concerned. The other method of a selection board and the inviting of invitations [*sic*] is not considered suitable in the NWFP. This is to request that speedy and suitable directive be issued for the purpose.

An Afridi *Jirga* met me and expressed a desire to meet you in Delhi. *Jirgas* from other tribes are also expected. May I know exactly if you would like to see them. In case you agree, I will let you know by wire so that they are not needlessly kept waiting at an expensive place like Delhi.

The Congress through the local quislings is trying hard to win over the tribes. I wanted to discuss this matter with you, but you are so busy.

May *Allah* give you the strength and wisdom to lead the Muslim nation to victory.

Aameen

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

140

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/105-8

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The breakdown of Delhi negotiations is disquieting indeed. But you know what is best and, therefore, the decision that you take has to be taken as inevitable. It is now clear that the Caste-Hindu Congress is still not ready to give honourable terms to the great Muslim nation. A Scheduled-Caste leader came to see me the other day. He told me that Mr. Gandhi would never come to terms with the Muslims, for he and the other Hindus feel that they have at least been given the political power under the new-fangled democratic system introduced by the British. He said that they would defy the Congress rule even to extinction and would under no condition submit to Mr. Gandhi's statements that they are a part and parcel of Hindu society. He said they would fight against the Poona Pact[1] till it is revoked. This fellow's name is Shankar Anand. He is Ambedkar's

right hand and conducted the *satyagrah* at Bhangi Colony against Mr. Gandhi. He told me that when the Police refused to *lathi-charge* the *satyagrahis*, Mr. Patel, the exponent of non-violence, sent for Congress volunteers who beat the peaceful demonstrators and broke their heads. This was, he said, the hypocritical and dishonest policy of the Congress leaders. This, he said, happened everywhere in India.

I think they are the people with whom you can create a common front against the caste domination of the Hindus. The League should try to make a settlement with Dr. Ambedkar who, I was told by Shankar Anand, was offered heavy bribes by Birla and Tata to stop the agitation at this critical juncture when Hindus were getting a chance to capture political power in India. In my opinion, you should ask Dr. Ambedkar to stand on a common front and also join the deputation that you are sending to England and America. It is now time that all forces that fear the caste domination should be mobilized. The British and the American peoples have been well-fed on only Congress propaganda. Therefore, to undo this propaganda not only Muslims but those who have suffered and will suffer at their hands should be made to present a common front. I have been writing to you that just as the Hindus, by having a few of quislings in their midst, have created the impression that they represent the entire nation, you should also accept the help of those who are only waiting to be united to help you in the cause of liberation of Indians from caste domination. There are thousands who are willing to join you in this great cause of resisting the caste (Brahman) rule in India. Things are moving so rapidly that no time should be lost in mobilizing such forces. I again suggest that you should also send Swami Dharam Theerath along with the Muslims to England and America to expose what caste rule in India would be under the Congress. I wish you could give an interview to this Swami and have a talk with him and get full satisfaction. Perhaps the fact that he is a Hindu makes you hesitant to accept him, but I can assure you that he will be your faithful ally and helper in the cause of exposing what Brahman rule in India would mean. If you like, I can ask him to run up to Delhi from Madras to see you in this connection.

How fast the Congress people are moving in every direction. Mrs. [Vijayalakshmi] Pandit is again on a propaganda mission. The League should not delay the matter.

Here is another department they have opened. They are moving with electric speed. The League work is too slow to beat them anywhere. There should be more and more women workers

everywhere.

Look at the way they write about League workers. This is how they create an impression that the League is nobody.

Here is the third editorial on 'danger to Interim Govt'. It seems Hindus do not want the Muslims to share the government with them. They want pure Hindu rule.

I have just heard from Mr. Christopher Boyd, who was Secretary to the Parliamentary Delegation in India. He writes that the Labour Govt. is trying its level best to bring the two parties together. He is the Secretary to the Fabian Society[2] there. I sent him a lot of literature exposing the Caste-Hindus and cuttings from the *Dawn*. He writes that he is trying over there to bring both parties' point of view before the British public. He writes he has arranged for Mrs. Pandit's lecture as well as Sir Zafrulla's. I think the League deputation should leave at once. I do hope you will agree to send the Swami along.

Wishing you long life,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Poona Pact Agreement signed between Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar on 25 September 1932 whereby the Scheduled Castes agreed to forego the provision of separate electorates in return for an increase in their reserved seats to 148 as against 71 provided in the Communal Award earlier announced by the British Govt. on 17 August 1932.

[2]Association of English Socialists founded in 1884 and aiming at gradual, evolutionary social change rather than a Socialist revolution. Its early members included, besides George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, joint authors of many books who together helped to found the London School of Economics.

140

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram

SHC, Punjab V/39

14 October 1946

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,

Many thanks for your letters of the 7th,[1] 8th,[2] 9th[3] and 11th[4] October 1946, which I have received, and I am very thankful to you for taking all this trouble and keeping me informed as to what is happening in your Province.

You must have read in the press that the Muslim League has decided to join the Interim Government and further details will soon

be available to the public.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 132.
[2]No. 133.
[3]No. 134.
[4]No. 136.

141

Hajee Saleh Mohomed & Azamshah Ahmed Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/81

JOHANNESBURG, [TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA,]
14 October 1946

Muslims are profoundly grateful to Your Highness for your noble efforts to bring about a working understanding between Congress and League. Only in Pakistan is the safety, surety and progress of Muslims. Only Pakistan will be able to legislate for Muslims according to Islamic laws and mould Muslims in the Islamic cast and uphold and preserve the spirit, tradition and culture of Islam, otherwise they would be lost in a sea of conflicting ideologies. Insistence on undivided India will disunite India for all time. By the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan alone will India enjoy blissful peace and prosperity. Pakistan and Hindustan will then become the inseparable twins of India and the pride, glory and strength of Asia. Forceful acceptance now by League to participate in the Interim Government will have [*sic* for pave] the way for the achievement of League's goal of Pakistan.

HAJEE SALEH MOHOMED AND AZAMSHAH AHMED MIRZA
Islamic League of South Africa

142

G. A. Parwez to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/50-53

37 TURKMAN ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
14 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

If my information is correct, I must congratulate you whole-heartedly for your very sagacious and befitting move to include a Scheduled Caste [representative] in our quota of the Executive Council.

The Muslim nation will, I am confident, hail the idea. Islam stands for the protection of the rights of all the oppressed and depressed, regardless of colour, creed and caste, and any attempt to alleviate [*sic*] these down-trodden people is an act worthy of a true Muslim. From the strategic point of view also, the move is most wise which your far-sightedness alone could think of. I might, however, add that according to *Qur'an,* we should act justly—nay, even generously—towards non-Muslims, but should not take them into our confidence. I hope this note of warning from the *Qur'an* is already in your mind.

2. I hope you had caught the point I had mentioned to you when I had the privilege of seeing you on the last occasion, that those who want to cause disruption amongst us are thinking of exploiting the sentiments of the masses by means of propaganda to the effect that by entering the Interim Government, the League has drifted away from the path leading to Pakistan and that all who cherish that goal should come together under another banner. As I had told you, the movement is already germinating in the fertile soil of the Punjab and should, it seems, be nipped in the bud. Perhaps some extremists in other provinces might also subscribe to the move. In my humble opinion, this point should be made very clear in your statement explaining the stand now taken by the League and the circumstances under which it has taken that stand.

3. Another point which I could not mention to you on the last occasion for want of time. You know Mr. K. A. Rahim, ICS of the Punjab. He has been served with a charge-sheet by the Unionist Govt. and although the charges are frivolous and fabricated, they seem to be designed to provide the wolf with an excuse to devour the lamb down the stream. Perhaps something can be done to get him out of their clutches! He can be of much help to us at the Centre.

4. One more point. If it is finally decided to enter into the Interim Government, I would humbly suggest that before our members take up their appointments, they might with advantage be provided with an opportunity just to have a preliminary idea of the working of the secretariat to avoid, even in the beginning, their being dependent on their official secretaries in the ordinary matters. If you agree, I propose to have this done through their informal meetings with some of our men having secretariat experience. My own experience of the secretariat suggests that those having a preliminary idea of its working generally make a good start and prove a success. I have throughout my service in the Home Department been connected with service matters and the rules regarding communal representation in the services. This is an important sphere, especially so far as the Muslims and the minorities in India are concerned, and we won't feel any difficulty in getting into it, if there is an occasion to do so.

5. I have ventured to make the above suggestions for whatever they are worth. I hope to be excused for this lengthy letter.

With all sincere prayers,

Yours obediently,
G. A. PARWEZ

143

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/109-112

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am so glad that you have entered the Interim Government in spite of the ill wishes of the Caste-Hindus, who were trying their level best to keep the Muslims out as long as possible and in the meantime do as much injury to the Muslim cause as was in their power, besides giving a world-wide impression that a national Government has been established at Delhi, which in reality was only a caste-rule with a few henchmen of theirs. By letting the League members in, you have out-manoeuvred not only the British diplomacy but also the Brahman machinations and conspiracies, who are out only to bring about a revival of Brahman rule in India after ages of

slavery of various nations.

But just look at the way the Hindu press has represented the League entry into the Interim Government. The cutting number one[1] shows the mean manner they represent it to the public. Anyway, it is good that now you are in, and that you will stop the avalanche of Hinduizing the entire land. The Muslims and the minorities will now be safe in your hands. The process of painting everything was fast proceeding.

Cutting number two[2] points to the fact how Hindus are exerting to bring Brahmans into power again. There must be hundreds who are taking full advantage of a purely Hindu Government to push the cause of Brahmanism again. You are and will be the only brake on such activities. At least we will be saved from the Brahmans in Pakistan areas. The moneyed Hindus are unloosening [*sic* for loosening] their purse-strings to push Brahmans forward. I wish you would take in Hindus like Swami Dharam Theerath, who can fully expose the wickedness of these Brahmans in India and their [*sic* for the] danger of their coming to power. I was so pleased that the *Dawn* wrote an editorial on Swamiji's book, called the *Menace of Hindu Imperialism*. Please do utilise him to strengthen the cause of Pakistan and tell the world how dangerous the Hindu rule could be to the Indians. Let me again emphasize the fact that a man of his type would do more for Pakistan than any Muslim can do. You should really meet him. He is anxious to help you just as I am. People outside the Muslim nation can be more effective if they plead for a separate home of the Muslims. Please do consider this point of view.

Late Allah Bakhsh's son, Mr. Rahim Bakhsh, I believe, has joined the [League] now. There is a strong rumour in the Punjab that he has been requested by the Congress party in Sind to join in. If that is true, there will be a danger of many other Sayeds in the League.

You have to be very careful in selecting the candidates for Sind Assembly, lest the same old drama is [*sic* for might be] repeated. Tested and tried men only should be given tickets for the Assembly in Sind. Late Allah Bakhsh was a great friend of my brother, Mr. Ahmad Shah of Lucknow, and I do not want to write anything against his son but the cause of the Muslim League at this juncture is so vital that one has to be careful of everyone. I am writing this because people in the Punjab are a bit suspicious at this. But you will know the best.

I do hope and pray that even now when the League has entered the Interim Government, the Congress will work with you in a spirit of team-work without which it will be an arena of perpetual warfare.

May God give them wisdom to accept your hand of co-operation in the larger interests of the country.

Wishing you good health and long life,

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

144

J. N. Mandal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/78

BENGAL SECRETARIAT,
CALCUTTA,
14 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that you propose to nominate me for appointment as a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council for one of the seats allotted to the Muslim League. I write to thank you and to Council pursuant to such nomination. The community to which I belong has had a raw deal from the Caste-Hindus organized under the Congress and I feel that unless we seek the support of the other political organizations we shall never realize in full all our rights. I have no doubt that the Scheduled-Castes will get the full co-operation of the Muslim League in securing our legitimate rights and aspirations.

I agree to abode by your instructions and by the Party mandate of my colleagues who will be in the Executive Council as representatives of the Muslims League.

Yours Sincerely,
J. N. MANDAL

145

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/88

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
15 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah

As you know, Pandit Nehru is leaving on a short tour of the Frontier tomorrow. Though you and the Muslim League may have looked on the tour with disfavour, the formation of a Coalition Government, which I hope to announce tonight, makes a great difference. Pandit Nehru will no doubt report on his return to a Cabinet of which the League representatives form an integral part, and he has told me that during the tour he will make a point of welcoming the formation of coalition. I hope, therefore, that you will recognise how undesirable it is that there should now be hostile demonstrations against a member of the Government, and that you will ask your Muslim League leaders in the N.W.F.P. to use their restraining influence.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

146

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/89

NEW DELHI,
15 October 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I received your letter of the 15th of October 1946[1] at 6.15 p.m. just as I was leaving for the meeting of the Working Committee, regarding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the N.W.F.P. tomorrow. After consulting my Working Committee I beg to inform you that the people of the Frontier look upon Pandit Nehru's visit with disfavour and it would be advisable if the visit could be postponed to a later date.

I may, however, inform you that no instructions to stage demonstrations

have been issued in this connection to our organization in the North-West Frontier Province.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 145.

147

M. A. Jinnah to Jamal Mian

SHC, UP VI/15

16 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jamal Mian,

I thank you for your letter of the 6th of October[1] and I am sorry I could not reply earlier, as I was pressed with other important matters.

I learn from your letter that you have taken over the management of an old Urdu paper, the daily *Hamdam*, and [that] you are trying to give it a new life to serve the cause of the Muslims and the Muslim League ideals, and I wish you all success.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Moulana Jamal Mian Sahib,
Farangi Mahal,
Lucknow

[1]No. 131.

148

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/113-6

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is a great relief now to feel that the Muslim League is now in, either to work harmoniously if the Congress so desires or to give them a right [*sic*], battle royal if they choose to have it. Last night,

Mr. Gandhi's speech on the radio was a bit [of] climbing down seeing that it would not be easy for the Hindus to offer affronts and assaults to Muslims as had been the custom. The voice of the Muslims had been silenced for good according to the wishful thinking of the Hindus. I do hope that now they realise the seriousness of the situation and will learn to work in a harmonious spirit, otherwise, as Gandhi said on the radio, independence would become a dream.

I am extremely happy that you have included a scheduled-class [caste] man in the list. Slowly you should rope in all the minorities who have now been left at the mercy of the Hindus who want to use the rotten kind as their henchmen. I can tell you with assurance that they would rather go with you than the Congress, particularly in the Pakistan areas. The inclusion of a scheduled-class member is a very shrewd step indeed. Swamiji and myself have been working for a long time to draw the depressed classes to your side.

Look at the way the Hindu press is trying to magnify moles [*sic* for molehills] into mountains. Sarat Chandra Bose claims that a reign of terror has been created in Eastern Bengal. But what about the reign of terror in the Congress Provinces? What have they done to the Pathans in Bombay and what criminal plans they have to wipe out the Moplahs in Madras? I sent you its cutting sometime ago. As for U.P., I think the League members are sleeping there. There is a reign of terror for the Muslims there ever since the Aligarh, Allahabad and Agra affairs. Only yesterday, three of our Muslim servants have returned from there and they relate harrowing tales of terror in Meerut District, the news of which is blacked out by Hindu press. In the village Bajhera (*chhota*) and *Qasba* Palaqwa, they have murdered women and children brazenly over a trouble of signing a document under compulsion from the Muslims who wanted to have a thatched roof over the *namazgah* [prayer place]. When they refused, hundreds of Hindus fell on the few Muslim [*word illegible*] and beat them to death, cut women's breasts and did many other harrowing things. Then Sayed Akhtar Ali, Sub-Inspector [of Police,] was murdered in Buland Shahr District and his dead body was not found. These are the news of the masses. They are terror-stricken. Why does [*sic* for do] not the League leaders in every district report these matters and kick up the same hue and cry by sending telegrams to the Viceroy as do the Hindu leaders. Silence of the Muslims is interpreted as being the aggressors everywhere. They are being painted as black in all the Hindu press which today reigns supreme in India. Please certify these facts from the provincial leaders and let the Viceroy know of the reign of terror in the Congress Provinces. Give them tit for tat.

Here is a cutting[1] on daily *Bande Matram* which is once again coming out to spread communal virus. How did the Congress Govt. sanction extra quota of paper for this new paper, when the *Dawn* is not given sufficient paper? You should question these discriminations.

Cutting No. 3,[2] given under a Muslim name, is really written by a Hindu. This game of exploiting Muslim names has been going on for sometime. They give bogus Muslim names to anti-Muslim leaders. Even *The Times* of London has hinted on the fact that your acceptance of the Interim Govt. could give relief to the minorities and scheduled class [castes].

I am anxiously waiting to hear which important portfolios have been given to the League nominees. I do hope either Defence or Home will be given to you.

You have gone through a very extremely [*sic*] strenuous work which must have been very taxing on your physique. I do hope now you will take a long rest to recoup the lost energy. The nation needs you for a long time. May God give you the necessary strength.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

149

S. A. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/125

ARAAH,
BIHAR,
16 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I cannot resist addressing this letter to you after hearing the big news over the wireless just now. The inclusion of Mr. Mandal is a great surprise and I was puzzled for a moment, realizing of course almost immediately the intrinsic statesmanship, forensic insight, and the versatile indescribable qualities of that great leader, round whose monocle hangs the fate, and at whose command lie the lives, of the ten crore Muslims of India. This is colossally wonderful and only a superhuman being could handle such baffling, delicate and weary [*sic*] problems. I wish I could write pages eulogising the wide and

varied inherent unparalleled qualities of our leader, but being deeply sensible of his valuable time, I had better refrain from intruding upon the precious hours.

May God spare you [for] another 50 years with sound health to guide the destinies of the people under your charge. I wish I had wings to fly and express personally what I feel before the greatest leader of the Muslim world of the day and I trust the will may be taken for the deed.

Always at your command and disposal,

Yours respectfully,
S. A. ASHRAF
Additional District Magistrate

150

K. R. Bengeri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1095)

8 SHREE RAM BHUVAN,
THAKURDWAR,
BOMBAY,
16 October 1946

Dear Honourable Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

The Nationalist Party of India heartily congratulates you and the Muslim League for joining the Interim Govt. and the long-term settlement. This is a very wise and statesmanship [*sic* for statesmanlike] step that the League has taken under your able guidance, more so because of the inclusion of Hon. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal in the League quota, indicating thereby that the League is no longer a pure and simple communal body, but is capable of wider and national political outlook. It may be [that] one day the Muslim League will turn into a national League, fighting for the interest of all communities, on political and economic lines.

It is very pleasing to see that the nationalist Mr. Jinnah, who fought national battles shoulder to shoulder with great leaders like the late Lokamanya B. G. Tilak, and in whose honour the Jinnah Hall stands in the city of Bombay, is slowly and surely reasserting himself. The day may not be far off when the nationalist Mr. Jinnah will lead

united India to communal harmony, peace and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,
K. R. BENGERI
President, National Party of India

151

Syed Ashraf Husain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/39

CALCUTTA,
16 October 1946

Dear Sir,

As desired by the Executive Committee of our organization, we are enclosing herewith a copy of the resolutions passed unanimously by a largely attended general meeting of our Association.

Yours faithfully,
SYED ASHRAF HUSAIN
for General Secretary,
Jalwatoli Ittehad-ul-Muslamin

Enclosure to No. 151

SHC, Bengal II/39

RESOLUTIONS

1. This meeting of Jalwatoli Ittehad-ul-Muslamin has full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. It appreciates his glorious activities and is always ready to respond to his every call.

2. This meeting of Ittehad-ul-Muslamin condemns the British Government for their hostile attitude towards the Muslims all over the British world [*sic*].

3. This meeting of Ittehad-ul-Muslamin congratulates the League Ministry of Bengal on its grand victory in [the] Assembly. Moreover, it appeals to the Prime Minister to compensate the Muslim losses, to stop Police *zulm* and to hold an impartial enquiry.

4. This meeting of Ittehad-ul-Muslamin demands that arrangements should be made for the education of Muslim students. Under the present circumstances they cannot continue their study in Hindu schools and colleges. Separate educational institutions and a technical

college must be established. Moreover, the secondary education bill must be legalised and according to the scheme of Dr. [Itrat Husain] Zuberi,[1] a separate Muslim university must be started without further delay.

5. This meeting of Ittehad-ul-Muslamin asks the Government of Bengal to obtain and utilise the services of Mr. Ameer Hasan Meerza, D.E.C. (Berlin), who is a great industrialist (German-trained chemist and engineer) and is highly efficient in industrial organization. He is a businessman as well and he had his own firm of export and import but the German war destroyed it. He is at present the General Manager of two sugar mills. His skill and competence will no doubt give an impetus to the industry of Bengal and to the political organization of Muslims.

SYED ASHRAF HUSAIN

[1]A well-known educationist and University teacher serving in Bengal.

152

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/155-6

SRIKOTE, KATRAIN,
KULU VALLEY,
17 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to offer you my warmest congratulations on your decision to send the League into the Interim Government and [having] still kept a good strong team for the Constituent Assembly.

I have just received a printed pamphlet from the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly giving excerpts from the constitutions of different countries. It is just possible that in these constitutions some points might have been omitted which may be of assistance to us. It may be worth your consideration whether you should not appoint certain members to specialise in certain subjects, e.g. Finance, Industries, Communications, etc., who shall have to go and study these books in the Constituent Assembly Library and provide our delegates with necessary ammunition.

I am intending going down on the 23rd to Lahore and Shahpur. I have written to Abdul Qaiyum in Peshawar that I shall be glad to give them four working days plus two days for journey for a tour in the North-West Frontier Province, particularly in the areas where

Khan Brothers have a stronghold or where some prominent Congress leaders have paid visits recently. Thereafter, I shall be ready to go to Sind in consultation with Yusuf Haroon.

When will you want us in Delhi for the Constituent Assembly? Shall we now make our arrangements for our residence in Delhi or not? Please write to me at 5 Danepur Road, Lahore.

Kindest regards from us both,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

153

Qazi Bakhtyar Ali Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/64

WAZIRABAD,
DISTRICT GUJRANWALA,
17 October 1946

Respected Sir,

I was surprised to read in the newspapers that the Muslim League has given one seat in the Interim Government from its own quota to the Scheduled Castes. Muslim League is purely a Muslim body; it stands for the protection of Muslim rights and for the safeguard of Muslim interest in India.

One who does not believe in Islam can never become a member of the Muslim League. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, as his very name suggests, is not a Muslim and yet he has been nominated by the Muslim League? Is it not against the basic principles and fundamental rules of the Muslim League. The Hindu Congress is purely a Hindu body and it has proved to be so from its history uptill now. It pretends to represent Muslims of India as well and they have retained Mr. Asaf Ali in the Interim Government who has got a Hindu wife.[1] According to the Muslim law, as I understand it, a Muslim cannot marry an idolatress, but by marrying a Hindu lady Mr. Asaf Ali has not only contravened the Muslim law but has created an example quite contrary to the preaching of the holy *Qur'an*. The Hindu Congress has retained him because he is completely under the control of his Hindu wife (i.e. home government).

Has the Muslim League simply imitated the Congress in nominating Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal? I myself am an old Leaguer and a great

admirer of your unique personality, but I have not been able to understand like many others the step taken by the Muslim League. I shall be highly obliged if you very kindly drop me a few lines at your earliest convenience about the above-mentioned step taken by the Muslim League, so that I may be able to understand and appreciate it fully and further explain [it] to the anxious Muslim masses. I beg to be excused for the trouble which I am giving your goodself.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
QAZI BAKHTYAR ALI QURESHI
B.A., LL.B.
Vakil

[1]Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, an Indian left-wing political activist.

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Wazirzada Gul Mohammad Khan Sadozai to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/53

BANNU,
17 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to lay down the following few lines for your perusal for what they are worth. Even this may be a waste of your most valuable time. I am writing this letter with regard to the visit of P[andit] Jawaharlal Nehru to Waziristan. The Leaguers of Bannu did their little best. They had fully prepared to demonstrate their resentment by all means in their power but the Congressites were so cowed down that they did not advise Panditji to stop at Bannu, although as far as we could ascertain, it was originally intended that he should stay here. Some years back, Pandit had a very splendid reception at Bannu, because Bannu is the only town in the Province which is predominantly populated by Hindus.

However, our efforts were not in vain and we contacted the tribal territory. The Congressites also did their best by all the means at their hand [*sic* for disposal] by holding out all sorts of temptations, but by the grace of God, they have failed very miserably. Of course, they succeeded in winning over a few *Maliks* to their side, and two of them were very important ones but they could not stand against the

overwhelming majority. They took oath that they would not see Pandit separately and if they saw him, they would see him in *jirga,* i.e. in a body. As a matter of fact, they decided not to see him at all, but the influence of the political authorities was rather too much and they persuaded them to attend the *jirga.* I wonder how Abdul Ghaffar Khan can complain against the political authorities. It is rather the other way about. It is the League which should complain, because if the political officers had not intervened, I am sure that not a single *Malik* would have attended. On the other hand, the political authorities had made such elaborate arrangements for the reception of the Pandit S[ahi]b, both from protection point of view and other arrangements. Perhaps they would have not done better for the Viceroy. I myself saw a bit of it, because I had been to Miran Shah yesterday in connection with my professional work and returned early this morning at about 10 a.m., i.e. before the arrival of Panditji. Of course, I saw some of the *Maliks* to know from them the state of affairs and did my little bit.

Perhaps you would have learnt, long before this letter reaches you, what actually passed today through your own sources and by the time my letter reaches you, my information would be quite stale.

Panditji attended the *jirga* with his satellites, viz. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, in the fort; perhaps the political authorities were afraid of holding it outside the fort. The *Maliks* proved a game. One of the *Maliks* enquired the purpose of the visit. Abdul Ghaffar Khan began to give a sermon on freedom and liberty but one of the *Maliks* stopped him from speaking further saying that he was a juggler (*Jadoogar*) and they would not listen to him. Poor fellow had to sit down much against his will. Then a few *Maliks* expressed their resentment over the practised on their Muslim brothers and also about the unfair deal that the Muslims had in the Interim Govt. One of the leading *Maliks* pointed out towards Pandit telling him that he was responsible for all this. The leading Malik Khandan, leader of the Madakhel tribe to whom Faqir of Ipi lives quite close, went so far [as to say] that neither they want Englishmen nor Hindus; by the way this was the man on whom the Congressites were banking. After this Dr. Khan Sahib rose to speak, but the *jirga* did not hear him and left the party most unceremoniously. Poor Pandit could not deliver the message of goodwill. All the foreign correspondents wondered and asked from the bystanders the reasons of this abrupt departure. I wondered if anybody explained to them the things rightly or even Panditji was explained properly all this by Khan Brothers.

When I am writing this letter, Panditji would be at Razmak, the

biggest camp in the British Empire, and I am sure Mahsuds whom he intended to meet their [*sic* for there] will put [up a] still more bold front. Mahsuds are the bravest of all the tribal territory people.

In the end I must congratulate you for giving such a shock to poor Mr. Gandhi, by showing such high statesmanship.

May you live long to lead the Muslims of India and achieve the desired goal. *Aameen*. Apologising once more for all that stuff,

Yours obediently,
GUL MOHAMMAD KHAN SADOZAI

PS. I also apologise for this bad handwriting. I could not trust any typist.

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/99

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

PEDDER ROAD,
BOMBAY,
17 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the outset let me congratulate you on your great political master-stroke in having given one seat to the Scheduled Castes which, to say the least, will strengthen our cause vis-a-vis the Congress. I am naturally very disappointed that it has not been possible for you to include a businessman in the Interim Government as I had requested you to [*sic*] because there was a great necessity of having somebody with the necessary commercial and industrial background to implement the drive for industrialisation amongst Muslims which we have been striving to achieve and with which alone Pakistan can be an effective reality. With my loyalty to you and the implicit confidence I have in your judgment, I feel sure that powerful reasons must have induced you to subordinate these considerations and arrive at the decision you have taken.

There is one other matter which I feel it is my duty to bring to your notice and it is based on my experience gained during my recent visit to the U.S.A. and England, and that is, it is absolutely imperative that trusted and well-known pro-League Muslims should be given important diplomatic posts in the proposed

expansion of the Foreign Service. Today's newspapers carry the story that Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan and Mr. Ali Zaheer are being given important diplomatic appointments. I think that such people can do a lot of damage to the cause of the League in foreign countries. It has been my unfortunate experience to have found that Hindus holding responsible positions abroad have not failed in utilising their positions in spreading propaganda against the Muslim League. This must be circumvented and the only and effective way to do so is to see that such appointments are in future held by responsible pro-Leaguers. I can quite understand that we have to stand on our own feet if we have to succeed, but the world is shrinking fast and this country will play a decisive role in international matters during the ten years that we may be committed to the Union Government.

I should very much like to see you and discuss matters in general, and the future policy of the Muslim commercial interests in particular, under the present set-up and I shall be glad if you will let me know when it will be convenient to you and I shall come to Delhi specially for the purpose.[1]

I hope you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]Jinnah replied that he expected to be in Delhi in the first week of November and would be glad to meet him. See *SHC*, Bombay II/100. Not printed.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/117-122

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 14th instant.[1] I am extremely happy over the fact that Muslim League has entered the Interim Govt. in spite of the evil wishes of the Caste-Hindus who were longing to keep you out by not coming to honourable terms. One month's Caste-Hindu Govt. proved what injury could be inflicted on those who dared to defy the power-intoxicated Caste-Hindus who after ages of slavery of various nations had now got an opportunity under

the so-called democratic form of govt. to capture political power and revive the old Brahman tyrannical and inhuman rule under which 8 [eight] crores of their own fold suffer agony day and night. Thank God that you were born in India at such a critical juncture when the masses of 400 millions of Indian humanity would have been mown down by the lustful Brahmans with bestial ways to spread their tentacles over the entire land. The future generations will remember what you are doing for all those who are being saved from Brahmanical tyranny.

Pandit Nehru's welcome with black flags, lances, assaults and bullets from the tribal people will teach the Hindus once for all that Muslims cannot be deceived by any clever devices. The radio gave a very graphic account of how he was greeted everywhere. Although the Hindus are going about saying that all this is British engineering but in their heart of hearts they will be silenced as to what true feelings are in that area. The Waziris plainly told him that whatever is to be settled about that area could be done by Mr. Jinnah. This is grand indeed. What the Hindus want is to emasculate the gate-keepers of India, for they are so afraid of them. This is a long-range thinking.

I am sending you some further cuttings from the Punjab press and what they think of your entering the Govt. They have the insolence to talk of you in that mean and degraded manner, to write in such a way about the greatest Muslim not only of India but of Asia.

I have another suggestion to make. It would be a good plan to collect all the material about what the Congress Ministries are doing to labourers, Muslims and other minorities in different parts of India and compile it into book form to expose their actions and professions. This book should be used for world propaganda. Uptill now nobody knows of the vandalism in Congress provinces. They having the monopoly of press and money make the world see everything from their point of view. No one has [been] driven to challenge their statements and misstatements. Let the League do it. Material from every province should be collected by appointed agents. I will help you from the Punjab.

You must have read that Maulana Azad is going to the Middle East to do propaganda in Muslim countries in favour of the Congress, which will mean anti-League publicity. Before they do their work, the League should out-manoeuvre them on the point. Propaganda is the mighty weapon that can make the black white.

I hear Begum Shah Nawaz has not been given passage for America. If this is true, it is another example of the Caste-Hindus [attempting] to stifle the Muslim voice in the international world.

If you agree to my suggestions of collecting facts of ordinance and terror rule in the Congress provinces, I will ask my friends in other provinces to send me facts of their bureaucratic rule everywhere. We must prove that they are doing exactly what the foreign rulers did. It is a brown bureaucracy in place of white.

Wishing you long life and good health,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

PS. As I had finished the letter, I read the above statements in today's press.[2] Look with what electric speed the Caste Hindus are going to hit the Muslim causes. The hide and skin trade flourishes mostly in the Frontier. What have both the Khan Brothers to say to this? Are they going to take this lying down or will they save their Pathan brothers from losing their means of livelihood. This will be an acid test. This is all happening in the Pakistan area. They are trying to safeguard the cow not for economic reasons, but because it is an object of worship for them. If they care so much for the health of the population as they say, why don't they close down the 25 new factories of *vanaspati ghee* in North India that are wrecking the health of the people. But here again it touches their pockets. Therefore, the poisonous foodstuffs go on being sold. The only motive of the Caste-Hindu in all this *Gow Raksha* [cow protection] business is to deprive the Muslim of his bread and trade.

[1]No. 140.
[2]See Annexure.

Annex to No. 156

F. 487/121

STOP EXPORT OF HIDES AND SKINS

SOCIETY FORMED FOR REFORM OF GOWSHALAS

Amritsar, Oct. 21—As a first step towards giving practical shape to the decisions of the Punjab Cow Conference, a Punjab *Gow Sewa Mandal* with Bawa Gurmukh Singh as its chief organiser, has been established here with representatives of the various *Gowshalas* throughout the Punjab and its neighbouring provinces of N.W.F.P., Sind and Delhi. The main purpose of this organisation will be to reform the existing administration of *Gowshalas* in order to make them the nucleus of cattle breeding and centres for the supply of pure milk and *ghee*.

Owing to a sudden attack of asthma, Dr. Rajendra Prasad could not preside over the concluding session of the conference, which ended at 11 p.m., and was presided over by Sir Datar Singh. The conference adopted about a dozen resolutions pertaining to matters covering every aspect of cattle breeding and milk and *ghee* supply problem.

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Maqbool to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/95

PERSONAL

METRO, SOLAN,
18 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am still at Solan resting under medical advice, but I feel I must write and congratulate you on your brilliant way out of the Interim Govt. dilemma. The arrogant Congress high command had lost their heads on the saddle feeling secure in their 'no trump' hand. Your decision of double a 'no trump' leaves them wondering and places the League in a better position to prepare for the future. It is an effective step of direct action for Pakistan. God bless you and give you health, life and strength to lead us to the cherished goal!

I hope to be in Delhi on the 23rd and 24th before I fly to Bhopal on the 25th. I will try to see you for a few minutes in Delhi to submit one or two points at your convenience.

With respects,

Yours devoted,
MAQBOOL

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Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/66

NAIRANG MANZIL,
AMBALA CITY,
18 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to join the hundreds of thousands who, not only in

India but all over the world, are, to your knowledge and otherwise, congratulating you on the wise and far-sighted decision which under your inspiration and guidance the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League has taken about participation in the Interim Government of India. This decision, and particularly the selection of Muslim League members for the Interim Government, have gladdened the hearts of friends and absolutely stunned our intransigent, bullying, scheming and hypocritical enemies.

In my last letter to you I said that the Congress stood exposed but we stood checkmated. Thank God, both these descriptions—"exposed" and "checkmated"—now apply to the Congress. Long live our Quaid-i-Azam.

I have now to invite your attention to a matter of great importance.

The Muslims of Alwar State have been variously persecuted for two generations. Before the accession of the late Maharaja (Jai Singh), there was no anti-Muslim movement in the State. Immediately after his accession, an anti-Muslim policy was inaugurated. Urdu was banned from schools, *maktabs* in mosques were subjected to surveillance lest they should teach Urdu, and various other measures were adopted to destroy Muslim culture. Hindi replaced Urdu in the courts and offices and what went by the name of Hindi was a highly Sanskritised jargon which had to be learnt by all wishing to enter the services or to practise in the courts as lawyers. This automatically shut out Muslims from the services, because either they could not learn this jargon or the Hindi examiners had instructions to so mark their papers as to ensure their failure. There were many other matters in which the Muslims were suppressed, oppressed and persecuted. The details were given by me in a well-documented history, entitled *The Alwar State and Its Muslim Subjects,* which was printed and published and sent to the political authorities in India and to all in authority in England, including leading members of the British Parliament. This book was entirely compiled by me but was shown on the title page to be a statement issued by Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura (then MLA), Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad, MLA, and myself. The occasion for issuing this book was that the Muslims of Alwar, unable to bear the persecution to which they were constantly subjected, had undertaken *hijrat* to Delhi and other places, and having been in active touch with them for a long time before, I had to work for them in their exile. I had the support of late Sir Fazl-i-Husain who had been my friend since college days and was greatly assisted by late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, another

friend of the same standing.

It is neither possible nor necessary to tell the whole story of the oppression of Muslims by the Alwar State, the developments and occurrences which brought about the *hijrat,* the moves and counter- moves to effect reconciliation after the *hijrat,* the part played by some of the ruling princes and even by some Muslim leaders to help Jai Singh in this connection, the action taken from time to time by the Paramount Power, and what the Muslim public throughout India did for the Alwar Muslims on this occasion. Suffice it to say that Jai Singh was completely routed. He was exiled and had to die "unwept, unhonoured and unsung" in far-flung France, only his dead body having been brought back to Alwar.

I have given the above resume of past events to show (a) that the Alwar State Muslims have been oppressed by the State for a long time, (b) that even the present regime in the State is hostile to them because of what happened to Maharaja Jai Singh on their account, and (c) that I am not only interested in them but know their case from beginning to end.

I visited Alwar on 24th September and found that the Muslim League movement has acquired great strength in the State. On this occasion, leading Muslims from several other States (Bharatpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kishangarh, Tonk, etc.) had been invited and it was decided by them to form a Rajputana States Muslim League, of which the office-bearers were also elected. These gentlemen particularly pressed me to appeal to you on their behalf to help them in their struggle to safeguard not only the rights and interests but [also] the very existence of Muslims in the Rajputana States.

Yesterday I received a request from Alwar asking me to lead a deputation of Alwar Muslims to wait on you. I know that the hostile activities of the Hindus, who are instigated and encouraged by responsible State officials, and the openly hostile attitude of the State authorities have created a most critical situation in Alwar and there have been many recent instances of action intended or at least calculated to make the Muslims lose self-control, lead to disturbance of the peace, then give the police and the military an excuse to open fire on them and take their lives, and finally fill the jails with them on various charges.

I am reaching Delhi on the 24th in connection with the ensuing autumn session of the Legislative Assembly and hope you will also be in Delhi at the time. If not inconvenient to you, I would suggest

your allowing this deputation to wait on you on some day in the last week of this month at Delhi.[1]

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

[1]Jinnah advised that he might meet him during his scheduled visit to Delhi to finalize a meeting with the deputation. See *SHC*, Punjab III/67. Not printed.

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C. L. Sury to M. A. Jinnah
F. 885/87-9

72 BABAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
18 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As an Indian Christian I welcome the aim of the Muslim League to become the all-India organisation for the representation and protection of all minorities, including the Christians of the country. I have read with very deep interest your letters to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of 7 October 1946 and the viewpoints attached [*sic*] thereto and dated 12 October 1946 and am impressed with the ring of their sincerity and cogency. A clearer and more logical statement of facts and relevant basic reasons of the agreement between the two major parties in the circumstances of the case is difficult to conceive and this is so in spite of what Mahatma Gandhi may say about the position of the minorities. I sent you a copy of my letter intended for publication in the press on about the 20th of August 1946, which I wrote from Simla at the time when Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Viceroy invited the Muslim League to join the Interim Govt. offering them five seats or portfolios in the Government; and I suggested that the representatives of the Indian Christians and the Scheduled-Castes be nominated by the Muslim League in addition to the seven Muslim Leaguers which your organization had been invited to send to the Govt. I also sent a copy of that suggestion to the Viceroy and the *Statesman* and I am glad that, thanks to the patriotic generosity of your organization under your incorruptible guidance, an independent and true representative of the Scheduled-Caste Hindus [has been] given an opportunity to serve

the sixty thousand Depressed Caste Hindus. All India Muslim League have given a clear proof of their patriotism and of their love for the down-trodden people of this country known as the minorities by the sacrifice of their own interest as a strong political party; and as belonging to one of those unfortunate minorities I take my hat off to your guidance and the Muslim League. Gandhiji, instead of expressing his fear at the Bhangi Colony and being presumptuous [*sic*] about the League ethics, would do much better in joining them in this race of love and sacrifice for the uplift of the minorities and in using his influence with the Congress Party and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with a view to having two Congress seats vacated by the Hindus or other minorities from the Congress quota, to be filled in by two Muslim Leaguers of their own choice. The Muslim League in that case can include an Indian Christian in addition to a Scheduled-Caste Minister in its quota. Mahatma and Congress will never do it because their vision of patriotism is different, viz. to have a much-tried and seasoned Congressman to represent the interests of the unfortunate minorities and thus to use the minorities for the good of the Caste-Hindus. Your leadership is, therefore, for us, the minorities of India, the only way which we should accept for the future protection of our political and social rights and respectable existence as an independent community. I have always thought so and during the last Simla session in public speeches and private conversations have maintained that *Purna Swaraj* is of no use to the country if it is only for the Congress Hindus and national unity is more important than the independence of one party.

I am sending herewith a cutting[1] of one of such public meetings and discussions which I organized at Simla Y.M.C.A.. I am particularly gratified that the Muslim League by its new role as the representative leader of the minorities, has brought the sweet taste of political independence nearer to the sufferers of communal numbers and rescued them from being thrown at the mercy of Caste Hindus. I shall be glad to interview you and discuss these matters

when you have the time to spare for such pleasure of mine.

Yours faithfully,
C. L. SURY
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

[1]See F. 885/90, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Jalal-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/65
[*Original in Urdu*]

DERA BABA NANAK,
DISTRICT GURDASPUR,
18 October 1946

Revered political sage of India,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

May you live long! By accommodating a Scheduled-Caste Member within the Muslim quota, you have struck such a fatal blow to the Congress claim of representing 400 million people of India. This step would change Muslim minority into majority. You have performed a task which no other leader could do in the past nor would anyone accomplish this in the days to come. The Muslims and members of Scheduled Castes shall always pray for you. Islam does not believe in belittling other nations. It rather preaches for justice to all and in fact glory of Islam lies in this principle.

Praying for you,
JALAL-UD-DIN

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Sardar Bahadur Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 349/1-2

ABBOTTABAD,
19 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you are quite fit. I have been approached by Captain Burhan-ud-Din Khan and Captain Abdur Rashid Khan of the INA [Indian National Army], serving their terms of sentence down at Haripur Jail in my District, to move in the matter of their, as well as all INA convicts,' release in view of the change of the Government at the Centre as well as of the League's participation in it. There was a countrywide agitation against their trials and convictions. Now that your party is in power, it is only fair something should be done for them. As regards the Congress, their attitude seems to be very clear in this matter. The very fact that they have not done anything for them, so far, indicates that they do not want to do anything for them, and [that] their outward sympathy at the time of the trials [was] meant to create a situation which could be utilised during the elections, which they actually did. I have got two suggestions to offer on this point which deserve your immediate consideration:

a. In case the Home portfolio goes to one of our nominees, his first act should be to order the release of all the INA convicts.
b. If that does not happen, then you should suggest to some one, preferably Ismail Khan or Sadiq [Siddique] Ali Khan, to table a resolution to this effect in the Central Legislature, scheduled to meet on the 28th October 1946. I have given notice of a similar resolution to the Secretary, Legislative Assembly, NWFP. The Muslim League and you are morally bound to do your bit for these innocent souls rotting in jails. To me, it seems the Congress has given them a cold shoulder just because they happen to have pro-League leanings. Your latest move on the political chessboard has shocked and bewildered many. May you live long to pilot the ship of the *millat* to its destination in safety.

I hope to be favoured with an early reply on this matter, for I want

to pursue it to a successful conclusion.

Yours sincerely,
SARDAR BAHADUR KHAN
MLA
Advocate

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 990/104-6

NEW DELHI,
19 October 1946

Respected Sir,

I entertain great respect [for] and a very high opinion of you as you are the only nobleman who, for the benefit and well-being of the Indians and specially of the Muslims, devoted your valuable life selflessly. I admire your courage and statesmanship which are second to none.

2. You are no doubt aware of the sad happenings in Bengal, where the Muslim League Ministry is in charge of the administration. Thousands of valuable and innocent lives of the Muslims and the Hindus, who were previously living there like brothers in peace, have been sacrificed and since Mr. Suhrawardy has been at the helm of the Bengal League administration, there has been a reign of terror and everything has been upset and people are living there in constant danger. He proved himself quite inefficient and incompetent for the charge which the Muslim League have bestowed upon him. While Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Nazimuddin were premiers, the administration of Bengal ran on very smoothly and they were liked by the people. Mr. Suhrawardy, who secretly is a rival of yours and has been trying to oust you, is like a "knife of sugar candy". He has the knack of satisfying others, including yourself. At Calcutta and Noakhali killings, thousands of Muslims and others, who through his hypocritical tact, were turned against each other, were sacrificed simply to satisfy his whims. When he knew that he [had] created ill feelings between the Muslims and Hindus and which was responsible for the great 'Calcutta killing', he and his League Ministry did not take any preventive action to avoid the recurrence of such inhuman barbarity as has been occurring in Noakhali. The Governor, who I understand

is a glorified porter and who knows nothing about administering an Indian province, is but a tool in the hands of his present Chief Minister. When so much lawlessness, killing and carnage have been going on in various places in Bengal, its Governor with his staff has been enjoying the bracing climate of Darjeeling without taking suitable action to prevent such killing and massacre of lives and properties in his charge. His Chief Minister has also gone to the hills to meet him. It is just like—"While Rome was burning, Nero was dancing with his fiddle-sticks" [*sic*].[1]

3. I for myself beg to state that I lost almost all my dearest and nearest relatives with their earthly properties in the great Calcutta killing. Thousands of Muslims and Hindus underwent the same fate. This is [*sic*] undoubtedly a very bad name for the Muslim League Ministry. It is high time to check such inhuman and barbarous action, and it is earnestly hoped that as people are losing their confidence in the League Ministry, the Bengal Ministry personnel should be replaced by other able men and its Chief Minister may be replaced by Mr. Nazimuddin or by any one else whom you consider to be fit.

May Almighty God grant you long life so that you might continue to do good to the mankind.

With best regards,

Yours truly,
A sufferer

[1]"Nero fiddled while Rome burnt". Nero was Roman emperor (AD 54-68).

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Muslim Staff Railway Workshop, Nairobi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/82

NAIROBI,
19 October 1946

At this decisive moment of Muslim history your leadership inspires Muslims all over the world. We wish to congratulate you on your decision to join the Interim Government and assure you of our unshakeable faith in your leadership. We are confident that under your leadership right will prevail over the vile machinations of the Hindus. Ever ready to serve the cause of Islam.

MUSLIM STAFF RAILWAY WORKSHOP

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/123-6

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was so happy to hear on the radio that you have gone to take rest though only for the weekend. You have borne such heavy responsibilities continuously without a break that all those who look upon you as the saviour of all the down-trodden people of India, feel worried for your health.

I must congratulate you on your inclusion of a member of the Depressed Classes in the quota of the League members of the Interim Govt. This diplomatic move has lost [*sic*] the balance of mind of not only the Hindus but also of the great Mahatma who fears in this move the winning over of the Harijans to the side of the Muslims. It is here that the great numerical strength of the Hindus is put in danger. They only want the Untouchables to preserve the 20 crores of Hindus. Your move has shaken them to the foundations and you may not be surprised if the great Mahatma resorts to a fast unto death again to claim the Untouchables who have now acknowledged you as their accredited leader. This is stinging the Hindus to death. I do hope that you will also take into your fold the Indian Christians who are also like sheep without a shepherd. I was so glad to read in the correspondence between you and Pandit Nehru that you have refused to acknowledge the fact that the Congress could be the sole representative of the minorities. You should win over all the minorities to your side, particularly in the Pakistan areas.

I am sending you the cartoon[1] from the *Civil* [&] *Military Gazette* which depicts the ideas that I have suggested to you. Why don't you give a befitting reply to Mahatma Gandhi's statement in which he says that Muslim League has no right to represent the Depressed Classes? Has not the Congress turned turtle in every direction. From quit India to Interim Govt. without any conditions, from socialists' to down-right capitalists' way of living in New Delhi! They called this place a white elephant and now the entire body is riding that white elephant! If you have now decided to change your tactics by including other minorities, who are they to point fingers at you?

I am sending some more cuttings[2] from the Hindu press to show what perverted meanings they are attributing to the hot welcome given to Pandit Nehru in the tribal area tour. It has been proved beyond doubt that the tribal people understand the fact that there is a Caste-Hindu Govt. at the Centre and that they do not want to have anything to do with it, till a settlement is made with the League and they acknowledge no other leader but the Quaid-i-Azam, the fact which has been a bitter pill for the Hindus who now call it British manoeuvring. But the radio has broadcast to the whole world now that Pandit Nehru had to face bullets and insults in the tribal area and this is enough. The Hindu press goes on repeating the lie that you are the agent of British imperialism and they forget the fact that the Congress has now made alliance with the same British imperialism. When the League has any connection with the British, according to their imagination that is painted in black letters; when they themselves have made a closer alliance with them, that is nothing bad. Is it not an irony of fate that they condemn the same British imperialism in the tribal area, whereas a brotherly alliance with it has been made at Delhi?

I was glad to hear Raja Ghazanfar Ali's statement on the radio that the entrance of the League in the Interim Govt. is only a front of the Direct Action and as long as there is no settlement with the League there can be no peace. This fact should be repeated from every platform till the Hindus come to the[ir] senses and make peace with the Muslims.

I do hope you have returned from Bajpat [*sic*] a little bit refreshed. May God give you long life and strength to put the Indian affairs on the right path.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

165

A. C. Mahomedi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/68

24 S. S. EAST,
ALIGARH,
20 October 1946

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The members of the South African Indian Students' Association at

the Muslim University have the greatest pleasure in electing you as the life-patron of their Association.

The Association was established about three years ago mainly for two purposes—one is to attract students from South Africa to this great Alma Mater of Muslim India and the other is to propagate the Muslim League ideas in South Africa. I am glad to state that we have considerably succeeded in our objects.

I shall be very honoured to you [*sic*] if you will kindly accept the honorary post of patronage. I, on behalf of the Association and the South African Muslims, congratulate you on the momentous decision which you and the Working Committee have made in joining the Interim Government and declare full confidence in your leadership.

Please drop a line in reply.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,

A. C. Mahomedi
Honorary Secretary,
The South African Indian Students' Association,
Muslim University

166

Anwar Ahmad Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F.807/367-8

AGRA,
20 October 1946

Dear Sir,

League *Zindabad*

The most critical time for M[uslim] India is ahead. It can be known as the trial for Muslims. Our Muslim brothers are still asleep. They have not still united themselves. They are generally deluded and deceived by the Congress. Now Congress is trying to enslave North-West Frontier tribesmen. Your selfishless [*sic*] efforts and suggestions are essential at this trial [*sic*]. There are several works to be done for the Muslim India.

Hope you would try your best for the uplift of Muslims of India. The League Working Committee should suggest better schemes for the uplift of Muslim India under the following headings. Uplift of

Muslim India in regard to:

(i) Honour
(ii) Education
(iii) Religion
(iv) Trade and Commerce
(v) Discipline, most important factor, and
(vi) Mutual love.

Hope you would work out better suggestions for the above points.

With best wishes,

QUAID-I-AZAM,
Yours,
DR. ANWAR AHMAD
M.A., LL.B., Ph. D.
Advocate

167

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/76-7

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
21 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your decision about the selection of the executive councillors on behalf of the Muslim League is a masterpiece of statesmanship. According to the Punjab phraseology it may be called *Nehla Per Dehla*.

I am contemplating to go [*sic* for going] to England for four or five weeks for the recruitment of staff for the engineering and medical colleges. I may be able to pick up suitable persons there on moderate salary. If I go to England, I will utilise my stay in organising the Muslim students and other Muslim residents there to carry on the work of Muslim League and to establish an office of the League and to remain in touch with the press as well as the politicians.

I understand that the Working Committee has authorised Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman Sahib to settle the question of disturbances in U.P. with the Congress Government. The Executive Council of the [Muslim] University has done the same. No commitment was made by me and it was made clear that the University will not pay punitive tax.

I wonder whether the time has come to release my opinions about the administration of railways and financial position of the currency in Groups B and C. I would like to wait till the Constituent Assembly begins to function.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University

168

Rahman Ali to Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, C. P. & Berar II/64

JUBBULPORE,
21 October 1946

Dear Sir,

There is sensation in Jubbulpore and its suburbs on account of the provocative and violent speeches and propaganda delivered by [*sic*] loudspeakers fitted on *tongas,* by Hindu Mahasabha-minded persons for the last six days which is creating a bad atmosphere and may occasion in [*sic*] breach of public peace.

A board is also set up at the fountain in the city and the text written thereon is badly worded, causing insult to the Muslims and instigat[ing] the Hindus for riot and bloodshed. There has been a public meeting at Shreenath Talaia on the night of 19th instant in which the Mahasabhaite leaders delivered heated speeches, giving references to Noakhali disturbance. The speakers openly said in clear words that the Hindus of Jubbulpore should take revenge upon the Muslims, specially those residing in villages where they are few in number.

The Hindu newspaper *Shakti* of Jubbulpore has also published an article on page three of its issue, dated 20.10.46, which is a specimen of outburst against the Muslims and also asked Hindus to boycott the Muslims completely. They have also decided to persuade the prominent Hindu leaders to break down [*sic*] the Nagar Sewa Sammiti, which was formed by Seth Govinddasji with the consent of prominent and influential leaders of both communities, and remove the names of influential Muslims from the same. The Hindus of Mohalla Garha Phatak used abusive words against the Muslims and their

Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah to inflame Muslim feelings and creating an atmosphere for riots.

All the above activities would naturally occasion breach of peace and tranquillity. In spite of all these provocations and instigations etc. for the last six days, the Muslims have kept themselves cool and sedate but repetition of the same so frequently may not breathe [*sic*] their patience.

It is obvious that the magisterial and police authorities of Jubbulpore have connived at, and have taken no steps to stop, all the provocative and violent speeches delivered through platforms and loudspeakers, tormenting texts on boards. It is still time to take action in the interest of justice and maintaining the peace, law and order. I hope you will be good enough to do the needful immediately before such provocative acts take a bad shape.

Yours faithfully,
RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

169

Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Assam, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Assam I/173

SHILLONG,
21 October 1946

The League's decision to enter the central government in its own right goes to the pages of modern history. An example supreme and daring. The share given to Scheduled Castes should well convince the country of the well-meaning of the Muslim nation towards men trampled by men ruthlessly for centuries. Muslims in trade, commerce and industries of Assam welcome these acts of sovereign determination and salute the great soldiers of Pakistan.

[UNSIGNED]
Secretary,
Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Assam

170

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/127-30

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do hope that you have returned a little bit rested and heavy work awaits you again. The redistribution of portfolios is not going to be an easy job. People are making all sorts of speculation that Defence will not be given to the Muslim League.

Here is a cutting[1] from the press which reveals the reasons. I do hope this is not correct. The League must have either the Defence or the Home (which includes the Police).

I hope you have followed the proceedings of the *Gow Sewa* Conference at Amritsar over which Rajan Babu,[2] the Food Member, presided. The *Gow Sewa* business, although in the beginning [it] looks a useful and harmless affair, but in the long run it is a designed attack against the Muslim nation under disguise. At the first conference all the speakers have spoken with great caution. There are only two sentences in the entire proceedings [reproduced below] that point to the real motives behind.

> It was necessary for them to consider the question of *Gow Raksha* Scheme from every aspect of its utility.
>
> He then criticised the slaughtering of cows for certain trades in skins.

Here are those two things. The Hindus have long complained against the slaughter of cows for eating purposes. Now they have got an opportunity under a Caste-Hindu Government to attack it. What they are aiming at is to prevent beef-eating which is vital to the Muslims. Then another reason for attack is to injure the hides and skins industry, a sole monopoly of the Muslims. If you remember last year's Assembly debate on the question how the Hindus, *en bloc*, opposed it while [Abdul] Ghani (Abdul Ghaffar's son, although a Congressman) supported the League on this point. The Hindus try their level best to oust the Muslims out [*sic* for from] every trade. Therefore, the doings of this *Gow Sewa* conference have to be carefully watched by the League. The Muslims remain asleep till the crisis comes while the Hindus go about planning secretly and in a most

cunning manner in every direction.

Another thing I must bring to your notice. Certain capitalists (Hindus) have bought a huge tract of land between Kalka and Bhawani on Simla-Kalka road, about thirty miles square. This tract will be turned into an industrial town under an American plan. A Skoda Company man is going to build up this whole industrial area. Hindus are planning to keep all the commerce and industry even of Pakistan area in their own hands. The best thing could be to let the Hindus build up everything and then when the League comes into power, every vested interest should be at once nationalised. They are planning in every direction in order to strangle the Muslims in their own home but you are there to outmanoeuvre them in every manner and you are the only one. Therefore, we have to pray that you may live long to put the Muslims on their legs.

You see how people are simply longing to acknowledge you as a great saviour of all the suppressed and oppressed people. A time is coming, God willing, when millions will salute you for saving them from Caste-Hindu clutches. Win over all the minorities by giving the proper types [*sic*] a place in the departments under the League. It will mean sacrifice, but at this critical juncture you have to prove the Congress propaganda that you only stand for the Muslims, a lie. Let the world know that you ran to the rescue of the Muslims for fear of their being wiped out by the Caste Hindus whose heads got intoxicated with sheer brute majority rule. The Congress has not taken the right representatives from the Christian community. With few exceptions they are their henchmen. They have avoided independent and able men and women. The worst type has been chosen. Look what S.P. Singha did in the end. How he was bought over by the Congress Party and how he betrayed the League at the last minute. He himself says that he follows no scruples or principles, only sees to his gain and wherever he gets it, he goes. The Christian organisation suggested names of Sir Daleep Singh, B.L. Rallia Ram and some other able men, but the Congress paid no heed to the ability of men. Now the Minority Advisory Committee has so formed. I do hope you will suggest proper and able persons.

Here is another cutting[3] which is a secret circular, somehow leaked out. It portrays the real character of the Interim Government; the

Congress has broadcast it as a national government which is not true.

Wishing you health and strength again,

Sincerely,
MRs. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Dr Rajendra Prasad.
[3]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 170

F. 487/127

WHY HE WAS APPOINTED DEFENCE MEMBER

Baldev Singh is now Defence Member. It is understood that the Viceroy insisted that this portfolio should be given to him. Why? The fantastic argument Wavell openly gave Pandit Nehru was that it would split the Army if a Hindu or a Muslim was appointed. The reality was that Wavell needed desperately a pro-British toady, who would ditto the Commander-in-Chief.

Baldev Singh was the man for the job.

171

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/131-2

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am again sending the editorial of the *Tribune*[1] to show you which way the wind is blowing in the areas that are soon going to be exclusively a [Muslim] League concern. The tempo of their biting attacks on the Muslims is rising daily to an intolerable degree. These people, knowing that they have to live under the League Government very soon, go on sowing the seed of hatred and ill feeling, which is nothing short of inciting everybody towards [*sic* for to] a civil war. They talk bravely of fighting the Muslims out but when the time comes to fighting they become rats and show neither physical nor moral courage. Bengal affairs have not taught them a lesson. I was surprised

yesterday to read even Pandit and Mr. Gandhi talk in terms of battles and blows. These votaries of non-violence have cast away their old slogans. I am more surprised to read Mahatma's statement when he condemns Mr. Ghanzafar Ali for saying that they are entering the Interim Government to fight for Pakistan, while in the same breath he says if the Muslims will force their will on the Hindus, the alternative is to come to blows. We all are savages and come to blows often. Well, if the Muslims and Hindus have to come to blows later on as Mr. Gandhi thinks, then why blame those who are coming to blows now? It is better to finish a thing quickly than to linger on it. Why are they kicking up a row about the Bengal affairs? It is just what they are expecting to come later on.

The statement of the Punjab Harijans has been prepared by a *Congresswala,* whose mouthpiece these people are. They are bought agents.

Look what they did to Dr. Saiyad Hussain! The question should be put to the Hindus. Was there a political department here to bring about this incident? It is high time they realised that the upsurge in the heart of every Muslim in India is too strong to be crushed by any agency now. The sooner they realize it, the better it is for the country. They have decided to be freed from Caste-Hindu domination, and the majority rule is a caste rule and not a national government as they give out to the world.

I am so glad that Begum Shah Nawaz and Mr. Ispahani have left for America. Your next delegation to England and America should include persons from all the communities. Look how the Congress filled its deputation with personnel of different communities. It makes it weighty and forceful.

With best wishes for a long life,

Sincerely yours,

MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.

172

Abdul Jabbar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/174

38 WELLESLEY STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to forward herewith copy of a resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association (Calcutta) held on the 20th October 1946, for your information and favour of necessary action. For the sake of greater interest of the country and for the sake of prosperity of the Province of Assam, the Government of Assam should refrain from following their ill-conceived policy of eviction of immigrants.

Yours fraternally,
ABDUL JABBAR
Officiating General Secretary,
Assam Muslim Association

Enclosure to No. 172

SHC, Assam I/175

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association (Calcutta) puts on record its strong condemnation of the barbarous policy of eviction of the immigrants scrupulously followed by fascist Congress Ministry of Assam deliberately with a view to crushing the Muslim League [from] gaining ground in the Province. This meeting warns the Government of Assam against the dire consequences that may follow as a result of their inhuman oppression of the immigrants against all canons of law and justice.

173

Ghulam Mohammed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/58

TITAGHUR AIR DEPOT,
24 PARGANAS, BENGAL,
25 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I undertook, when I met you last in Delhi,[1] to suggest a few names for an expert committee which you may like to appoint to assist you in connection with the Constituent Assembly. There is a dearth of good men, and after careful investigation, I have the following names to suggest:

Sir Iqbal Ahmed, retired Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court, now practising in Patna
Chaudhuri Nimatullah, retired Judge, Allahabad High Court
M. Saleem, ex-Advocate-General, Punjab
M. Wasim, Advocate-General, U.P. (I am not quite sure in my own mind if in view of his office, he is precluded from serving on a committee of this character or not)
Dr. Karim Hyder Lodi, Professor of Economics, Muslim University, Aligarh
Dr. Anwer Iqbal Qureshi, Professor of Economics, Muslim University, Hyderabad, Deccan
Abdul Aziz, retired Financial Commissioner, Punjab

You might also like to consider Professors Haleem and Habib from Aligarh. I would also suggest consideration of the name of Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, Education Minister, Bhopal State.

There are other names for consideration of which you are aware, but I have refrained from mentioning those for certain reasons—one such name is Abdul Rahman Siddiqui.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

[1]Jinnah reminded him to expedite the draft scheme. See *SHC*, Punjab IV/59. Not printed.

174

Yusuff S. Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/45

BHAWANI DUTT LANE,
CALCUTTA,
25 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Just now I have heard from the radio that you are anxious to know the real fact as to what happened at Noakhali. No doubt the Muslims have crushed the Hindus but the propaganda started in the Hindu papers is absolutely false and without any fundamental proof.

The Hindus, for what they have done in Calcutta, will be long remembered by the Muslims of Calcutta. There are several eye witnesses that women were stabbed in a place where no human can attack, the women were attacked on their private parts by daggers, the children were stabbed by sword and the babies in arms were killed in such a fashion that no person of any religion will act [as] such. The Congress demanding [*sic*] that they are standing for all, where the Congress element went at the time when the Congress Muslims were killed by the Hindus.

Mr. Kripalani in his speech said that every man and woman of Bengal should prepare for their defence. Excuse me, Sir, if I write here that Bengal Ministry is not fit to fulfil their powers [*sic*]. I won't be wrong on stating this. The Hindus are shouting for East Bengal but where is the justification of the Congress leaders [for] the brutality done to the Muslims in Bihar, Ahmedabad and Bombay. The Sikhs are being imported at [*sic*] Calcutta from the Punjab and they are allowed to keep *kirpan* (a dagger measuring 8 inches long) and whereas the Muslims whose birthright is to keep swords for defence, are helpless. Recently, some prominent Hindu spokesmen said in Bihar that every people (Hindu) should [be] prepared to crush the Muslim.

Under the circumstances, I may write you that if the women were converted from Hindus to Muslims, then why several thousand Hindus, men, women and children, are daily pouring in from Noakhali and other places. The Muslims have no papers, except one *Asre Jadid* and the other *Morning News,* whereas the Hindus have got several papers. They can write what they think. Recently, one Hindu was arrested at Muslim Relief Committee at No. 9 Bolai Dutt Street,

Calcutta. Hindus went there to drop poison in a water tank which was kept for the Muslim public. If we had our press we would have brought this to the notice of other public [*sic*]. Let the dog bark, the Muslims are proud of your leadership. Mr. Gandhi is visiting Calcutta and it will be much better if you also visit and see the things [for] yourself.

It would be much better if you please be kind enough to grant me an interview, though it is not possible for your goodself, but I may assure you that every inch [*sic*] of report I will give you from my point of view, I think, will benefit the Muslims.

Awaiting your reply with interest,

I remain,

Your most obedient Leaguer
YUSUFF S. AHMED

175

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/112

PESHAWAR,
25 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Sardar Bahadur Khan will deliver this letter.

I never expected such wonderful mass demonstrations in the province and the tribal belt against Nehru's visit. What we could not hope to achieve in several years was in fact achieved within about a week.

It is all due to the kindness of *Allah*. Manki Sharif did wonderful work in the tribal belt and every [*line missing*]. But without God's help, nothing could be achieved. The press, specially the foreign press, has reported everything.

I have a suggestion to make about our future work in the tribal belt. I feel that our high command should set up an agency of their own for work in the tribal area. The Provincial League has done and is doing all that it can. But our resources are not equal to the task. Here we have an immense reservoir of manpower stretching from Gilgit to Quetta. Thousands of armed men, who can fight and fight well, [are] willing to answer the call of the faith. This should be the

first item on the Direct Action programme. We have got to carry the message of the League to every hearth and home to organise the tribes and to inspire a feeling of oneness, of which they have only become recently conscious.

[*Line missing*]. Every move has got to be watched and checkmated. The Congress will call a *jirga* of tribal quislings to Delhi. I suggest a counter-move. We should send a *jirga* of our own and there should be mass demonstrations by the Punjab Muslims if and when these *jirgas* move down.

Nishtar is there and you will please discuss the matter with him. What I suggest is this. Our high command should immediately set up an agency to deal with [*line missing*] their own agency. For our part, I assure you that we will cooperate and carry on the work with such resources as are at our disposal.

I hope and trust that you are well and happy.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

175

Mohammad Habibul Rahman Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/118

NASIR MANZIL,
FARRASHKHANA,
DELHI,
25 October 1946

Sir,

I most respectfully beg to submit that the fresh allotment of portfolios to Muslim League, as announced by the Viceroy, has just come to my notice and I was much surprised to learn that neither [*sic* for none] of the Departments of Home, Defence and External Affairs has been allotted to the All India Muslim League. Is it a fact that you did not rely on the Muslim nation for which you were obliged to agree on such unexpected, disgraced [*sic*] and submissive terms—which the Muslims had on frequent occasions assured you of their whole-hearted support and sacrifices, and you were duly satisfied. There are many instances in India of this kind.

You know well what a big advantage will be derived by Sardar Patel from the Home Department and what great loss will be sustained

by Muslims of India. You ought not to have left the Department for the other rival party. Still there is time to take advantage from the occasion.

I am sorry to note that I have not even taken my evening meals today owing to extreme grief on hearing the sad news of allotment [of portfolios].

I, therefore, pray you will very kindly throw light on these points laid before you and let me know privately all about it as soon as possible.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
HABIBUL RAHMAN
General Secretary,
Central Idara-i-Habeeb

177

Dayal Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 189/2-3

AMRITSAR,
25 October 1946

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a statement of Master Tara Singh for your information.

Yours sincerely,
DAYAL SINGH
Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal

Enclosure to No. 177

25 October 1946

Publication of Nehru-Jinnah correspondence at Delhi discloses clever stratagems of the Congress and the Muslim League to dominate the Sikhs. Congress demands [of] the Muslim League to recognise it (Congress) as authoritative organisation of all non-Muslims. What right has the Congress to make such a preposterous demand after its defeat at the polls in the recent Sikh elections, both in the Central and the Provincial Legislatures? What right has the Muslim League to concede such a demand? We are no chattels to be sold and bought without our knowledge even.

Mr. Jinnah in his letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says, "But, in

future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress." Why should not the Shiromani Akali Dal, which has swept and is sweeping the Sikh elections, have the same right to nominate Sikh representative, just as the Muslim League will have in case of Muslim representatives.

I protest against these efforts behind closed doors upon [*sic*] Sikh entity and warn everybody concerned that the Sikhs will not brook this. We are, of course, cooperating with the Congress, but we never agreed and shall never agree to merge our independent and separate entity. We wish to be masters of our own fate. We can be friends, but we refuse to be underlings of others. We shall support the Congress in its struggle to attain freedom of the country but we refuse to give the Congress plenipotentiary powers to decide the future of the Sikh *Panth*.

TARA SINGH
(Master)

178

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 55/1-3

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 October 1946

Dear Sir,

You are aware that the Congress is doing everything, and by every means it can command, to bring disruption in Muslim ranks and to set up and support in the coming elections to the Sind Legislative Assembly those Muslims who for one reason or the other choose to remain outside the Muslim League and oppose the Muslim League candidates. While all the 22 general constituencies of the Sind Legislative Assembly are to return the Congress nominees unopposed, the Congress is thus utilising all its resources to create opposition to Muslim League candidates.

In these circumstances, it is urgently necessary that as many as possible candidates from amongst the Scheduled Castes be set up in general constituencies in order to minimise the mischief that

the Congress is out to create.

After careful survey of the various general constituencies in Sind, it has been found that only in the two general constituencies of Tharparkar District, the Sind Provincial Muslim League can successfully pursue the above plan. One of these constituencies is represented at present by Mr. Partabrai, a Congress nominee. This constituency has a total electorate of about 15,000 of whom 4,000 are Lohana (Caste) Hindus, while 11,000 are members of the Scheduled Castes. Out of the 4,000 Caste voters, the Congressite candidate can get only 2,000 at the polling station, while out of the 11,000 Scheduled-Caste voters, he can get 3,000 to poll for him, because 4,000 Scheduled-Caste voters happen to be tenants of Hindu zamindars and therefore out of them only 3,000 at the most will vote for the Congress candidate at the behest of these zamindars. Thus the maximum number of votes that the Congress candidate can secure would be 5,000. But there are 7,000 Scheduled-Caste voters who are dependent on Muslim zamindars' lands and if things are properly and thoroughly organised, at least 6,000 voters can easily be ensured for the Scheduled-Caste candidate. Such a candidate is available in the person of Mr. Ramji Kolhi whose only handicap is lack of adequate finance. If he is subsidized to the extent of 10 to 15 thousand rupees, and provided with Muslim League workers, there is every reason to expect his success at the polls. Of course, the Scheduled-Caste Federation too must extend its patronage and help to this candidate in order to facilitate the task for the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

The Congress candidate for the other constituency is Mr. Menghamal, who is being opposed by Seth Hiranand. In this constituency also the numerical position of voters is similar to the one described above. A large number of them being Scheduled-Caste members, majority of whom cultivate Muslim zamindars' land and, therefore, [can] easily be won over and made to vote for the Congress candidate's opponent, so that with proper organisation and arrangement, this seat also can be wrested from the Congress candidate. The opponent of the Congress candidate in this constituency is a man of his own independent means and would require only moral help in the form of an appeal from the Scheduled-Caste Federation and workers from Muslim League which will not cost us more than Rs. 5,000 in all.

In view of the above facts, I trust that the All India Muslim League will be pleased to accord its sanction to fight the election in these

two constituencies and also grant the necessary financial assistance to the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
YUSUF ABDOOLA HAROON
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

179

Mohamed Zakaria Maniar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/116

BOMBAY,
26 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Be pleased to accept the heartiest thanks and congratulations on behalf of the members of this institution, which is a pioneer body in propagating Islam in this part of the country for the last 25 years, on the momentous and epoch-making decision to participate in the Interim Government of the country, thereby defeating the long-cherished dreams and hopes of the Congress to leave the ten crore sons of Islam in the wilderness, and go ahead with the schemes of ruling over the whole of India reducing other elements of national life to the status of mere serfs and camp-followers. God may help you in your sublime mission of the renaissance of Islam in India.

To have included in the quota of the Muslim League a member of the Scheduled Castes and thereby proclaiming to the world at large the humanity and impartiality of the Muslims, is a fine specimen of consumerable [*sic*] statecraft and statesmanship. By this one stroke of diplomacy you are able to scatter to the winds the sinister cobweb of fraud the Congress had been able to spin around the Harijans after the universally hated Poona Pact.

May God grant you long life and youthful vigour to guide the Muslims of India to their destiny—Pakistan!

Thanking you once more,

I am,
Your brother-in-Islam,
MOHAMED ZAKARIA MANIAR
Honorary General Secretary
& Chief Organiser,
Anjumane-Tabligh-ul-Islam

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Mohommed Abdur Raoof to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/109

8 KANDAPPA MUDALI STREET,
CHOOLAI, MADRAS,
26 October 1946

Most honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

It may be heart-rending to you to hear that the Muslim children who have been clinging fondly to their musical and enchanting mother tongue Urdu are now being weaned [away] from it under a Govt. *fait* [*accompli*] and made to adapt themselves to alien vernaculars like Telugu. The language is a potent factor in holding the Muslims together and in making them feel as one invincible nation under the crescent banner. The Congress Government indirectly aims at disrupting the Muslims by blotting out the Urdu language which is closely bound up with our religion. I entreat you, Sir, to interfere [*sic* for intervene] in time and save Urdu from being mutilated beyond recognition by unscrupulous persons under whatever cloak they may appear.

For this act of generosity the whole Muslim population of this province prays for you and for your success in achieving Pakistan.

I am,
Sir,
Your meek child,
MOHOMMED ABDUR RAOOF

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/133-6

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
26 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was greatly disappointed last night when the redistribution of portfolios was announced on the radio. But the Hindu Congress had

already prepared the ground and threatened the Viceroy with their resignations if Home or Defence was given to the League. This was in the air. Then certain statements of the League leaders also gave them a handle to say that the League was getting in to fight. The statement by Mr. Ghazanfar Ali was quoted again and again and used as a handle that the portfolios of Defence and Home could be utilized to increase the communal trouble. In my opinion the statement was untimely and inopportune. This again proved the openness and simplicity of the Muslims who by their straightforwardness prove themselves to be indiscreet in some matters. Anyway, now it is done. The Congress has succeeded in giving the harmless and unimportant portfolios to the League while it will sit tight on all the important ones. One consolation is that this is only a provisional affair. But even in the Constituent Assembly the League has to enter well-prepared against the various tricks that will be used in the form of interpretations of various sections and clauses of the May 16th statement. Mahatma Gandhi's statement to the effect that the League is entering with its own interpretations, the Congress [has] its own and the Cabinet Mission has its own; this is a great warning. The League has to be well-prepared for it.

I am sending you the editorial[1] of the *Tribune* to show what a vulgar method of attack is employed by them. They are going on attacking only the Muslims whereas it takes two to make a quarrel as you said in your statement last night. Your dignified way of dealing with the Bengal affair is called a neutral thing. The Hindu mood is so badly poised against the Muslim that it is emitted at every step and then they want to have one nation. The real thing is that they want the ten crores of Muslims and the eight crore Untouchables to be the victims of their Brahmanical tyrannies that are in fact being revived by the Congressmen everywhere. If you want this to be exposed thoroughly as you must, you have to have the services of Swami Dharam Theerath, the writer of *Menace of Hindu Imperialism*. He knows them thoroughly and has been fighting against them for the last 30 years. Do you know how deadly he is against the Caste-Hindus, that he says that he will die either a Christian or a Muslim and in Pakistan! He does not even want to be buried in *Akhand* Hindustan which he detests with all his might. You should meet this man. For, the fight against the Caste-Hindus has to be carried on with full force, even when there is Pakistan. For it is the duty of a Muslim and a Christian to redeem the souls of those who are lost in idolatry and superstitions. Besides, Hindus being a capitalist race and Muslims a socialist [one] by their religion, the fight between the two can never

stop till this obnoxious caste-system is uprooted and a socialist society established for good. This argument was also brought forward by Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir when I argued with him for his being with the Caste-Hindu Congress. He said the Hindus are a sick race and it is the duty of Muslims and Christians to redeem them out of this position. I am also sending you his latest statement[2] that he has sent secretly from jail. It shows that he stands by his first commitment which Pandit Nehru failed to contradict.

The efforts to fight against the Caste-Hindus have to be redoubled now and every avenue against it has to be utilized. Your inclusion of a Scheduled-Class member is a right step in mobilising all those down-trodden people who have suffered and will suffer at the hands of Caste-Hindus. The Swami writes to me, "The Hindus will be forced to concede the claims of the Muslims and before long they will find that it is better to grant full Pakistan than to be yoked together with those who have nothing in common with them. The inherent incapacity of the Hindus to work for democratic freedom and unity is so chronic that one by one various groups and communities will break off from the present leadership. Already in Madras the Congress is in hot waters. Its stupid *khaddi* and anti-mill policy imposed on it by Gandhi and his disciples is likely to land the Cabinet in a perilous situation. With independence in their hands the provinces will before long disown the Centre and make the Central Govt. weak. Pakistan is, therefore, only a question of months." So you see all over India there are signs of disgust towards the Hindu Congress that is planning to drag the country several years behind instead of pulling it forward. The South will also welcome your movement. The credit there will go to the great Swami who has been undermining the Brahmans for the last 30 years.

Wishing you health and strength,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

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P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1012/103-6

BY AIR MAIL

15 GENERAL PATTERS ROAD,
MADRAS,
26 October 1946

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Your statesmanship in handling one of the most delicate situations in Indian politics is universally appreciated and admired—of course by non-Congressmen and unprejudiced Hindus.

On my way back from Delhi I broke my journey at Secunderabad from where I sent a telegram to you congratulating you on your decision to allow the League to join the Interim Government, which I hope you would have received. An esteemed friend of mine at Hyderabad, Dewan Bahadur A. Venugopal Mudaliar, retired Sessions Judge at Secunderabad, had written to you giving out his reactions to your decision. He and other non-Brahmins of Secunderabad look up to you for guidance. It is believed in most quarters that you are throwing open the door of the League to non-Muslims and thereby making the Muslim League a League of oppressed minorities, or an anti-fascist League of India. I do not know what line of action you will be taking in future; but this much is certain that you will be acclaimed as a true and genuine national democratic leader by future historians when the cloud of prejudice and passion clears [up] from the political firmament of this country. I do know that in your regime there will be a fair and equitable administration than under the Congress *raj*.

I met Sir Mirza Ismail on the 16th of this month at Hyderabad and was discussing many things [*sic*]. He told me that the Muslim League members in Hyderabad viewed him with suspicion owing to the propaganda carried on against him by the League that he is anti-League. He said that it was not true. I told him that his daughter, his son-in-law and his brothers were all Leaguers, and that his own daughter, Mrs. Ameen Kalleeli, was a great admirer of Quaid-i-Azam. But he said that you had some prejudice against him. I told him that that could not be correct, as you could never have instructed the Leaguers in Hyderabad to carry on any propaganda against him and that you did not tell me anything against him during our conversation.

I narrated to him the logical sequence with which you advance arguments in favour of Pakistan, and I further told him that every Muslim must remember that however much he would like to be in the good books of Hindus, he would never gain their sincere goodwill. I quoted to him the case of Tippu Sultan who was continuously maligned by Hindus as anti-Hindu and I further pointed out to him his own case that when he was *Dewan* of Jaipur State, how he was accused of being anti-Hindu. Finally, I urged upon him the desirability of changing his policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. On the whole I presume my conversation must have produced some effect on him. Therefore, my request to you is that whatever may be your opinion of him, let us give the impression that we do not believe that he is against us; and by slow process let us put our seal on him and support him, thereby making the Hindus suspect him. Then he is sure to become one of the Leaguers. To a statesman of your standing I am not a fit person to suggest what policy you should adopt in certain matters, but as a humble follower of yours I feel it is my duty to place before you my impressions which may be helpful to you when deciding upon certain questions. That is so far as Hyderabad is concerned.

After my return to Madras, I met Sir Mohamed Usman and told him that you very much appreciated his message and also his frequent statements to the press and he was very glad to know about it. He told me that the Muslim League must become one day or [an]other a League of non-Congress parties and communities and he was one of the most enthusiastic admirers of your decision to include a Scheduled-Caste member within the Muslim League quota. His jubilation was indescribable. I also told him that you regretted the pathetic plight of non-Brahmins of this Province and you would be one of the sincerest friends of the non-Brahmin party and would render such help as is possible for you if it ever decided to stand up and fight the Congress fascists.

Today, I sent a telegram offering my felicitations to you, and if there is a possibility of my going over to Delhi sometime hence, I should like to take the opportunity to congratulate [you] again in person.

I am thinking of writing a book in reply to Guha's *Pakistan and its Consequences* and I would like to name it *Pakistan and its Sequences*. I

may approach you for a foreword in due course.

With respectful regards,

Yours ever sincerely,
BALASUBRAMANYA MUDALIAR
Managing Editor, *The Sunday Observer*

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H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/51-3

BENGAL SECRETARIAT,
CALCUTTA,
26 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly pardon my presumption in saying that your statement[1] on the Noakhali disturbances is so well-balanced and adjusted and so appropriate that it has placed these incidents in their proper perspective.

A certain gentleman, Mr. Sudhir Chandra Ghosh, who says that he is the personal representative or envoy of Mr. Gandhi, wanted to know from me what my reactions would be to Mr. Gandhi's visiting Bengal. I was against it because I felt that his arrival here would excite the Hindus considerably and also make the Muslims suspicious. Nevertheless, I understand that he is insisting on coming to Bengal and he will be here probably on Tuesday next. I shall have to do the best that I can to look after his safety and comfort.

I made a suggestion to Mr. Ghosh which I would like to place before you. As he had come from Mr. Gandhi, I suggested to him that Mr. Gandhi should contact you and that [the] two of you should convene a meeting of the Premiers and Home Ministers of all the provinces where we can discuss the best means of promoting good feeling, avoiding disturbances and meeting disturbances should they arise. The more I think of it, the more I am of the opinion that this move will be helpful. Perhaps, now that the Muslim League has entered the Interim Government, the move can be made at the suggestion of the Muslim League by Patel. But, perhaps, the psychological effect would be much better if it was made by yourself and Mr. Gandhi in full co-operation, of course, with the Interim Government.

The exaggerations and the myths of the Noakhali disturbances

have been more or less exploded by now and Lt. General Butcher, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Army [*sic* for Command], will be addressing the press today in which he will refer to the exaggerated reports. The position is as follows:

i. There has been no general uprising of Muslims against Hindus.
ii. A very small section are hooligans who have reared their heads owing to the deterioration in the economic situation have taken advantage of the political strain.
iii. Murders have been very few comparatively and probably would not be more than 100 to 150. Highest 300.
iv. There has been arson but these are just village huts and homes and most of them were destroyed after the occupants [had] left.
v. There has been looting of shops and bazars and arson which has been indiscriminate. Both Muslims and Hindus have suffered.
vi. There has been considerable amount of conversions. These may be called forcible as the Hindus have accepted the conversion through fear of molestation. The conversions, however, are very light and have been lightly understood and the Hindus will come back to their original faith.
vii. There have been marriages with Muslim families after conversion. These too may be called forcible. This, of course, is very deplorable. I doubt, however, very much if the girls that have been so married will revert to their original homes.
viii. Local Muslims and Muslim Leaguers have condemned these outrages and have kept themselves [*sic*] aloof from it. On occasions they have resisted the hooligans, on occasions they have combined with the Hindus to resist the hooligans. Local Muslim League MLAs have all wired to me to send enough police to stop these outrages which they consider a blot on the Muslim League. More than anything else, this clearly shows that this has not been done by the Muslim League and Muslim Leaguers understand that it is against the policy of the Muslim League.

We have sent two special officers to the disturbed areas to get authentic reports and a correct background.

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY
Chief Minister, Bengal

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches & Statements*, IV, 2429-30.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 990/107

BOMBAY,
26 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Believe me, last night when I heard the communique issued from the Viceroy's House, I was stunned and flabbergasted to know that we have been given only the crumbs. In other words, out of seventeen important subjects, we have been asked to be contented with only three. The ratio does not work out [to] even 25 per cent.

While I congratulate you on your pulling the country out of fire at this juncture, we cannot let the matter pass with equanimity inasmuch as we consider this as our abject surrender, utter humiliation and political death. The fact is that we are made to chew the cud, whereas the Congressites are burning *ghee* in celebration of their victory over our objective and ideologies. We have been defeated, laid low, levelled to the ground and made to digest the venom of our own spleen.

We have fullest confidence in your leadership, nor will we ever [have] doubt in your leadership, but we have a right to demand our rights and explanation from our leaders for their actions. My God! Did we fight all these years for these dry bones and useless husks? We did not even for a moment think that we will be betrayed so miserably. Unless you have some better plans which you want to be executed from within, we on our part will carry on the fight dauntlessly. Let me tell you that to-day our great and brave nation stands discredited and crestfallen. It is [in] a sullen mood and utterly dazed. The cyclopes [*sic*] of a gentleman has betrayed you once again. This is not called an equitable distribution. We have lost the game, and unless you retrieve the honour, there is going to be a disintegration of the community. The [Muslim League] Council will and should reject the decision and launch immediate Direct Action, without which there does [not] seem to be the ghost of a chance for our future and safety.

A DISAPPOINTED MUSLIM

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Syedna Taher Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/125

JAMNAGAR,
27 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the entry of the Muslim League in the Interim Government of India. I am sure the presence of the League's representatives in the Government will greatly consolidate our position and bring us nearer our goal.

As I informed you in Bombay, I have instructed my brother S. Safiyuddin (who recently left for *Haj*) to go to Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and other important Arab countries and meet the rulers and political leaders of those countries and impress upon them the great necessity of bringing about a conference of all Islamic countries, preferably in India, under the auspices of the All India Muslim League, the only representative organization of the Musalmans of India.[1]

Judging from the replies I have received from some of the rulers of those countries, I am hopeful that this laudable object, which concerns all the Musalmans, will materialise in not a distant future.

I trust you will inform me of any suggestions you may feel like making to my brother in this connection.

With kindest regards and best *salaams*,

Yours sincerely,
SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN

[1]Jinnah informed him that he had already given an interview with regard to holding a conference of the representatives of Muslim countries in India. See *SHC*, Bombay II/168. Not printed.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/137-40

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
27 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is to be congratulated on his excellent clarification of the League point of view on various matters. It will silence the Hindus' wrong interpretation of the Executive Councillors' position in the Interim Govt., which was being boasted [of] as a national Govt. whereas it is nothing but the 1935 Act Government with only a change of personnel.

Mrs. Pandit is now presenting India's case before the UNO. Look what she says outside India. 'Denial of freedom,' she says, 'must lead to conflict and war.' What is Hindu Congress doing here? They want to deny freedom to Muslims and they have denied freedom to eight crores of Untouchables for thousands of years. Then she says, 'we repudiate the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised.' I think Hindus with their Brahmanical superiority practise even a worse form of racialism than did the Nazis or the Japanese. It is the racial superiority of which even Panditji and Mrs. Pandit cannot be absolved. On many occasions both have publicly declared that they are proud of being Brahmans. 'We seek no domination over others', says she. Are they not making a desperate struggle to dominate not only Muslims but over [*sic*] the other minorities, particularly the Depressed Classes over whom they have century-old domination and exploitation. She claims equal and honourable treatment for Indians whom she claims to represent and at the same time refuses honourable treatment for Muslims of India whom the Hindus want to keep as wage-slaves and serfs.

All this is propaganda and needs counter-propaganda which if not done will enable the Caste-Hindus to prove to the world what superior, fair-minded, justice-loving and tolerant people they are.

'The load beneath the barrow knows exactly where the pinprick goes. The butterfly beneath the sky preaches contentment to the fly'.

But the Muslims, the Christians, the Untouchables, the Sikhs and even the non-Brahmans know what the reality of the whole situation

in India is. We know it to our cost what the Caste-Hindu rule will mean to these nationalities who have nothing in common with the Caste-Hindus. It is for this reason that I have been asking you that in order to strengthen the case of Pakistan, you have to expose what Brahman or caste-rule will mean to others. It will mean rule of the Brahman with their idol worship, it will mean *devadasis,* being a worship [*sic*], *kanya puja,* cow worship, temple bestiality and even a revival of *sati* which the Hindus have been compelled to give up under Muslim and Christian British rule. To save ourselves from the rule of such people we have to kick up a row before the whole world. Uptill now only the Caste-Hindus have done their propaganda and have given out to the world that there is no caste-system in India and all live like brothers, which is a lie. Do you know that in her last tour in America, Mrs. Pandit was lecturing on the same point and as an example she quoted the name of an Indian Christian and a Pathan as an example of marriage between Pathans and Hindus. A friend of mine was sitting in that hall and contradicted the fact. You will have to ultimately send a deputation with a Hindu in it to undo the wrong propaganda.

I have sent Swamiji's books to all the leading personalities of the world, including all the leaders of Britain. These books expose the hollowness of Hindu claim to represent the entire nation. I have just received a reply from Mr. Churchill that he will read the books with great interest. This book is called *New Light on India,* a copy of which was also despatched to you and all the Muslim League leaders. I wish you would read this book. Then you will know what Swamiji is doing for the Muslim nation.

The Congress is sending Maulana Azad to the Middle East for propaganda purposes. Don't you think that it is the duty and responsibility of the League high command to do it before they spread [*sic* for sow] the seed of poison against the League? They are even penetrating into Afghanistan. Here is the cutting[1] that shows that the cult of *charkha* mission is going there. The League should warn the Pathans of Afghanistan against this move. It may be the forerunner of non-violence and emasculation. The Muslim countries of the north are a terror to the Hindus. They may have sinister motives in these missions. Look what has happened in the Frontier. Since you are the only great brain behind the League how can you have the time to think in every direction. Hindus surround

you in all spheres and threaten to choke you. God forbid.

Wishing you everything good,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not traceable.

187

Muhammad Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/94

PERSONAL

KOT FATEH KHAN,
ATTOCK DISTRICT,
27 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I venture so far as to congratulate you on the decision to allow Muslim League representatives to accept office in the Government of India. I dare to say that there are many Muslims who do not approve of the step taken, but I have been of the opinion, all along, that it is necessary for Muslim League representatives to accept office wherever possible, because only in this way they can safeguard the rights and interests of the Muslims in the present circumstances.

I earnestly hope that some interim arrangement with the Congress Party will be arrived at so that it may be possible for the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party to coalesce with the Punjab Congress Assembly Party. You need have no fears of the Sikhs going into the wilderness, because it is quite certain that as soon as there is a coalition between the League and the Congress then the Sikhs will want to join it so that they may not be left out of the profits of office.

I have no claims on you except that as a Muslim, who has no axe to grind. I consider it my duty to bring to your notice the crying need for a League-Congress pact.

If it is not immediately possible to arrive at such a pact for the all-India problem, I would stress the necessity of such a pact for the Punjab without further delay. No one who knows me, and the circumstance in which I am placed, will say that I would personally and in my individual capacity be a gainer thereby, but I make bold

to say that such a pact will be of immense benefit to the Punjabi Muslims.[1]

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD NAWAZ KHAN

[1]Jinnah acknowledged his suggestions. See *SHC*, Punjab II/95. Not printed.

188

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/157-8

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

5 DANEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
27 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was very happy to see in the papers that you had succeeded in securing for the League the portfolios which I had recommended to you with the exception of Industries and Civil Supplies, but then we cannot get everything. Please find enclosed a copy of the letter from Abdul Qaiyum in the Frontier; so I have decided to postpone my visit in view of the circumstances.

The general resolution of the All India Committee of Action has vested all the normal functions of the Punjab Provincial League and the District League in the Punjab Committee of Action. This has created certain difficulties. We have enquired on the telephone from Liaquat who says that in the Punjab, as in Delhi, our Working Committee and our Provincial Council can continue to work when called upon by the Committee of Action to do so. A great deal of time of the Committee of Action is wasted on the academic discussions regarding the legality and illegality of this and that and all this can be set at rest by allowing the elections to be held. Almost all the districts have held their primary elections and chosen their Council for the District League but these have not been able to take office. Some of the old office-bearers have resigned or died and these vacancies cannot be filled or at least the Committee of Action continues to argue about it whether the newly-elected Councils are the duly constituted bodies or the old ones are still alive. When I was in Delhi, Nazim had mentioned to me that if the League came into the Interim Council, the Committee of Action will allow elections

to be held. An early directive in this direction will revive the League organisation which seems to be dormant at the moment in the province. It would not be wise to replace the ordinary League organisations by Committees of Action. Our Direct Action should be broad-based and supported by the electorates and the District Councils. The Committee of Action can have the power to deal with the abnormal work or should have the power to delegate the normal work back to the District League and the Provincial League and the Committee of Action can also be given power to pass orders with regard to any matter, normal or abnormal, and if an order passed by the Provincial League conflicts with that of the Committee of Action, the latter order should hold the field. The sooner we can get the League organisations restored in the province I feel the better.

If you are likely to go into the Constituent Assembly it would be advisable to let your decision be known so that we can make our arrangements regarding our residences in Delhi.

Kindest regards,

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

Enclosure to No. 188
Abdul Qaiyum Khan to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/202

My dear Malik Sahib,

Received your letter of 17th Oct. Your visit to our Province is a splendid idea. This very thing has been in our mind for some time.

There is just one hitch. Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar and Dr. Khan have been publicly disgraced. They have been hit with stones, spat upon, their clothes were torn and Abdul Ghaffar Khan has had his fingers broken. Not only this but they were fired on several times.

The Red Shirts are snarling because of the insults to their leaders and have been publicly talking of revenge. The visit of an eminent Muslim like you at this juncture will offer them an opportunity. It is desired that you should not come for some time till things have cooled down.

Samin Jan Khan, Advocate, Mardan, is the President of the Provincial [Muslim] League. You need not write to him. We will discuss your letter in the next provincial meeting. We will be delighted to have

you later on. I may see you in Lahore next month.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

189

Zakir Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/79

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA,
JAMIANAGAR, DELHI,
27 October 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to know that the Jamia Millia Islamia has completed 25 years of its existence and we propose to celebrate its jubilee next month (15-18 November). I hope you have already received our invitation to the silver jubilee celebrations. I had wished to present the invitation to you personally but serious eye-trouble prevented me from moving out. I am now better and this is the first letter I am writing after my recovery to crave your permission to call upon you personally and convey to you the heartfelt desire of the staff and students of the Jamia to have you in our midst on this happy occasion.

I hope you will be in Delhi at the time of our jubilee and your visit to Sind, which the papers have announced to take place about the middle of November, will, we sincerely hope, be fixed on some date after the 18th. The twenty-five years on which we look back have been a period of rather strenuous work for us at the Jamia, and we shall feel amply repaid for our labours in the cause of Muslim education if you could find the time to grace the jubilee function with your presence and to see some of our work.

If, however, the visit to Sind must be at a time which might unavoidably prevent your presence, we shall be extremely grateful for a word of encouragement from you. We are receiving messages of goodwill and appreciation from all over India and also from a large number of educational thinkers and organisations outside the country. But a word from you will, I need hardly tell you, be a

source of much greater strength to us than all the other messages.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ZAKIR HUSSAIN

[1]Jinnah wished him early recovery from eye trouble and desired him to intimate a suitable date/time for the meeting. See *SHC*, Misc. I/80. Not printed.

190

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II /113

PESHAWAR,
28 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Pir Abdul Latif Zakori, [Muslim] League MLA of D.I. Khan, says that some people have invited you to visit the tribal area and take part in the Pakistan Conference, which will be held at Dera Ismail Khan from 8th to 10th November.

You will please not accept any invitation unless you hear from the Provincial Muslim League. We are very strong in the tribal belt and are quite capable.

Any visit by you at this juncture is not at all necessary.

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

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Salay Mohamed Kutiyanawala to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1130)

163 KEYZER STREET,
COLOMBO,
28 October 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On the occasion of the entry of the Muslim League into the Interim Government, the Indian Muslims in Ceylon wish to congratulate and support you and the League for the firm stand you have taken in

upholding the cause of Muslims at this critical stage of their existence.

The League in entering the Interim Government in its own right, in good faith, and to serve all, has taken a step in the right direction which will no doubt contribute to a detente in India. Our earnest prayer is that *Allah* will give the League nominees in the Interim Government the courage, fortitude and wisdom to defend and further the cause of Pakistan which is the natural right of Muslims in India.

We reiterate our confidence in your able leadership, the only friendly tide that in this tempestuous ocean can gently but strongly bear Muslims to some safe and happy shore. We, therefore, entreat every Muslim in India to unite and enlist under the banner of the Muslim League which is our political symbol and our solitary guiding star.

May *Allah* give you and your colleagues long life and strength to achieve Pakistan which only can save Muslims and the minority communities from the paralysis of the diseased body politic of India.

Pakistan *Zindabad*!

Your brother in Islam,
HAJI SALAY MOHAMED KUTIYANAWALA
President,
Ceylon Textile Merchants Association

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A. D. Shroff to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1133)

TATA INDUSTRIES LIMITED,
BOMBAY HOUSE, BRUCE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
28 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hasten to convey to you my sincerest congratulations on your wise and statesmanlike decision to send five representatives of the Muslim League to the Interim Government. Among other reasons, I welcome the entry of your representatives into the Interim Government as a safeguard against the potential risk of tyranny of one-party Government. I also trust that the representatives of the Muslim League will not slavishly be a party to giving legislative sanction to the unpractical fads of some of the political leaders of the country, and that before lending their support, they will scrutinise every proposal

on its own merits, applying in each case the severe test whether such proposal serves the best interests of all sections of the community. What I have in mind is the question like the Salt Tax or the propagandist support to *khadi*.

I need scarcely assure you that your representatives in charge of the various departments may anytime consider some of us, who are not adherents of any political party, at their disposal for any advice or assistance that they may need.[1]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. D. SHROFF

[1]Jinnah thanked him for his good wishes and offer of assistance. See *SHC* (1134). Not printed.

193

Abdul Sattar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/97

MAIN BAZAR, MOZANG,
LAHORE,
28 October 1946

Pakistan Zindabad, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We pray for your long life and prosperity; you have commanded respect from hearts of Muslim masses. You are [a] unique politician of the world, and an unstumblingly wise and true politician. Nobody in the world can keep you back from your fair-mindedness and nobody can avert [*sic*] your true and well-wishing ideas for the Muslim community.

Due to your greatest sacrifices you have raised the Muslim community to a level equal to the Hindu community without any bloodshed or loss of unnecessary wealth.

Every Muslim in the true sense is praising your guidance so far. The steps you took for the guidance of the League Council and for the uplift of the community were unstumbling.

It has pained almost all Leaguers, not even [*sic* for only] at Lahore but also in this Province and in other provinces too, that the acceptance of portfolios in the Interim Government is against the wishes of the community and seems to be against its welfare.

Out of the four important portfolios, i.e. Home, Defence, Broadcasting and External Affairs, at least two should have been demanded by [the] League.

The portfolios which have been accepted by the League are mostly unimportant and are the same which were accepted by the members of the Interim Government from the black market [*sic*]. These cannot help the community in broader sense.

It seems that you have given no importance or attention to the demanding of portfolios, which is not fair but unjust to the community.

The greater dissatisfaction is found from the statement given by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan after entry into the Interim Government, from which it appears that the office-holders are satisfied with the present offices they are to hold and consequently they have surrendered to the Congress.

Will you please clarify your position and policy under the circumstances or further mutual understanding under which you have accepted the offices to cool our hearts.

Further, we request you to please guide members of the Interim Government on behalf of the community to try to demand better and most [*sic* for more] important offices in the Interim Government.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL SATTAR
A Muslim Leaguer

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M. A. Jinnah to Begum Sharfunnissa Shahban

SHC, Sind VIII/34

29 October 1946

Dear Madam,

I have already sent you today the following telegram in reply to your appeal[1] for a revision of the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board:

> Your appeal regret have no power. Decision Central Parliamentary Board final. Please abide by it and support League candidates selected by Central Parliamentary Board.

I regret that I have no power to entertain any appeal against the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board, which is final. I hope and trust that you will support the Muslim League candidates as a true and loyal Leaguer, and maintain the discipline, honour and

prestige of our great organisation.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum Sharfunnissa Shahban,
3 Gizri Road,
Civil Lines,
Karachi

[1]Begum Sharfunnissa Shahban had represented against the denial of election ticket to her by the Central Parliamentary Board. See *SHC*, Sind VIII/31. Not printed.

195

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/52

NEW YORK,
30 October 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We arrived here last Friday without any mishap. The day in London was utilized in contacting Mr. [Z. A.] Suleri and arranging for our programme in Great Britain. From London to New York, we travelled in a luxurious Constellation plane of the Pan-American Airways. Mr. Ned Russell had arranged everything to make us comfortable in London. Mrs. Helen Reid's son met us at the airport in New York and brought us to the hotel in his own car. Mrs. Reid came to see us the next morning. She is extremely grateful to you for responding to her invitation and is going out of her way to do everything according to our satisfaction. All the speeches delivered at the forum by everyone had been timed for fifteen minutes only, [and] therefore our progress had to be cut down a great deal which we reluctantly agreed to. She promised to have the paragraphs that we considered important and [that] could not be included in the speech for lack of sufficient time, published in the paper with the text of the speech. The subject matter of the opening session of the forum was "Frontiers of Justice" and the opening speech was delivered by a judge of the Supreme Court. The British Ambassador, Mr. Krishna Menon, and Hassan [Ispahani] spoke on India. The Indian Delegation to the U.N.O. was present on the platform in full force and Messrs J. J. Singh and Anup Singh were also there—Lord

Irvinchapell and Menon's speeches were the usual tall talk and I am glad to say that the sketch of our case, which Hassan so ably and eloquently presented soon after they had spoken, fitted into the picture beautifully. The audience heard it very sympathetically and in pin-drop silence and there was profuse cheering when he finished—Yes! It was good to be alive to see such a day dawning for our nation. Mrs. Reid and the others were agreed that the gentleman from West Africa and Hassan's speeches were the best of the evening and she, as well as a number of other persons, congratulated us on the success of the evening. You will be pleased to learn that a large number of persons throughout yesterday's sessions of the forum have talked to us about our case and several of them told us that people were talking about it and had started discussing it. How we both wished that you had been there, Sir, to see it all with your own eyes. I think that we could not have done better than to begin our foreign publicity by placing our case before such a representative gathering of the world. The faces of the members of the Indian Delegation fell and Mrs. Pandit left the hall soon after Hassan's speech was over. We are now arranging for a press conference. Most of our time is being spent in interviews and talks. Of course we are very much handicapped in not having even one representative of ours in the U.N.O. Delegation from India as it would have been easier for us to make contacts with foreign delegations through him. Nevertheless we mean to do our best.

With our best wishes and prayers,

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

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Hidayat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, C. P. & Berar II/76

AMRAOTI,
30 October 1946

Sir,

I am receiving very disturbing reports from some places in the rural area of Amraoti District.

A report received by me from Chandur Ry. shows that a public meeting of Hindus was held there on 24.10.46.

Mr. Bhagchand of the Chandur Congress Committee presided over

the meeting. Mr. Vyass, a rich and influential Marwari of Chandur Ry., is reported to have made a very inflammatory speech at the said meeting inciting the Hindus against the Musalmans. He is reported to have stated at the meeting that five thousand Hindu men, women and children have been massacred by the Musalmans in East Bengal and he is said to have appealed to the Hindus to prepare and take a vow to crush the handful Muslims of Berar. Messrs Bhagchand and Mannalal Gupta are also reported to have delivered similar speeches.

The reports received by me from the Musalmans of Nandsaongi, Plasmandal and the other villages, which fall under the Nandsaongi Kazi Police Station in Amraoti *Taluka,* disclose that one Ganpati Bua Shinde, a disciple of Desuji Bua, is touring the areas and making very inflammatory speeches inciting the Hindus against the Musalmans and Britishers, and is reported to have been openly urging upon the Hindus to be armed with spears, swords and other deadly weapons and to kill the Muslims and the Britishers in India. It is also said that he tells the Hindu audience not to have any fear of the police officers and police constables and to kill them also. He is urging upon the Hindus to raise a Hindu army for crushing the Musalmans and Britishers. He has delivered his speeches at Nandsaongi and Plasmandal on 28.10.46 and 29.10.46, [respectively,] and it is reported that he was to deliver speeches at Chormsholi on 30.10.46. At all these places, he is reported to have told the Hindus to prepare arms to kill the Musalmans and to boycott them. At Plasmandal, he was, it is said, actually accompanied by several Hindus armed with spears. These people were present in the meeting at which he (Ganpati Bua) is reported to have made his inflammatory speech against the Musalmans and incited the Hindus to use violence against them. Three Musalmans have [*sic*] left the village out of fear at the time when the meeting was going on. A Hindu blacksmith from Badnera who is said to have come to Plasmandal about a month back is making spears and supplying same to the Hindus of Plasmandal and other villages.

The Musalmans of the area mentioned above have become panicky as a result of the dangerous Hindu propaganda both from the press and the platform and have begun shifting from their villages. At Plasmandal there are 11 Muslim houses only in a total population of about one thousand. Similarly there are only 20 Muslim houses in a total population of about one thousand at Nandsaongi. At Chormsholi also there [are] about 10 Muslim houses in a total population of about three thousand. The same is the case everywhere in Amraoti District. And the Musalmans are in a hopeless

minority particularly in rural area.

At Badala it is reported that the only Muslim house has been [*sic*] burnt about 18 days back and similarly 2 Muslim houses are reported to have been burnt at Pipri-Badra. Both these villages are in Nandgaon Kazi Police Thana Circle. I learn that the Musalmans of Nandsaongi have made reports at the Nandgaon Police Thana. The Dhanora-Girao Motor Stand on the Amraoti Vectral Road is reportedly not a safe place for the Musalmans.

In view of [the] false and poisonous propaganda that is being carried on in the Hindu papers, and [of] the activities of Hindus like Ganpati Bua, Messrs Vyass and others, it is feared that a serious situation might develop in rural areas also in the Amraoti District. I have received verbal reports about some communal tension in some villages in Daryapur *Taluka* and other places also. These reports however lack confirmation. There is tension already at Amraoti and Badnera.

I therefore humbly and respectfully appeal to the authorities to take adequate steps and to make arrangements for the protection of the Musalmans in the rural and urban areas of the Amraoti District. The situation in the rural areas referred to above deserves special and immediate attention for the protection of the Musalmans.

Yours sincerely,
HIDAYAT ALI
MLA
Secretary, District Muslim League

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M. Moinul Haque Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/64

CAMP SILCHAR,
ASSAM,
30 October 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you remember that I acquainted you with the situation that had arisen due to the resignation of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, the President and Treasurer of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. Since then I tried to call the Council meeting of the Federation to elect a President but, partly due to the unrest in the country and

partly due to financial difficulties, I could not arrange it in any big city. At last I announced to [*sic*] hold the meeting at Aligarh on 25th October with the idea that it would involve less expenditure. But owing to the sudden and last-minute opposition of the authorities of the Aligarh University, I had to cancel the meeting on the 18th inst., which also involved a lot of expenditure. Now the only alternative for me is to call the meeting in Delhi as in every other important place riots are going on. In order to arrange the board and lodging of 125 members of the Council and to meet the travelling expenses of the 24 members of the Working Committee, I requested Raja Sahib to send me at least one thousand rupees. In reply to this his Secretary informed me that "there is no balance left in the fund earmarked for the A.I.M.S.F.", though he had never informed me beforehand about this to allow me to be prepared for such eventualities.

Now I have been faced with the difficulties of running the organisation and to carry on its day-to-day expenditure, to hold the Council meeting, etc. without fund. The authorities of our newly opened branch in Great Britain are requesting for financial aid which they deserve. We sent a delegation to Prague to attend the World Student Congress, where they demanded separate representation for Muslim nation which was disputed by the All India Students' Congress and All India Students' Federation. As a result a commission is visiting India shortly to enquire into our claim. Another delegation on behalf of the World Democratic Youth Federation is visiting India by the middle of November to enquire into the conditions of the Indian youth. We must give them proper reception, arrange for their accommodation, etc., like other student organisations. In such circumstances, I have no other alternative but to appeal to you as the President of the All India Muslim League to help us immediately with a substantial grant so that I may run the organisation in this period till we hold the Council meeting to elect a President and a Treasurer.[1]

I may point out that never in the past [had the] All India Muslim Students' Federation appealed to All India Muslim League for funds. Even during the election days, when our expenditure increased so many times, we did not trouble you for money. At present also, I would not have requested you but for these pressing needs.

Further, I pray to you to issue an appeal to the public for donations to help us with creating a permanent fund for the Federation.

Hope to be excused for encroaching upon your valuable time.
With regards,

Sincerely yours,
M. H. CHOUDHURY
General Secretary,
All India Muslim Students' Federation

[1]Jinnah advised him against holding a Council meeting for the time being because of communal disturbances in most parts of the country. See *SHC*, Students I/65. Not printed.

198

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aminul Hasnat

SHC, NWFP II/68

30 October 1946

My dear Pir Sahib,

I am very pleased to read in the newspapers that you have now been whole-heartedly working for the Muslim League. We want our best and most prominent men to come forward and work selflessly, as, I am sure, you have already realized that there is a very great struggle in front of us to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

It is now up to every Muslim, to whatever class he may belong, to work and organize our people and stand united under the banner of the All India Muslim League.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hazrat Mohammad
Aminul Hasnat,
Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif,
Manki, NWFP

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/141-4

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
30 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are some more cuttings[1] from the Punjab press which go to prove that even the entry of the League in the Interim Government has not prevented the Hindus from moving the mighty weapon of their press to malign the Muslim League and the Muslim nation. There is a wave of a gigantic and frantic effort to black-paint the Muslims of the present as well as the past. They do not spare even the great prosperous Mughal period during which the Hindus lived so peacefully and prosperously. They are going on with their vicious propaganda that will create nothing but ill will and hatred. The Muslims should not be deceived but must bestir themselves to prepare for the struggling [*sic*] that is bound to come sooner or later. Hindus do not want peace with the Muslims. Look at the way they are going on painting black and exaggerated pictures of East Bengal. Even the new Congress President, Kripalani, is behaving like a Mahasabhite.

With the entire Indian press bought off by the Tata-Birla banks, how is the League going to face the problem? It is a very vital thing that counter-propaganda be done.

I have just returned from Bashir Ahmad's, where we were talking as to how counter-propaganda should be done. They also agreed with me that just as the Congress has its Azads and Kitchlews to talk against the Muslim nation, the League should have Caste-Hindus to expose the wicked schemes of the Caste-Hindu Government. The Congress has to pay heavy sums to buy its henchmen, whereas the League will get genuine Hindus to fight for the cause of Pakistan practically free. I think it is a folly not to utilize them at this critical juncture when the Hindus are using every means to malign the Muslims.

Do you know that Bashir Ahmad told me just now that the Nehru Government has put one lakh in Sir Shafaat's bank in order to make him undo what Begum Shah Nawaz and Ispahani are going to do? And he is going to tell the American public that the League has no following and [that] Nehru is the true leader of all communities. See

what money can make a mare do? He can degrade himself to such a low level as to sell all principles and morals. But this he is going to do. The best thing is to prevent his going out as an ambassador or delegate. The League members should object to it.

Look how fast the Congress is moving. They mean to turn out fifty thousand students every year with military training. The Pakistan area should prepare to turn out a lakh every year. But these things must be planned ahead. In the midst of all the struggle, there should be a body of men planning ahead.

The Hindu press is going on making good use of Mr. Ghazanfar Ali's speech and they make a hundred interpretations of it.

I watch with keen interest all that the League is doing and am praying and hoping that in spite of the disadvantages in the Interim Government, the League will prove its worth. You are burdened with heavy responsibilities and we all have to pray to God that He may give you health and strength and long life to steer the ship of the Muslim nation and the down-trodden people to a successful and victorious end.

Long may you live,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Not printed.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/301-2

VIA AIR MAIL

230 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
30 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Begum Shah Nawaz tells me that she has written a long letter to you today. I do not suppose I shall have much more to add to what she has had to tell you.

We reached here in the early hours of Saturday, after a tiring trip. Mrs. Ogden Reid called on us the same afternoon and expressed great joy at our having reached the United States in time to participate in her *Herald Tribune* Forum. She, on her part, had moved every possible person she knew to get us out of India in time to attend the Forum.

The British Ambassador here was contacted, and even Wavell was cabled to.

When in India we cabled her that I required one hour to present the Muslim case. When she saw us she assured me that all the speakers, big and small, would be given just 15 minutes and no more. The speech, therefore, had to be cut down to fit the time, with the result that full justice could not be done to the case. A copy of the proceedings has been sent to you and I shall welcome your reaction.

The speeches on India were broadcast to the world on the short-wavelength. Had it not been for the first two speeches, one by the British Ambassador and the other by the nominees of the Congress, my speech would have fallen flat, but Providence decreed otherwise and I think I made a fairly good job of it. The audience recorded their appreciation by prolonged cheers, necessitating my having to get up and, much against my will, show myself to them. After the meeting and almost every time I attend the Forum I am surrounded by quite a few visitors who make it a point to express their appreciation of our case. Nearly every one of them has told me they did not know of these terrible differences that existed, which necessitated the division of India. All along they have read and have been told that India is one united nation, with the exception of a certain Mr. Jinnah and his handful of followers who are the tools of British imperialism. Therefore, to them my speech was a revelation.

It has certainly done one bit of work, and that is, it has told the people that the Muslims and Hindus cannot be one, and if there is to be peace and tranquillity, coupled with good relationship, it is necessary to divide India.

We are arranging a press conference within this week and shall do all we can to contact foreign representatives now in this country and tell them what we are fighting for. The India Congress has an organisation in this country known as the India Freedom League, of which Mr. J. J. Singh is president. It is well-organized and carries on propaganda for the Hindus. Even at the Forum it had an information service on matters relating to India.

Mr. Singh saw us two days after our arrival and tried his blackmailing tactics. He told us that if we did anything to upset the work they had done in this country, he would resort to various exposures, etc. I did not understand what he meant by this threat, but had it not been for the presence of a lady, Begum Shah Nawaz, I would have, without hesitation, given him the biggest hiding that he has ever had. He

apparently thinks–and this thought must have by now been dispelled from his mind–that I am one of those who can be bounced and bullied.

Mrs. Pandit, Azim Husain, and a couple of other Indians to the U. N. Conference were present to hear the speeches on India. When I finished that whole crowd left the dais and went away for 15 minutes. If anyone has given them the shock of their lives outside India, believe me, and I say this with humility, I did. The message of the League, its aims and its ideals, will reach every home in the United States. Rest assured that we shall do our bit.

In a day or two I shall look into the business of organizing an information office here. There is a rickety Muslim League in New York, run by a third-rate individual for his own advertisement. This I shall send into liquidation. What we need abroad are first-class information offices which must be equipped with large quantities of the latest literature concerning the League–whether books, speeches or other material, out of which bulletins can be drawn up and issued to the thinking and interested public. More of this in my next letter to you.

I wish we had Muslim League representatives in the U. N. O. delegation because contacts with the members of the U. N. O. would have been infinitely easier for us.

With kindest regards to Miss Jinnah and [your] self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. On the opening of the Forum, Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Pandit were introduced to the world by Mrs. Reid. Our representative, I think, "out-glamoured" the Hindu lady. Mr. M. Ali Khan, for that is his name, is the "President" of the self-constituted Muslim League of the U.S.A. He is writing an autobiography. Its title is "The Abraham Lincoln of India". This will give you an idea of the fellow. He issues, off and on, a bulletin which usually carries rot. He is poorly educated; hence the trouble.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/129

DELHI,
31 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Sorry to say as under:

You seem to be quite content with what is necessary with the Viceroy or the Congress but what is going on with us in Bombay, Bihar, etc. does not seem to be your business. You have not so far said a word about Bengal and I suppose you are still awaited [*sic*] for a report while our opponents besides vast propaganda have also sent Gandhi and are now contemplating a second visit of Lord Wavell. As against this we are still thinking of an announcement on the subject. Is it not your duty as a *Quaid* of the *Millat* to do something tangible with provinces having Muslim minorities? The type of propaganda being done by the Congress should be an eye-opener for us and a specimen of which could be seen in the *Dawn* of today on page four in addition to his [*sic*] editorial.

It is, therefore, requested that [an] adequate directive should be issued by you to the League authorities concerned. It is also suggested that strong propaganda and relief committees should be drawn by you whose work must be to investigate such incidents and report to you immediately, on receipt of which means should be adopted by you to stop such repetition again. We are receiving worse treatment than what we had in 1937, when Congress Ministries were first formed. I trust this letter will receive your due consideration.

Yours faithfully,
A MUSLIM

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Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

F- 372/20-1

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
31 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Before leaving Delhi for Lahore, I and Mumtaz met you and tried to bring to your kind notice the conditions now prevailing in the Punjab. We requested you to allow us to resign our offices and make room for those who feel that we have been unjust to them and that they cannot work without being in one or the other office. You very kindly advised us not to do so. We could not argue with you and came back. But since our return to Lahore we find that the activities of the other group have greatly increased in this respect. So much so that in spite of your advice, Mumtaz found it difficult to carry on and tendered his resignation on the morning of the 25th.

The same morning before we met, Malik Firoz Khan Noon rang me up and asked me to see him at the residence of his friend and business partner, Mr. Sohan Lal. When I went there he advised me in a very friendly way that I should give up one of the two offices. He told me that there was a feeling that I am being unjust to others and that I grab everything by getting orders from above. This is not true as far as the presidentship is concerned. Every time I was elected unanimously. But he and his friends, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din and Shaukat Hyat Khan, are doing the propaganda against me on these very lines. Malik Firoz Khan feels that party leadership is the only chance left for him and he has enlisted the support of Shaukat Hyat Khan by promising him the presidentship. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din is a clever person. He does not want any office. He simply wants that the President and the General Secretary, whoever they are, should remain under his thumb and work according to his own politics which are pro-communist. To me he says he must oppose because (he thinks) I have opposed his being selected to the Constituent Assembly. He said that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan told him that he was not being selected by the Central Parliamentary Board because I opposed him. I told Mian Sahib that I have known Nawabzada Sahib for years and that I could never believe that he told Mian Sahib

anything which was not true. Anyhow, these things are likely to do harm to the cause. They are prepared to go to any length in order to get the office. They will not mind disruption either in the Assembly Party or in the general organisation. This must be stopped at any cost.

As far as I am concerned, I have held the office of the President for about four years and during all those years I have worked honestly and in a straight-forward manner. I have always tried to make friends with everybody and never sought to antagonise anybody. I am at heart a Muslim Leaguer and shall remain true to the cause till I breathe my last. Because I feel that I am working for my nation and for a just cause, therefore, in spite of my position as a *Jagirdar*, I have never hesitated in putting up a bold stand and shall continue doing so. I shall never sulk or give up my work when I am not in office. I even place my life at your command and assure you that I shall ever be loyal to you and to the great cause.

My saying so does not mean that I am claiming to have made any sacrifices, none whatsoever. I am simply trying to state the facts. As I have stated above, I have held the office since 1942 and during all these years I have suffered a great financial loss, to the extent of twenty to twenty-five lakh if not more, due to the fact that I could not attend to the affairs of my estate and left everything to the care of my servants who mismanaged everything. I hope you will agree with me that I also owe a duty to my children and to the other members of the family by trying to give some of [my]time to my estate affairs.

I hope you will very kindly appreciate my difficulties and permit me to resign both offices, the leadership of the Assembly Party as well as the presidentship of the Provincial Muslim League.

My *salaams* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/303

WALDORF, NEW YORK,
31 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night the Forum was wound up with speeches by [Gen. Dwight D.]

Eisenhower, Harriman, [Gen. Jan Christiaan] Smuts [Walter] Lippmann (who was truly superb) and a letter carrying a long message from [President] Harry Truman. We then attended the reception given by Mrs. Ogden Reid. We were literally swamped by people shaking me by the hand and telling me of the "service" I had done to my people "by placing the truth fearlessly before the U.S. public". I never expected so much sympathy and enthusiasm in this city for the Muslim cause. Some actually told me that they disliked the Hindus because of their Nazi tactics that I had laid bare. Both Begum and I returned to our rooms very happy and most thankful to Providence for His Guidance and Mercy.

It seems we have made a hit. Mrs. Reid came in the morning once more to congratulate me and to say how much she and many others liked our presentation. She actually flattered me by saying that "the speech was truly considered by the critics and audience as one of the high spots of the Forum addresses".

I think this is too much. I am, however, giving you an honest and untainted report to keep you posted.

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

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Mohamed Yusuf Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah

F.831/28

ZAINDAR MOHALLA, SRINAGAR,
31 October 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

About 5 months back "Quit Kashmir" Movement was launched by S. M. Abdullah and his National Conference and on matters of policy my co-workers misunderstood me with the result that I had to retire from politics for the time being. Since then I have been just waiting and watching. I would not like to go into those circumstances that compelled me to take such a course but events have shown that I was justified in my views that I held then.

"Quit Kashmir" gave Sh. Abdullah what Pakistan gave to the Muslim League. The National Conference in the month of April was almost dead but now it is all strong so much so that in Kashmir out of 12 seats for the Assembly it will capture 11 and under present circumstances

may also be able to capture two or three seats in Jammu. I visualized this danger at the very outset of "Quit Kashmir" Movement. The reactionary element then attributed motives to me. I hope you will be pleased to remember that in this connection I sent you two telegrams[1] requesting you therein to save Kashmir from Congress clutches and the Muslim Conference from Kak agents. I do not know what became of my request but unfortunately the dangers that I apprehended proved a reality.

Ch. Ghulam Abbass after minutely noticing the political situation in Kashmir made up his mind to start direct action. His recent statements will bear me out in which he asks the Muslim Conference not to fight elections but to start direct action. This state of affairs harassed R. C. Kak. So he manipulated things through his chief agent, Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah, resulting in the destruction of the Muslim Conference. In this behalf, what Ch. Hamidullah, now the acting President of the Muslim Conference (whom, of course, the Mirwaiz group do not recognise now but who has been elected by unanimous vote of the Working Committee), has told me I put before you. He said that from the 22nd to 24th Oct. the Working Committee chalked out the programme of the direct action. Govt. banned the annual session. The Committee therefore thought that it was the proper occasion to launch direct action. So Ch. Ghulam Abbass allotted duties to delegates and sent them back to their respective places with definite instructions. Mirwaiz and Abbass were to defy the first day but early on the 25th, Mirwaiz refused to go to jail or even to associate with Abbass. Mirwaiz had to say this much before but he was advised by Kak to stay on and render all the necessary information about the programme, etc. In view of this last-minute betrayal of Mirwaz, Ch. Abbass thought it proper only to offer his personal sacrifice to undo the wrong done. I, however, leave it to Ch. Abbass to explain.

Ch. Sahib has issued strict instructions not to defy the law but to fight elections and this made the position of the Muslim Conference all the more awkward. Further, he has asked Ch. Hamidullah to expel Mirwaiz from the Conference. Ch. Hamidullah convened a meeting of young men out of whom some have been so far arrested at the instigation of Mirwaiz. There is a warrant against me as well but Ch. Abbass has sent me a word not to court arrest but to go underground and work. It is current here that the Mirwaiz has written something to you also but I must say that this is all Kak-Bazaz machination. This is in brief what I had to say. I am trying and will try to mobilise forces with what little means I have at my disposal. Most probably Ch. Hamidullah will find a chance to see you as early as possible and

acquaint you with all the details. In the end I request you to say a few words about Kashmir.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED YUSUF QURAISHI

[1]Not traceable.

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Aziz Hindi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, C.P. & Berar II/78

NAYAPARA, RAIPUR, C.P.,
31 October 1946

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Under what circumstances, I don't know, you have accepted portfolios of third-rate importance, save one of Finance, for the Muslim League. You had put up a very good resistance, no doubt, but when you once decided to accommodate yourself you very easily gave way to the Viceroy to prevail upon yourself. You did not say even, a single word by way of protest to the Viceroy regarding the allotment of the portfolios to the Muslim League members by him. Anyhow, what has been done is done but to my mind the Muslim League's policy, in general, is drifting towards the goal of One-Nation Theory sponsored and adhered to by the Congress. The recent statement of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Secretary of the Muslim League, in the capacity of Finance Member throws much light over it. The question direct to you is, are we to live in this country as a separate nation having our own state or we have to be submerged into the vast majority of the Hindu community? If the forces which are playing their role in this country influence your mind alike at the time of working of the Constituent Assembly as it has influenced you now towards the acception [*sic*] of the Muslim League into the Interim Government, then there is little hope for the Musalmans of this land, under auspices of the Muslim League, to live and stand as a 'nation'. [*word illegible*] note of my reading of the situation or correct me if I have erred. It is the irony of fate that despite my unparallel[ed] sacrifices to the cause of Islam, I am, owing to the adverse circumstances of my life, out of active politics now-a-days. But I am watching,

sometimes with deep regret and sometimes with a sigh of relief, what is going on, in connection with the Musalmans, in the political field of this country.

With your permission I may write to you some time my reactions to the policy of the Muslim League in general.

Yours sincerely,

AZIZ HINDI

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Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 469/64-9

Undated [*October 1946*]

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It makes me happy to find that in spite of your heavy and arduous duties and responsibilities, you are keeping an excellent health to meet the demand of your responsibilities for the present situation. I feel confident always [that] nothing will go wrong as long as you are [at the] helm of affairs and carrying on negotiations and guiding the policies of your nation.

Preliminary remarks:

These are very critical days for India. There is Russia casting avaricious eyes on India. There are those who like India as a fine field for their exploitation and prosperity. Rivalries between the great powers in the field of trade and commerce and, if possible, their political domination with a view to maintain[ing] their economic level and possible attainment of higher level, if it is practicable at all in the conditions of the world today.

Lessons of War:

Three things are clearly emerging from the lessons of two horrible wars and experiments with various forms of Government, authoritarian or semi-authoritarian or democratic, of convenient conception of opportunists and political parties to form one-party Government, to the exclusion of other parties and interests, however important and great from the national point of view:

1. There can be no peace unless we dethrone philosophies of hatred and struggle and strife for the purposes of raising unconscionably the economic level of a dominant and powerful nation.
2. We on the basis of love, justice and fair play, understanding

and goodwill, so readjust our political and economic interest that we can banish war not only in the international sphere by utilizing the World Assembly as an instrument for the purposes of resolving political and economic clashes and differences.

3. There can be no question of any nation leading an isolated existence in the political and economical sphere, whether it is adjusted through a world organization or organizations created in the shape of a comity [of] nation[s] who can combine together for economic and defence purposes with a view to attain[ing] political and economic security for any independent unit or a confederation of nations which have, by methods of readjusting relations, good-will, and understanding, achieved a welcome settlement by which they can transform themselves into a comity of nations such as the British Commonwealth which will merge itself into an organization of an Allied Power[s] with the objective of merging themselves into a world organization which will consist of big and small nations with common aims and objects. Though there may be ideological or theoretical political differences, such as that [*sic*] of Russia on the one hand and other powers [such] as Britain, America, and France on the other, nations pretend to practise democracy. While in practice they always put wishful interpretations of democracy of their own conception while democracy is degenerating into authoritarianism or tyranny of the proletariat and nebulous forms of socialism which is differently interpreted to serve the ends of party politics. It is a matter of supreme gratification that Islam alone offers permanent solutions to international, communal and class problems on the inalterable eternal basis of love, justice, fair play and tolerance.

Opinion about Pakistan and Central set-up:

Bearing these facts in mind, it is obvious that while we seek Pakistan in the groups indicated it would still be better if we have for the purposes of defence, communications and foreign relations a form of Centre which will derive its power from the Pakistan and Hindustan region on the basis of equality of representation of the two regions which will enter into treaties with the Indian States and the British Govt. for the purposes of defence, communications and foreign relations leaving it to the Pakistan and Hindustan groups to maintain their economic independence and freedom to enter into bilateral or multiple [*sic* for multilateral] treaties, engagements and agreements for the purposes of the expansion of industries, trade, and commerce in the Pakistan and Hindustan areas.

The Pakistan area can enter into treaties with Hindustan area with regard to various problems which may be interdependent and which may call for expanded activities in the common interest of both the regions in harmony with economic interdependence of the world economy which seeks freedom from fear and freedom from want and prosperity and happiness in the whole world on the larger basis of economic interdependence.

If we achieve economic independence with complete independence with regard to internal affairs of the Pakistan region with sufficient police and military arrangements to maintain peace and order, there is no harm in having the military resources of the whole of India at our disposal to serve the defence of economic purposes of all the Muslim powers contiguous to Pakistan and Hindustan regions without fear of being dominated by all-India military power which will be curtailed and controlled by a world organization which will seek disarmament and peace with a view to banish wars by eschewing philosophy of hatred and elimination of economic struggle and strife between big and small nations, classes and communities.

Crux of the matter:

The crux of the matter is whether we shall leave internal peace and order to be maintained with the help of Indian Army controlled by Indian Central Govt., or we shall depend upon our own internal military police and army to maintain law and order in each region. If there is an uprising or civil war in Pakistan and Hindustan area or even in Princely regions, the use of the central army would seem to be urgently required. So to that extent interference from the Centre on the basis of treaties between the various groups and the Centre or through definite provision in the new constitution which will make it incumbent on the limited Central Govt. to help in maintaining internal peace. Obviously so far as internal peace is concerned British Govt. alone do not come into the picture. The maintenance of peace in internal affairs of the groups will have to be based upon international principle with a view to protect[ing] the fundamental interests of weaker nations, minorities, classes, and communities.

Burning question of the hour:

Obviously the burning question is "How best we can solve the problem of the weak nations, minorities, classes and communities of sufficient importance with political, social and economic background.

Here I cannot fail to mention the zamindars, especially in the Muslim community and particularly in U.P., which is the creation of zamindars whose permanent economy bearing in mind their

responsibilities to the public, the dependent relations and those whose life is closely linked up and dependent upon the zamindars and who are neither capitalists nor feudal lords but mere agriculturists who can very well fit into the rural economy with their potentialities for building the rural life of the peasants and the masses. Abolition of zamindari if justice is to be done will entail heavy compensation which must be given to the zamindars to rebuild their permanent and safe economy according to the standard, culture and refinement they and members of their family are used to and which as compared to England and America is even less than that of lower middle class, middle class and higher middle class of those countries. In terms of spending powers and surpluses their position is nowhere near an industrialist much less a capitalist who can really be called industrialist in the true sense.

I hope it will be possible for you to see that the Musalmans are not completely ruined by the abolition of zamindari system and their freedom from want and freedom from fear will be granted to them in accordance with their responsibilities, needs and requirements and not according to vindictive and prejudiced consumption [*sic*] of those who are opportunist and have no regard for justice and fair play, as a so-called socialist. The right to private ownership of property exists in all countries barring Russia and it has not been abolished by a Socialist Govt. in England.

Return to main theme:

Returning to the main subject of negotiation I think the question of partition of Punjab and Bengal has no legs to stand [upon] from political and economical [*sic*] point of view. In Punjab probably a regional semi-autonomous body in the shape of glorified corporation of Sikh and Hindu areas in Punjab which may inspire confidence and trust and dispel their fears and doubts with regard to their fundamental interests may be set up. The Congress people I think should be inclined to agree to amalgamation of Bengal and Assam. But at present they are resorting to subterfuges and manoeuvring. Independent Pakistan and Hindustan area may be a preferable alternative but the heavy expenditure that will devolve on these regions for maintaining modern army will take away all the new earnings of the various Govts. based upon utilization of resources at command of the three regions, namely Pakistan, Hindustan and the States. As time progresses there will be greater demand for economic rise of the masses and peasants and clamour for curtailment of military expenditure while newly acquired independence will have to have sufficient military strength on modern lines.

World tendency to be supported:

The world tendency I would like to support would be that the primary concern of the British Commonwealth merged into organizations of allied nations and ultimately world organization of all nations big and small including the vanquished nations whose ideologies have proved baneful to the world and humanity at large (as the Russian philosophy has created difficulties in readjusting ideological and economic readjustment) to rightly solve the problem of achieving a new world order of understanding, goodwill, progress and prosperity ensuring peace and happiness of the nations, classes and community by eliminating philosophy of hatred and opportunism and eliminating economic struggle and strife, the root cause of all wars, unhappiness and miseries throughout the world.

Conclusion:

If the Constituent Assembly goes on with its activities then obviously it has no sanction behind it as Muslim nation will not be represented on it and it would be only fair for the British Govt. to allow the Musalmans to form their own Constitution [*sic* for Constituent] Assembly and draw up a constitution for Pakistan, while for the purposes of a unitary Centre, which will deal with defence, communications and foreign relations. We may enter into treaties or set up a confederation or Union under a constitution to be evolved by common consent of all the provinces and States.

This is a crucial time and we must come to a definite decision in the best interest of the Muslim countries, India as a whole and the world at large.

I have no doubt that your statesmanship and your superior wisdom will prove equal to the occasion and will not allow any mistake to be made in these critical times against the interests of the Musalmans of India as a whole and also the Musalmans in each province. [An] honourable, just and equitable compromise is the pressing need of the Muslim nation.

Looking forward to pay[ing] my respects soon. With prayers for your long life and health to guide us in these difficult days,

Yours sincerely,
M[OHAMMA]D YUSUF
Nawab

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Mohammad Saghir Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 918/68-78

77 LUKERGANJ, ALLAHABAD,
[*Undated*] *October 1946*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you only a few days ago. Therein I urged upon you to take a bold step of non-cooperation with the Government that be, and give a programme of action to the Muslim nation on constructive lines based on strict non-violence. What has prompted me to recommend this course of action is what I now want to tell you. I told you in my letter that I am a man of conviction rather than of reason. I shall however try to adduce reasons which have in my conscious or sub-conscious mind been the cause of this conviction of mine. This is a very big task. In order to do full justice to this question, I shall have to cover a wide field and take into consideration every aspect that may bear on the matter. In order to do that I shall have to look into:

1. The Hindu-Muslim relations and the stiffening of the Hindu attitude in recent times.
2. The policy of the British Government towards Hindus and Muslims to maintain their rule and supremacy in India.
3. The change in the policy of the British Govt. brought about by the world situation, by the dwindling of its resources and weakening of its position as a first-class world power.
4. The position of the Muslims in India and in the world and repercussions of the world politics on the condition of the Muslims in general and the Muslims of India in particular.
5. The essential teachings of Islam bearing on its political ideal and goal.
6. The policy and the course of action that the Muslims in India should adopt in view of the above.

I will say very little on the Hindu-Muslim relations in India. You are by far the better judge in this respect. To say briefly, there is not the least doubt that the Hindus want to establish a complete Hindu *raj* in India politically, economically, socially and culturally. They are out to suppress every community, party or section that dare oppose its establishment. They are gradually coming into power and defying

the British Government and the British agent in India on all counts and reducing it to a position of vassalage. The British Government in India and in Great Britain cannot stop power slipping into their hands and it will not be long before they become full-fledged masters in this country and every interest and party must bow to them and carry out their will. They cannot allow any section of the Indian population to establish its supremacy in any part of India, come what may. They will oppose it tooth and nail and will resort to every method to overawe and overpower their opponents. They are armed with weapons of every kind and are proud, and rightly so, of their resources, monetary and organisational. Their machinery of propaganda now can well compete with first-class agencies of the world and can make palpable falsehood appear as unblemished truth. The former cowards have turned into present tyrants and this makes them bold to commit further atrocities. The present tyrants of India would grow into international Churchills and Hitlers in due course of time. By the mistakes of both the British Government and the Muslim League their position is being daily strengthened and if the Muslims propose to live in India a separate life of their own according to their religion and culture they shall have to give them battle in every field. The Hindus are superior in number, finances and organisation to overwhelm the few unorganised, indisciplined, poor Muslims. They shall not allow the grass to grow under their feet and shall engage and have engaged the unwary, unprepared Muslims in unmatched contest. The Muslims of India, if not for other reasons, for their bare existence must awake [*sic*] and prepare before the curtain goes down.

The British nation, taking advantage of the decline of the Mughal power in India, and by pitting one chief and one community against another, established their rule in India and has [*sic*] maintained supremacy in this land to this day. But the situation is rapidly changing now. Their grip on India is getting loose and the power is slipping from their hands. They can no longer play one community against the other as one community has far outgrown the other in every direction and cannot be stopped in its march onward by the combined strength of the British and the other communities. The British power cannot but accept what has been accomplished and ally itself with the stronger party to safe-guard its own position and interests. The present experience of the League leader throw[s] ample light on this changed attitude of the British and the favours with which his community was rewarded in days gone by are no longer possible. The propaganda of the Hindu leaders and the Hindu

press as regards the supposed alliance between the British and the Muslim League has made it very difficult for the British even to do justice to the Muslims as a whole and as individuals. They shall have to abide by what their new advisers do and cannot dare alter by one letter what they may have minds to order. The British have become quite powerless and they will feel greatly relieved if they can somehow extricate themselves from this position. They would make haste to save what they can of the wreck and hand over power to the majority as their rightful successors. Under these circumstances it is extremely foolish to count on the British aid and rely on their words as they are not free to act as they might wish. They are in the leading strings of their would-be successors and shall be led to wherever they would like. Like the Mughal emperors they are now being reduced to the position of puppets. The minorities shall have to accept the rule of the majority and merge themselves in it if they want to live peacefully. If any of them claims to be another nation and demands parts of India as its homelands, it shall have to establish its right on the battlefield. They cannot be given as a reward for its fidelity by the British masters or can be gained by arguing in council chambers or public meetings. That stage has been passed. The policy of allying with the British is no longer feasible; the realities shall have to be faced and the sooner they are faced the better.

The question now is what has reduced the greatest power in the world to such a position. The plain answer is the world conditions. The world conditions have changed dramatically and the British nation is trying to save itself from its powerful adversaries by accepting alliances and inferior position with the former subjects. Its power everywhere has weakened and its numbers and resources are not so great as compared with America and the Soviet [Union] that it can keep up its commitments on the former scale. If it has to last for some time it must accept inferior positions and increase its number of allies. Powerful allies demand reciprocal advantages. It is still advantageous to ally with their own subjects on the basis of liberty and equality.

It may be asked whether this phase of the British policy is a permanent one or a temporary make-shift. As far as the political critics of the world situation can see, this is not a temporary feature but has permanency in that the adversaries of the British are the rising nations. The British are old hogs and must give place to the younger people who far outnumber the old islanders and are

superior to them in natural resources. An empire in such circumstances cannot but disintegrate. The British diplomacy can only reduce the speed of decline. They cannot stop it outright. The subject races are throwing off the yokes which they accepted willingly some days [*sic*] ago. If the subjects have their internal problems they shall have to be solved by the subjects themselves. The master cannot afford to take sides. If the conditions are hot, he would rather side with the stronger because in that case his loss would be less. The British are helpless internationally and shall avoid entanglements which would further weaken their positions. The majority will not only be given a free hand but will be helped to make short shrift of the minority if it opposes its will. Even the Conservatives will follow the same policy and stick to it if they came in [*sic*] power, as the world circumstances are not going to change in favour of the British. The former ally is destined to betray and leave in the lurch the faithful friend of the former days. The faithful shall have to rely on their own strength of character and organisation to defeat the machinations and manoeuvres of the infidel. The truth should be taken to heart as quickly as possible. The sooner the better as the enemy is getting daily stronger. We should take time by the forelock and instead of putting reliance on the British help, should trust God alone and act feverishly and with bewildering speed.

I need not dilate upon this side of the problem. The present position of the Muslim nation in India is not a thing to be desired. The other community has left it far behind in the march to progress. It lags behind in every field of activity. In order to take over its adversary and reach the goal first, it has to accelerate its speed considerably. This is the crying need and demands our undivided attention. We cannot afford to dissipate our energies inside alleys or on secondary issues. We must be prepared to sacrifice our minor aims. We should pool our resources and concentrate on one point. We should work in a body and give up thinking in terms of individuals. If the Muslims of India get strong, most of the problems of the Muslims all over the world would be solved easily.

The Muslims everywhere are in the throes of revolution. They are trying to rise but they have to fight against great odds. It will take them generations to completely throw off the yokes of their masters. Geographically they have been divided into small nationalities and cannot expel their foes single-handed. If however they combine, it will be easier for them to attain this object. They can then become a world force but for this purpose they shall have to sacrifice their

separate aims.

The Muslim has to learn the lesson of sacrifice anew and unless he is prepared to sacrifice its [*sic*] individual and group-wise advantages it [*sic*] cannot keep alive. Powerful forces are arrayed against him. He has been exploited for centuries and is still being exploited. Even if he succeeds in getting rid of his present masters, he runs every risk of being gulped by other powerful enemies. In order to live a free existence they shall have to sacrifice the so-called national aims and merge into one powerful *millat* or Islamic nation. But that time is still far off. Until this is accomplished, he is to rely on his own resources in particular groups and communities.

In the lands where the Muslims are in majority their internal problems are easier to solve and they can therefore successfully oppose their external enemies. But in lands where they are in minority as a whole, as in India or China, their internal problem has become complicated. In order to keep them[selves] alive they have to fight both the internal and external enemies.

The British nation has been the chief exploiter of the Muslim lands. With the decline of its power and disintegration of its empire, the Muslim countries and other subject races hope to get free. We as Muslims should contribute our share to its decline and fall. We must not ally ourselves with our chief foe to prop up its decaying power. It has been the chief cause of our trouble in the past and in order to retain its hold on the Muslim lands and on India it will not scruple to betray us at any moment. We cannot place any reliance on its words and promises. But now the question is how to defeat both internal and external enemies when there is every chance of their presenting a united front. This brings us to the sixth question but before attempting to answer it, I should take up the fifth.

What is the political ideal and goal of Islam? As far as I understand its teachings and am able to interpret its history, I can say that the political ideal of Islam is a social democracy based on moral laws in which all Muslims are equal in every respect and can enjoy the fruits of their labour after contributing a share to the common fund (*Bait al-Maal*) if their wealth exceeds a certain limit. In this state every follower of Islam is free to move, speak, write, meet and criticize the actions of their chiefs if they go wrong. This state is an Islamic state based on Islamic laws and free from all hindrances, external and internal, which may impede the true observance of Islamic teachings. In this state all non-Muslims who come under its protection are free to profess any religion and enjoy all rights of citizenship except that they cannot interfere in matters of policy.

Undertaking this conception of Islamic state there are two basic things which we must bear in mind. The one is that the conception of Islamic brotherhood precludes modern concept of nationalism based on geographical and ethnological differences. A Muslim national state in the western sense without any religious basis is nothing better than a secular state where man-made laws hold the field. We as Muslims cannot subscribe to such a state. It is exoteric to the spirit of Islam. Islam is cosmopolitan—the religion of humanity. We cannot confine it within certain bounds. If we do so we will be defeating its very purpose of bringing humanity into its fold.

Secondly, this state possesses a political and religious head to which Muslims all over the world owe allegiance and accept him as their suzerain. There may be autonomous Muslim states free to exercise political and administrative rights in their geographical and racial territories but which must federate in Islamic matters under the central authority of a Caliph who is to be elected by the free vote of the faithful.

The Second World War has amply proved that small nations cannot live alone. For their survival they are compelled to unite into federations. Muslims have only to revive what they allowed to lie dormant for some centuries. The federation of Muslim state[s] promises to be one of the most powerful states in the world as it is possessed of immense advantages of position, natural resources, manpower and religion.

As we know, two ideologies, Capitalism and Bolshevism [Communism],[1] are battling for ascendancy in this world body. There is the third ideology, midway between the two, partaking of their advantages but leaving out their shortcomings. This is the ideology of Islam. It is likely to emerge into prominence in the not distant future. With its emergence to power and influence the crying evils of the world would be cured and peace and harmony will reign supreme. This is our ideal and goal and we should never lose sight of it. Pakistan must therefore be an Islamic state in its wider meaning and not a Muslim national state which can be no remedy for our ills.

Now we come to the most important problem which is at present engaging all our attention. What is the policy and the course of action that the Muslims in India should adopt? The inference which we draw from what we said above may serve [as] principles to guide us in deciding upon a course of action. The inferences are:

i. The trend of Hindu-Muslim relations in India compels us to realize that civil strife is not only inevitable but imminent in India.

ii. We cannot rely on the British Government for favours and support in our quarrel with the Hindus.
iii. This phase of the British policy is not temporary but a permanent one as the world conditions are not changing overnight in favour of the British.
iv. The British have been the chief enemy of the Muslim countries. We cannot therefore support them to keep them on their legs.
v. The political teachings and ideals of Islam enjoin upon every Muslim to establish Muslim states with a view to safeguard[ing] their political and religious rights but these must not be Muslim national states in the western sense.
vi. Those Muslim states which are contiguous to one another should form one powerful federation under a political and spiritual head—the Caliph.

The different items in our programme of action are to be judged by the above criterion and we should not deviate from the path set by these principles. I may now explain what I mean by constructive programme based on strict non-violence. By constructive programme I mean such things as may increase our strength of character, organise our powers of defence and offence, and build us into a nation with a state of their [*sic*] own. By non-violence I mean that in carrying out our programme of work we should not allow us [*sic* for ourselves] to be engaged in any violent quarrels with our neighbours and the Government, however much they may instigate us into acts of violence, as this will mean playing into the hands of our enemies.

In chalking out our programme we should keep out for the time being such items as may give cause to other communities to suspect our intentions. We should prepare ourselves to live independent lives of our own in accordance with our culture, traditions and religious principles but observe toleration as our guiding principle in our relations with the other communities. However, we should not co-operate with the Government or other communities so as to accept a position in any way inferior to them or as may absorb our attention in acts of secondary importance. Unless we build a sanction to back up our demands and increase our power of negotiation we cannot win points against our powerful adversaries. Power is the first necessity. Without it we shall always be losers either as constitutionalists or revolutionaries.

Before giving out a programme of action to the nation it may be declared unequivocally that Pakistan, a pure Muslim state, is our ideal and we are bent upon realising it. You may also declare that we cannot co-operate with any Government or party which does not

recognise this principle. There may be some elements in the Muslim League organisation which may differ from you in this respect, but they cannot oppose you openly. If they do oppose, purge the League of such elements as they are the cause of weakness of the organisation rather than of its strength.

Recast your Working Committee and keep such members as may willingly carry out your will and programme. After these preliminaries, order a general election of the Muslim League organisations in order to infuse fresh blood. Then a tearing and intensive propaganda in favour of Islamic ideal and goal be started throughout the length and breadth of India. In propagating our ideal we should keep strictly non-violent in face of even extreme provocations. You should also organise a 'youth League' in every town in India to carry out programme and to provide you with enthusiastic workers. The youth have always played a very important part in the rejuvenation of every nation and we should not be averse to tap[ping] our national reservoir. This will put new life into our organisation and bring out sincere workers to the front. With the help of this army of workers we can revolutionise the lives of Muslims in every direction and can organise them in every way. In order to make possible this voluntary effort the All India Muslim League should institute a common fund from which all travelling and other expenses of the workers should be met. There must be other items, for instance the starting of a national militia and giving them requisite military training. If the Government bans all such activities, passive resistance on non-violent basis should be started on such a large scale as to paralyse the machinery of Government and bring it to its knees. Picketing of Constituent Assembly meetings with stalwarts to be attempted as may not accept defeat in any way. With the declaration of non-cooperation with the Government you will witness an upsurge of Muslim revival all over the country and with one stroke you will have solved the problem of the Frontier Muslims. Red Shirt organisation will melt away in a moment and anti-British elements will flock to your flag.

In the provinces where Muslims are in minority, schemes for their safety and successful defence against adverse forces should be initiated. This work should be entrusted to the provincial leaders and the Muslim population should be concentrated in safety pockets and should be given training for self-defence. The Provincial Governments cannot ban these activities as this will entail the

stopping of all such activities on the part of the majority community also. Transfer of Muslim population from Muslim minority provinces to Muslim majority provinces is impolitic and would reduce our strength in the Muslim minority provinces. The strong elements would probably migrate to Muslim majority provinces leaving weak elements behind who would be gradually absorbed in Hinduism. The Muslims in minority provinces are our advance parties and vanguards in the lands of the infidels. These outposts may be strengthened by the migration of the Muslims from the majority provinces, if possible, and not weakened by withdrawing away strong elements. In our fight for supremacy in India these soldiers of Islam will play an important part in our victory. Large forces of the infidels will be engaged in over-powering these outposts of Islam and defending their homes against them. We should therefore increase their power of resistance in every possible way so that they may be able to withstand their onslaught and stand a long siege if necessary. Even if in these battles they suffer losses on a large scale, this loss [*sic*] will be compensated by the gains it will make in other quarters. Transfer of population can be effected only with the consent of both parties, which is not possible in these days of tension and enmity. Moreover it is a solution to be tried only when we have despaired of all the means of defence. By what I have suggested in the way of a programme is not the last word in this connection. Only you have to change the mental process of thinking. There are minds and practical men in our community in abundance on which [*sic* for whom] you can count and from which reservoir you can draw at any critical time.

I have in this letter shown you briefly how you should proceed. May God give you strength enough to reverse your decision of playing the game of the enemies and enable you to give undivided attention to the work of building up strength and power in the Muslim nation, which may stand it in good stead in carrying out an independent programme of Islamic principles, in this country.

I would now like to say a word about your present policy of obstruction that you are following by joining Interim Government or that you may follow by participating in the Constituent Assembly. The times are moving fast and the power is being usurped by the Congress so quickly that this delaying tactic cannot avail for long. At best you can delay the new constitution being foisted on India by a year or two but in the meantime the tension between Hindu and

Muslim seems to grow to such intensity that it may burst at any moment. The propaganda of so-called 'Direct Action' from within seems quite untenable. The real situation shall have to be faced a little later, but then so much time will have been lost. As I understand the conditions, we cannot shut our eyes to the growing feud between the Hindus and Muslims and the repercussions that it will have on our existing undefended position. We shall be caught unprepared. If however we provide for defence of both the flanks and give more attention to the real front than the transitory [one], we shall not be the losers in the long run. But if you plan only to gain time by such tactics without utilising the time gained for defence against aggression, you will land the nation into such a disaster as cannot be dreamed [of] and the foretaste of which we have received very recently.

I would therefore request you to launch an offensive of gaining time if necessary to prepare for the show-down which is daily coming nearer and nearer. With an organised effort directed by a central authority the work of years can be accomplished within months and that is the chief reason why I am taking so much of your precious time if ever you care to read my letters.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SAGHIR HASSAN
Principal, M.I. College

[1]The Russian socialist party, which became the communist party in 1918, had a larger, radical (Bolshevik) faction led by Lenin and a smaller, moderate (Menshevik) wing. After the overthrow of the Tsar in 1917, the Bolsheviks gained ascendancy and power, becoming the ruling Communist Party in the Soviet Union founded by Lenin in 1923. Communism, as a political doctrine derived from Karl Marx, especially the Soviet paradigm, advocated proletarian dictatorship, a classless society, public ownership of all property, and 'from each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs'.

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Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/61
[Original in Urdu]

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

VICTORIA GARDEN ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[*Undated*] *October 1946*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam—May you live long!

It is hoped that you are all right and I pray that God may give you long life to enable you to guide the destiny of the Muslims of India. I am aware that you are extremely busy but I could not help writing this letter to you.

You are fully aware that the Muslims in India are passing through a very critical period. Hindus have girded up their loins against the Muslims and have started massacring them with a view to cowing them down. They are perhaps not aware that they cannot eliminate the Muslims who would fight to the last. They have also prepared plans to destroy the Muslims by starting communal riots at various places.

The Hindus started the riots[1] in Colaba and other places on 1.9.1946, and damaged some mosques. Even children and women were not spared and Muslims travelling by cars, buses, etc., were murdered with the help of Police. Besides, Muslims are being arrested indiscriminately, fined and sent to jail. The Hindu policemen are siding with the Hindu rioters and even help in their release from custody.

The Muslim League has set up a Relief Committee under the patronage of Haji Hasanali P. Ibrahim.[2] Except for him, all others connected with this work are inefficient and selfish. The conduct of three lawyers nominated to provide assistance to the affected Muslims needs attention as they help their friends only. The persons responsible for providing ambulance services are selling the petrol in black-market. The operators of press fund are not acting fairly. Whereas they deposited the forfeited guarantee money of *Muslim Times* and *Star* but did not do so in the case of *Inqilab*. People are unhappy with the performance of the Relief Committee.

With the elevation of I. I. Chundrigar as a member of the Interim Government, different groups have been formed vying for the post

of the President of the Provincial Muslim League. This has adversely affected the relief work in Colaba. Hasan A. Sheikh, General Secretary, Bombay Muslim League is expected, though belatedly, to visit that area.

I strongly hope that necessary instructions would be issued by you to all concerned.

God be with us,

A servant of Islam and Muslim League,
BASHIR AHMAD PAKISTANI

[1]The riots spread out to Nasik and some other places in the province. See *SHC*, Bombay II/62, 65 & 71. Not printed.
[2]He later on rendered an extensive report on Bombay riots to Jinnah. See Appendix V, Vol. I, Part II, 65-123.

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Resolutions by Muslim Chamber of Commerce

SHC (1142)

BOMBAY,
[*Undated*] *October 1946*

A public meeting of the Musalmans of Bombay was held under the auspices of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Habib I. Rahimtoola, President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, presided and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

"This public meeting of the Musalmans of Bombay held under the auspices of over 135 Muslim associations representing all the sections and interests of the Muslims, declares that the All India Muslim League is the only authoritative and bona fide representative organisation of the Musalmans of India and it is the only body that can speak on their behalf. This meeting further expresses its fullest faith and confidence in the able leadership of Quaid-i-Azam and strongly supports the stand taken by him and the Working Committee at the Simla Conference.

This meeting, whilst condemning the futile attempts being made by interested parties to destroy the Muslim unity and solidarity, warns His Excellency the Viceroy and through him the British Government not to be misled by such false propaganda.

This meeting assures Quaid-i-Azam that Musalmans of this province are prepared for all sacrifices to safeguard Muslim

national rights and to achieve their cherished goal of Pakistan.

This meeting further declares that any Interim Government formed by the Viceroy without admitting the exclusive right of the Muslim League to represent the Muslim nation and to nominate the Muslim [Executive] Councillors thereon will not have any confidence of the Muslims of India.

The meeting authorises the President of this meeting to forward copies of this resolution to Quaid-i-Azam and His Excellency the Viceroy."

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M. Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/124

[*Undated*] *October 1946*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Distribution of portfolios among the new members of the Interim Government has come as a shock to the Muslims who are mourning League's entry in[to] the so-called Interim Government. None of the important portfolios, viz. External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Home and Information and Broadcasting, which were and are with the Caste-Hindus, has been spared for the Muslims. Finance is not an important but a middling portfolio. There is great resentment among the Musalmans and it is really very insulting and shameful for the nation that after taking a bold and strong stand its leaders have stooped too low (on Health, Posts and Air, etc.).

Will you please take steps to redress all this and communicate through press. I am docketing a copy of this [letter] to Mr. Ghazanfar Ali.

Yours faithfully,
M. AHMAD
A Leaguer

PS. Finance has been given to League when Govt. of India has become insolvent.

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Mir Waiz Mohammad Yousuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 979/39

SRINAGAR,
1 November 1946

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to submit the details of the recent happenings in Kashmir for your information.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours sincerely,
MIR WAIZ MOHAMMAD YOUSUF
Chairman, Committee of Action,
All J & K Muslim Conference

Enclosure to No. 211

F. 979/40-45

INSIDE KASHMIR

The Musalmans of the Jammu and Kashmir State started their titanic struggle for the emancipation of their country from the grips of the Hindu feudalists in the year 1931 and since then they have been fighting under the banner of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference ceaselessly.

In the year 1939, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, a muddle-headed politician betraying the best interests of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, changed the Muslim Conference into National Conference by using his influence. The Muslim leaders of Kashmir at that time supported the change of name only because they thought that Muslims were in a majority in Kashmir and they would not be in [*sic*] a loss if they would form a political organisation founded on a basis other than communal. But the hopes of the Muslims were shattered to pieces when Mr. Abdullah, top-most leader of the Kashmir National Conference, proclaimed his allegiance to the Indian National Congress, the party of the Caste-Hindu bourgeoisie.

From 1940 onwards, that is to say when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first visited Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who against the intents [*sic*] of the Muslims of Kashmir gave a warm reception to the

Pandit, has been playing the role of a traitor to the Muslims of Kashmir. It was impossible for the Muslims of Kashmir to owe allegiance to the National Conference which was gradually developing into a virtual branch of the Hindu Congress. Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, now President of the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and then the right-hand man of Mr. Abdullah, resigned from the National Conference protesting against the diabolical designs of Pandit Nehru and Mr. Abdullah.

Great Congress leaders were responsible for making successful an unholy alliance between the National Conference and the Kashmir Government. A member of National Conference executive was taken into the State Cabinet as a minister. Thus the National Conference helped the feudalism of Kashmir to spread its roots far and wide in the State.

The Muslim Conference which was revived by Muslim leaders like Ch. Ghulam Abbas and Mir Waiz Maulana Mohammad Yousuf took up cudgels against the unholy alliance of the National Conference and the Caste-Hindu feudal Government of Kashmir. For more than two years the Muslim Conference fought heroically against the Government-cum-National Conference alliance. The militant success of the Muslim League in British India enhanced the growth of the Muslim Conference in Kashmir. The National Conference lost all its prestige. The National Conference uptill recently was the most favoured party and was the only party that was in the best books of the Government. The fear of unpopularity and the thirst for more power compelled Mr. S.M. Abdullah, President of the National Conference, to raise the "Quit Kashmir" slogan. He challenged the legitimacy of the much-discussed Treaty of Amritsar, according to which Kashmir was sold by the East India Company to Mr. Gulab Singh, the Raja of Jammu, in the year 1846 A.D. It is worth remembering that S.M. Abdullah withdrew his slogan when his case was put before the Judge and pleaded not guilty to the charge of sedition against him according to the dictates of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Muslims of Kashmir, however, understood the dirty game Mr. Abdullah was playing. They knew that Mr. Abdullah was playing the game of an opportunist under the garb of a firebrand revolutionary. Furthermore, the time in and time out [*sic*] interference of Pandit Nehru in this movement was sufficient to keep the Muslims away from the "Quit Kashmir" disturbances.

In the days of the disturbances, fantastic lies were spread against the Muslim Conference and its responsible leaders like Ch. Ghulam Abbas and Mir Waiz Mohammed Yousuf. It was said that the Muslim Conference had entered into an alliance with the Government to

oppose the National Conference. But time came when the world came to know that it was the Muslim Conference alone that stood for the liberation of the people from the yoke of reactionary feudal despotism in Kashmir. The Muslim Conference raised the slogan of "Azad Kashmir", i.e. it urged the Ruler of the State to set up a constituent assembly which would frame a democratic constitution for a free and new Kashmir. To achieve the same, the Muslim Conference high command decided to resort to "Direct Action" at a later date. The Committee of Action of the Conference was entrusted with the task of preparing a programme for the establishment of "Azad Kashmir." This programme was to be discussed in the fourteenth annual session of the Muslim Conference which was going to be held on 25th, 26th and 27th of October 1946.

Civil liberties in Kashmir are rare. The government has for the last so many years been according a step-motherly treatment to the Muslim Conference. Meetings and sessions of the Muslim Conference are not to be held freely. In 1943, the Government turned out Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, the then President of the All India States Muslim League, from Kashmir in a very disgraceful manner when he was coming to attend the eleventh session of the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference. In 1944, the Muslim Conference decided to take out Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah in a procession in Srinagar, but the procession was banned. Similarly, last year Muslim Conference decided to hold its session in Rawalakot but it was banned. This year, Muslim Conference decided to hold its session in the Muzaffarabad District, but the notorious clause 50 of the Defence of Jammu and Kashmir Rules was hanging like the sword of Damocles in the District throughout the year. The Muslim Conference then decided to hold the session in Srinagar on the mentioned dates.

Meetings and processions being banned in Srinagar, an application for permission for holding the session was sent to the District Magistrate by Moulvi Nooruddin, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the fourteenth session of the Conference. The application was rejected on the ground that political situation in the city did not allow the District Magistrate to give the permission that was sought.

Another application was filed by the Secretary of the Reception Committee and verbally he was assured that permission would be given to hold the session for one day only. The application read that the Presidential address of Ch. Ghulam Abbas, speech of the Chairman of the Committee of Action, Mir Waiz Mohammed Yousuf, the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Moulvi Noor-ud-din, and the annual report of Agha Shaukat Ali, General Secretary

of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, would be the only programmes of the session. No reply was given till late in the afternoon and the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference decided to defy the ignoble ban on the session. At the eleventh hour, i.e. very late in the evening on 25th of October when the session was about to be held, the Secretary of the Reception Committee received a reply from the District Magistrate. Therein it was written that the Muslim Conference should [hold] a meeting where the President should declare that it was not the intention of the Government to ban the session and that was all. "No speeches are to be delivered," said the reply. This was too much for the Muslim Conference to bear. Was it not an insult that thousands of Muslims should assemble only to say that the *bona fides* of the Government were not to be doubted? The Conference decided to defy the ban. Quaid-i-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas, President of the session, Moulvi Noor-ud-din, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Agha Shaukat Ali, General Secretary of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, spoke on the platform where at least fifty thousand Muslims were present. Amid slogans of Azad Kashmir *Zindabad,* Pakistan *Zindabad,* Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad,* the four leaders of the Muslims defied the notorious clause 50 of Defence of Kashmir Rules. Since the elections of the State Assembly are to be held in the near future, the Muslim Conference decided to participate in the elections. An emergency Parliamentary Board with Major Ali Ahmad Shah as Chairman was formed to conduct the election campaign when the leaders would be behind bars.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Moulvi Noor-ud-din, after declaring that he defied the ban on the session, said, "the government has for the last so many years been conspiring to smash the structure of the Muslim Conference. Whatever freedom there is in Kashmir is the result of the sacrifices of the Muslims of Kashmir alone; we Muslims can smash all the conspiring elements as we did in the historic days of 1931".

Ch. Ghulam Abbas, the President, said, "the Kashmir Government did not permit the Muslim Conference to hold its session. We defy the ban in our individual capacity. Let the Government remember that the Muslims are prepared to face all eventualities whatsoever [*sic*] because they are determined to reach their destination". Discussing the coming elections to the State Assembly, Chaudhri Sahib said, "there is a rumour in the local Hindu press that Muslim Conference is boycotting the elections because it is afraid of failure. I would advise the Muslims to participate in the elections when I am

behind bars tomorrow with those of my colleagues who will defy the ban [on] the session. The Hindu Congress is pouring a flood of money into Kashmir to enable the National Conference, our old enemy, to become successful in the elections. Let Muslims face the coming struggle and defeat the henchmen of the Caste-Hindu Congress, one and all."

After the Quaid-i-Millat, Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas Sahib, the Chairman of the Committee of Action, Mir Waiz Mohammad Yousuf, and Agha Shaukat Ali Qazilbash, the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference, delivered similar speeches. Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar and others were read [out] to the public when the session terminated. After the arrest of the leaders, Mir Waiz Mohammad Yousuf, Chairman of the Committee of Action, gave the following statement to the press. Addressing the Muslims of the State he said:

"In my capacity as the Chairman of the Committee of Action of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, I am giving certain instructions to the State Muslims and I hope that Muslims of Kashmir will give proof of discipline by acting upon my advice.

"The Government banned the fourteenth annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and certain leaders were ordered by the high command to defy the ban in their individual capacity and they did it. In his presidential address, Quaid-i-Millat Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas instructed you to proceed on with your peaceful and normal political activities. The Muslims of Kashmir must obey his command.

"As I have said in my previous statement the most important problem that confronts the Kashmir Muslims today is that of the Assembly elections. The programme of the Direct Action was to be discussed by the General Council in the open session which was unfortunately banned by the Government. The Assembly elections are going to be held in the near future. On that occasion there shall be a great struggle between the Muslim Conference and the National Conference. The Muslims of Kashmir will have to decide whether they owe allegiance to the 'saint' of Wardha [M. K. Gandhi] or the All India Muslim League. The coming elections shall exert great effect upon the future of the Kashmir Muslims as they are to decide their very fate. Muslims should divert all their attention towards constructive work and the elections. They must forge the weapons of unity and organisation by means of which they can inflict a crushing defeat upon the National Conference people, local agents of the Caste-Hindu capitalist Congress. I have come to know that National Conference people are trying to point out a fallacious unanimity between the present move of the Muslim Conference and the recent 'Quit Kashmir' disturbances of the National Conference and are thus trying to spread communal riots.

I appeal to the Muslims to abstain from creating communal disharmony at any cost.

"I emphatically warn the Government not to terrorize the Muslims any more because such a policy might lead us to a dangerous path.

"The Emergency Election Board shall perform its duties with a due sense of responsibility and shall devise ways and means to defeat the National Conference in the coming elections. The Muslims should cooperate with the Board to make it successful in achieving its object."

The Dogra regime is terrorizing the peaceful Muslims of Kashmir. It is the duty of the British Indian Muslim press to urge the Government to discontinue its anti-Muslim practices. The most important problem before the Muslims of Kashmir today is to win the elections. The leaders of the Party, who have defied the law and gone behind bars, have appealed to the Muslims to concentrate their energies upon the election problem. The old Assembly has been dissolved and in a fortnight the nomination papers are to be filled in by the candidates for the future assembly. The Muslim Conference hopes to contest all the Muslims seats which are twenty-one in number. In Jammu province, the Muslim Conference candidates might return uncontested. In Kashmir province, however, the situation is different. The Caste-Hindu Congress and its dictator, Pandit Nehru, are financing the National Conference which is the chief enemy of the Muslim Conference.

The Congress has for the last so many years been endeavouring without success to make Kashmir an anti-Pakistan base like the North-West Frontier Province. The National Conference, with the help of money bags of the Congress capitalists, is trying to create disruption in the Muslim Conference ranks. They have been successful in winning over to their side Chaudhri Hamidullah, ex-leader of the Muslim Conference Assembly Party, and have succeeded in making him sabotage the movement of the Muslim Conference. At this critical juncture, Ch. Hamidullah has betrayed the nation and entered into a secret alliance with the Government through the manoeuvres of his cousin, Ch. Niaz Ahmad, Chief Secretary to Prime Minister, [R.C.] Kak. He has followed [in] the footsteps of Mian Ahmad Yar, the notorious traitor of the National Conference, who deserted his party merely for a ministry. As it was announced by the Muslim Conference, Ch. Hamidullah was to defy the ban on 25th of October as the other leaders had done it on the day before. But since the National Conference and the Government wanted to sabotage the Muslim Conference movement, Hamid did not court arrest at all. But let the Congress and the Government remember that they cannot buy the thirty-two lacs of Muslims of the State, who solidly stand behind the Muslim Conference, as they have bought Hamid.

The Muslims of Kashmir are part and parcel of the great Muslim nation of India. They are for Pakistan and with the Quaid-i-Azam. They expect much help from the Muslim League and the Musalmans of India. The present programme of the Muslim Conference is to win the elections. After the Conference gets itself established as the only representative organisation of the Muslims of Kashmir, it will launch its campaign of Direct Action for the attainment of its goal of "Azad Kashmir". The Muslims of Kashmir have from time to time been helping the Indian Musalmans. They have given sacrifices and what not. Time is come when the Muslims of Kashmir are passing through a very critical period in their history. The Congress is helping the National Conference, the enemy of Muslim League, by all possible means. Muslims of Kashmir also expect much from their brothers-in-faith in India. The unity of the Musalmans is being shattered by the bullets of gold and silver and attempts are being made to tie Kashmir to the apron strings of the Hindu Congress. Time is come when the Musalmans of India should help in writing-off the last remnants of Congress nationalism in Kashmir.

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S. Muhammad Aminul Hasnat to M. A. Jinnah
SHC, NWFP II/70

[*Original in Urdu*]
[*Extract*]

NOWSHERA,
1 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, (May you live long)

For a long time I had wanted to write to you but did not, so that your valuable time was not wasted.

Prior to the visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas, there was an apprehension that something untoward might happen to cause displeasure to Quaid-i-Azam. I was, however, relieved to know that the Quaid-i-Azam was not unhappy. By God's grace and your esteemed guidance the Frontier Muslim League has succeeded in its objectives. When the situation is propitious I intend to invite you to tour the Frontier Province. But two months before your visit I would myself wish to tour the area to

ensure that the people there accord a befitting welcome to their beloved leader.[1]

S. MUHAMMAD AMINUL HASNAT
Sajjada Nashin of Manki Sharif

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the information. See *SHC* (1148). Not printed.

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Malik Zafrul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/15

MUSSALLAHPUR,
MAHENDRU (PATNA),
1 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Pakistan Zindabad

You might be fully aware of the atrocities that are being wrought [*sic*] on the Muslims of Bihar Province day in and day out by the Hindus of the Province intoxicated with Nehru *raj* at the Centre and Gandhian freedom in the Province. The whole Province is the target of Hindus' hooliganism, harassment, arson, murder and all kinds of violence, and the life of the minorities apart from being [un]safe stands on the brink of destruction and they have to suffer economically at every step of life, for they are not free to move to earn their livelihood and this has placed [*sic* for put] them not only to physical and personal trouble but has hampered their national strength of development to a great extent, whose [*sic*] continuation will be responsible for more serious consequences that we are facing to-day in the light of better [*sic*] Islam in future. To suffer in the cause of Islam we do not fear but unnecessary suffering of ours must be avoided by the proper care and timely intervention of the All India Muslim League in order to reserve our precious energy for the time when we are required to play our part in the national movement of Muslims who must be ready to face [*sic*] the country-wide crusade of their own defence of their honourable existence.

Noakhali was the scene of disturbance no doubt but not like the grossly exaggerated words of the misguided Hindu press. It was dignified [*sic*] by the Congress leaders as well. It is the Muslim League that minimises its own suffering in its extreme love of the independence of the country. But this must not be as such [*sic* for so]. I, therefore

suggest [to] you to appoint a few high-rank[ing] League leaders to make a visit of the Muslim-affected areas in Bihar Province and issue statements about the injustice done to them and the privileges denied to them. This will gain the sympathy of the Muslim masses all alike and the top-ranking League leaders' meeting with the provincial authorities will help to a great extent in bringing relief to the Muslims. I need not tell you the great psychological effect it will have both on the Muslims and the Congress authorities side by side [on] the Viceroy and the Governor. To have talks with the Viceroy about it would certainly have its effect but in proposing a visit to the disturbed areas of Bihar, specially the districts of Chapra, Patna, and Bhagalpur, and a scattered [*sic*] visit to its villages would have a practical as well as sound effect both on the masses and the Government. This is the period of agitation, practical agitation. In view of this, my humble suggestion to send the top-ranking leaders of the All India Muslim League to the disturbed areas of Bihar would [hopefully,] receive your full consideration. Not only [to] Bihar, but [to] the Muslim minority provinces, where oppression are wrought [*sic*] on them, first-rank League leaders must rush forth in order to have the desired relieving effect there.

In the end I most earnestly appeal to you to give full consideration to the suggestion given by me above and not discard it only because it comes from an ordinary student like me. Touching the pulse of the Muslims of Bihar I am writing this to you and I am confident you will not disappoint them. I hope a better decision [is] in your able hands.

Yours sincerely,
MALIK ZAFRUL HASAN

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R. A. Kokani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/130

NASIK,
1 November 1946

Sinner is a *taluka* in the District of Nasik, predominantly populated by Hindus, the Muslims number[ing] only four hundred out of fourteen thousand people. [Given] the very fact that [*sic*] the Muslims form such an important [*sic*] and ineffective part of the town, by no stretch of [the] imagination can it be believed that the Muslims indulged in provocative acts against the Hindu community.

On Thursday, the 24th October 1946, a dead cow was found in the temple of Mahadeo in Sinner. The Hindus alleged that the Muslims must have caused this incident. The dead cow was not slaughtered the Muslim way, i.e. was not *halal*, her stomach was out and this fact alone proves that this was not the act of a Musalman.

The inflamed Hindu mob, itching to vindicate [*sic*] the Noakhali incidents, wantonly attacked the Jumm'a Masjid and other places of worship and burnt them to ashes. The microscopic Muslim community got alarmed for their safety and shut themselves within doors. There was no thought of any resistance or defence as both these things were impossible and hence no provocation or resistance was offered. The Hindu mob was at large in the town looting and burning Muslim property and places of worship. The Muslims wanted to evacuate the town but the Congress Hindu leaders assured them that their lives were safe and that they will not be molested any further and hence they need not leave the town.

On Saturday night about fifty Muslims were besieged by a Hindu mob of two thousand and were stoned mercilessly, inflicting injuries upon the besieged persons.

On Sunday morning the weekly *bazaar* was looted by the Hindu mob and the few local Muslims and some Muslim outsiders that happened to be there were violently beaten by *lathis* and as a result about forty Muslims received injuries and two of them are serious.

No Police and Military protection was given to the Muslims. The Muslim community has evacuated the town on Sunday, leaving their property and belongings at the mercy of Hindu Congress *goondas*.

This terrible ordeal of the Muslim community at Sinner amply proves the insecurity of the Muslim lives and property at places where they are in absolutely small numbers in spite of the professions of the present Congress Government to the contrary.

R. A. KOKANI
Secretary,
Nasik City Muslim League

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M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VIII/56

KASAR-E-NAZ,
BEHIND GANDHI GARDEN,
KARACHI,
1 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Today nominations have been filed all over Sind. So far we have received information that Sayed Miran Mohmed Shah has been returned unopposed.

The following have filed nominations against me:

1. Dr. A. A. Khan
2. Mr. Ahmed Khatri
3. Mr. Aboobakar—supported by Hassanali Hoti
4. Mr. Naseem Talvi—of *Baluchistan Jadid* notoriety

All these gentlemen were Congressites. They came into the Muslim League fold in order to disintegrate [it]. Nos. 1 & 3 (Hoti) were expelled from the Muslim League several times and re-admitted on apologies. But they are most unrepentant.

All these four form one group of intriguers. They have received all sorts of favours and encouragement from Mir Ghulamali Talpur and our Premier. Only last month these Ministers made about 100 persons J.Ps.[1] on the recommendation of Hassanali Hoti. This was done purposely to weaken my position.

I now request you to kindly permanently debar these people from coming into the League fold.

I am sure, *Insha Allah*, all these persons will lose their [security] deposits miserably.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR

[1]Justices of the Peace.

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Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/151

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
1 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have posted a letter yesterday[1] apprising you of the names of members of committee that will supervise the election work by Aligarh students in the forthcoming Sind Provincial Assembly elections.

Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, informs me in his letter No. 326 dated 25th October 1946, received by me today, that he would require the help of 350 workers for election work in Sind. He wants these workers from Aligarh students and members of the staff. It will be possible for us to depute 35 groups of 10 each (including some Sindhi-speaking students in each group) for Sind election provided we get the necessary funds for the task.

When we met you last time it was suggested that we would be required to send nearly 100 workers only. But Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon wants 350 workers. If we are to comply with his demand of 350 workers we shall require much more expenses than the amount you had kindly promised to give us. I am therefore writing to seek your orders. Should I write to the Sind Provincial Muslim League that if they want more than 100 workers they should provide us with the funds. I shall be much obliged for your kind instructions in this connection. We shall start our work as soon as we receive the money that you very kindly promised to send us.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
President,
Muslim University Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/150

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
1 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Manzar-i-Alam on his return from Delhi told me that you have very kindly approved of the proposal to send workers from Aligarh to Sind. The same Committee which organized the election work in the last winter will operate again. It consists of Professor Dr. Babar Mirza (Chairman), Mr. Manzar-i-Alam and Jamilud Din Ahmad. I request that the cheque for the expenses of the workers be sent to Professor Dr. Babar Mirza. It may be drawn in his favour. He will open a separate account in the bank and the money will be spent according to rules laid down by the Committee. Periodical reports and accounts will be submitted to you.

I am sorry owing to my duty here I missed the opportunity to meet you along with Dr. Babar Mirza and other friends. I request you kindly to give me some time during the first half of this month when I could see you. We are having holidays from 4th to 8th. Any day during this period except *'Id* day or any Friday would be suitable. There are many important matters which I would like to discuss and seek your advice about.

Yours respectfully,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convenor,
Committee of Writers,
All India Muslim League

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M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/300

VIA AIR MAIL

230 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK,
1 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm my cablegram of today reading as under:

> Suggest appoint Leaguers UN delegation or declare through APA Indian delegation does not represent Muslims. Delegation passing everywhere as representative.

The Indian delegation to the United Nations is passing off as a representative one and this certainly does not do our cause any good. In my opinion it is necessary for you to watch this field also or else our opponents will run away with the ball. The U.S. is an ignorant country so far as the Indian problem is concerned. The Congress organization here has kept them well-fed on false news—plenty of it. Nehru, for example, is still called the Head of the National Provisional Government. We here shall hammer the bottom out of this non-sense soon, do not worry.

May I suggest that more interviews with the foreign press representatives in India are necessary. More stuff must be put and put more regularly and often, before the U.S. public.

The Government of India representatives in the U.S. are all Hindus. [Sir Girja Shankar] Bajpai, Kripalani, Sooraderam (the officer in charge of Indian students) and his two assistants are all Hindus. They are paid by India and they work for the Hindus and their cause. Muslim students are being shunted to unsuitable universities. Science scholars, for example, are sent to Arts universities, students of medicine to institutions that specialize in electrical engineering. Hindu lads are sent to the right spots and get the maximum benefit out of their foreign education.

Truly, the Muslims have to keep their eyes open and act. They must keep on protesting and setting right the wrongs done to them, and these are legion.

We are planning a tour of the Middle-West and the West in ten days. There we shall speak and broadcast and break up the haven that [Dr.] Syed Hossain[1] and Singh[2] have built up for Hindu India. That is the fountain-head of the money that pours into the coffers of India

League—the Indians who have settled there are almost wholly Muslims.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. The League Secretariat in Delhi should entertain foreign newspaper correspondents more often as the Congress do; it will pay, as it pays the Congress—as their point of view is always put in the forefront here.

[1]Editor of the English daily, the *Independent*, Allahabad, launched by Motilal Nehru in February 1919; during his stay in the US, propagated the cause of Indian independence through lecture-tours; returned to India after World War II; first Indian Ambassador to Egypt.
[2]J.J. Singh, President of the India League in America.

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Sultan Ahmed Faruqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/82

AGRA,
2 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not enjoy the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, but as a Muslim, and as a member of the Muslim League, whose beloved and accredited leader you are, I think I can assume the liberty of addressing you on matters of national import for the Muslims, and which are constantly harrowing my brain and soul. And I hope that you would graciously enlighten me on these points. Your this act of kindness will go a long way in [*sic* for towards] carrying away [*sic*] the burden which is crushing me.

The Dept. of Broadcasting is a public concern run on public funds. But the Member-in-charge thereof[1] is using it in a way that it is meant to propagate the news and views of the Congress party only, and to black-out the League in a very cunning and malicious way. Have you taken any step to stop the malpractice? If so, what?

No less than a hundred thousand copies of the *Dawn* can be sold if they be available. Not only Muslims, but the literate Scheduled-Caste members and many Caste-Hindus also purchase it. I have been told that the quota of newsprint given to the *Dawn* is so meagre that it

cannot reach the hankering public and the hawkers sell its copies sometimes at rupee one each, *annas* eight being its not uncommon price. Has any step been taken to get the supply of newsprint enlarged for this paper, so that it may reach all its contributors? I have also been told that while other Hindu papers are left free to get their supply of newsprint from the black market, and print larger number of copies without being molested by the authorities, two C.I.D. men are regularly posted to the *Dawn* office to watch against this possibility. Is it true, and what steps have been taken to get it stopped?

Last but not least is the question of the great Saran butchery perpetrated by the Hindus of that district on the Muslims of Bihar. Why no Muslim League leader of all-India fame went there to witness and examine the facts on the spot and to render such help to the miserable lot as was possible? The moral effect of such a visit might have been solacing, and the poor people might have drawn some solace thinking that they are not neglected by their leaders. Besides, full-fledged propaganda work against the Bihar Ministry should have been prosecuted with diligence and perseverance as has been shown by the Hindus in the Noakhali affair. Demand for public inquiry in the Bihar and Bombay incidents should have been pressed home with greatest vigour, possibly through the Muslim press all over India.

Finally I would voice my humble grievance about the lack of public press among the Muslims and request you to kindly give your particular attention to better this very weak point of the nation, and protect such Muslim papers from the aggression of the Hindu authorities as today exist, and which is in constant danger of being curbed. The editorial of the *Payam* of 3 November 1946 is a good pointer to this danger.

Apologising for the trouble I have hereby given you and trusting that you will be gracious enough to let me have a reply to my this letter at your earliest possible convenience.

Ever at your service,

SULTAN AHMED FARUQI
Proprietor,
Royal Shoe Co.

[1]Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Member of the Interim Government for Home and Information and Broadcasting, September 1946 to July 1947.

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M. A. Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/19

SHAKRI, SARAN,
2 November 1946

My dear uncle,

We are in the grip of grievances indescribable. What about you all? The Hindu mob surrounded us to attack but through [*sic* for for] unforeseen reasons did not do so and we were saved.

The facts are that on the night of last Monday Hindus of about ten villages assembled together to attack our village and we, thinking that now death is almost certain, collected our womenfolk in one house and began to guard the same. However, the Hindus made no attack and the expected outbreak was averted. The Hindus shouted that they have resolved to take the revenge of Noakhali here. Some said that they would never spare a single Muslim alive and some said that all Muslims must forcibly be taken into Hindu fold. The Hindus of Shankerpor and Rajput-Toli are acting as *agents provocateurs* [*sic*] and actively trying in [*sic*] the creation of such troubles. They have demolished the mosque and burnt every Muslim house in Paighambarpore. They have also raised [*sic* for razed] to the ground the mosque of Sarayan Satuan and stopped the very appearance of butchers in the markets of Nazirgunj and Dayalpore. The disturbances began from 28-10-46. Communications are stopped, streets deserted and the very human movements are an impossibility. About 2 p.m. when Khalik Sahib was coming, the Koeries of Mardanpore murdered him. Chaos reigns and utter lawlessness prevails.

On Friday, to annihilate and humiliate the Muslims, the Hindus of Harpur, Dhonpur, Shakri, Ramgarha, Gurowli, Khedoo Chapra, Chakian, etc., assembled together and passed several resolutions to which if we agreed they promised us that they would perpetrate no crime on us.

The Hindus of above-mentioned villages sent Munshi Rajdhari Lal, Shyam Deni Gusain, Tilaisar Tewari, Indar Shaw, Upendra Nath Pandey of Shankarpur, Ram Lachan Singh, Bhukhal Mahto and Dharam Deo Singh to us who under threat and coercion compelled us to agree to the following:

i. From today the Muslims of Shakri and their coming generations can never sacrifice cow but [only] goats and sheep.

ii. The money which was spent on sacrifice now, the Muslims of Shakri must subscribe towards the construction of *shiwala* or temples.
iii. No butchers should be allowed by the Muslims of Shakri to enter the village and if they bought beef they would be liable to punishment.
iv. The Muslims of Shakri must surrender all arms and defensive weapons to the Hindus.

We agreed with the above conditions under pain of death.

[*One para omitted*][1]

The above was signed by M. Taher Hossain, Mohammad Shaheed, Dr. Maharram, Hashmat Ali, Sayeedul Haque, Bilal Shah, Khalil, Abbas, Karim Dad, Waris Ali, Fazle Amir and Rafique and the paper was taken possession of by Akloo Singh, a Zamindar of Village Shankerpur Aima.

Moreover, these Hindus realised rupees five from us as subscription for the construction of their temple. When the question of surrendering arms came we denied as we had none but they insisted and at last we had to give them two bamboo sticks.

All this took place on 1st November 1946.

Enveloped in these troubles, we are at the very verge of starvation as the Hindus have stopped buying and selling with us. If no prompt help is coming forth there is no hope of our survival.

Yours obediently,
M. A. HUSSAIN

[1]The contents are of repetitive nature.

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Bachittar Singh Bawa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1152)

BAWA GLASS CO.,
DELHI,
2 November 1946

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am grateful for your letter of the 31st ultimo.[1]

Yes! I am quite well and pray [to] the Almighty God for your long life too.

In view of your more pressing and valuable engagements, I do not wish to waste your valuable time by seeing you personally; hence this letter just to remind you [of] my previous interview with

you and Nawabzada Sahib along with Secretaries of the United Chamber of Trade Associations for accepting the invitation of the traders of this Province jointly with Congress leaders of the Central Assembly from whom we had already taken the acceptance. But while refusing the joint invitation you privately assured me in the end that you will inform[2] me when an opportunity of accepting the joint invitation arises. Now owing to participation of the Muslim League in the Council of Ministers, we again approach you for your acceptance to a joint reception to all newly-appointed Ministers on behalf of my Chamber which represents the entire trade of this small province irrespective of caste and creed. I feel proud of it that nearly all traders of your community in this province are always backing me like anything and in return I always owe it [as] my premier duty to satisfy them, loving from the bottom of my heart being an apostle of unity of all communities.

The previous[ly] arranged reception had to be cancelled mainly because of your advice which I could not overrule. Now, I am sure, you will be good enough to see your way to accepting this invitation. If you, however, find it necessary I am ready to explain to you the whole situation personally at your leisure.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
BACHITTAR SINGH BAWA

[1]Not traceable.

[2]Jinnah replied that he could not attend the reception due to pressure of work. See *SHC* (1153). Not printed.

222

A. H. Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/179-80

RAM NAGAR, PAHARGANJ,
NEW DELHI,
2 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

There is a general feeling among the Muslims that even if after entering the Interim Govt. the Muslim League is unable to help the

Muslims, who are being ruthlessly massacred everywhere, it should better quit office even now. If you are unable to remove the feeling of insecurity from among the Muslims of the minority provinces, the All India Muslim League will entirely lose its respect among the Muslims.

2. It is never [too] late to mend. Don't let the Muslims say that they are being massacred under the very nose of the Muslim League members of the Interim Govt. who have proved helpless. There is still time to resign and lay all blame on the Congress Governments of the provinces and the Centre.

3. It is also time that you should give lead to the Muslims of the minority places to migrate to Pakistan Zone, a thing which will have to take place ultimately and the sooner it starts the better.

4. The Muslim youth are burning with indignation at the present happenings. If you don't attend to the solution of this problem immediately, the prestige of the Muslim League will greatly suffer among the young people.

Yours obediently,
A. H. GILANI

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Mohammad Hasan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/173-6

DELHI,
2 November 1946

Dearly adored Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Some doubts regarding the decision of the Muslim League to enter the [Interim] Govt. now have forced their way to my mind. The *Dawn,* dated 30.10.46, commented editorially on why the League modified its attitude of non-participation, but it only compared the terms offered by the Viceroy and the Congress, and the League's consequent preference to the former, I could not feel satisfied with the line of argument, and, therefore, have made [so] bold [as] to tap the highest source and seek enlightenment therefrom. I am a Muslim, and these doubts must not be interpreted to be a lack of faith in the League high command. I only wish and pray for their being shown to be simply a misunderstanding of mine, and with

this prayer in my heart I approach my Quaid-i-Azam.

Till the correspondence exchanged between you and Lord Wavell was not released, it was being presumed, as hinted at by our esteemed paper, the *Dawn*, that some new assurances from the Viceroy had assured this entry. As the matter now stands, our accredited leader does not seem to be satisfied with the outcome of these talks, as is also manifest from there being no substantial change in the proposals that forced us on a course of Direct Action and those that prompted the acceptance [of] at least a part of the State paper now. In the circumstances this agreement can be understood to have been motivated by one of the following reasons:

i. That there were some new assurances by the Viceroy. In writing there seem to be none as stated above. If there were any, verbally given, there still remains a big question mark whether we can put any faith in the pledged word of those who could so very easily and conveniently go back upon their written and much-propagated statements when it suited their imperialistic tendencies better, and our Quaid-i-Azam being a very practical man, will of all men know better [*sic* for best].

ii. That there has since been some disillusionment to the League high command in the matter of sacrifices that the Muslim nation shall be called upon to make if we persist in our programme of non-cooperation, or regarding the strength of the nation in being able to stand against the joint forces of British imperialism and Hindu capitalism. But the nation has been braced up to the belief by its leaders that it shall have to pay an immense price for independence from these evils. And nothing worth having can be had without having to pay for it, is well known. Besides, nothing in this short period has to our knowledge happened that could let down our leaders in their opinions of us. If the nation could be judged to be "strong enough" then, it has not weakened visibly; we still, as ever, cherish the same deep respect and honour for our Quaid-i-Azam that is only next to our ... holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

iii. The only alternative remains (I shudder even to imagine it) that the Muslim League had to bow to this acceptance. May we not have to see the day when our national organisation, the symbol of our solidarity, have to bend to any earthly power or collection of powers! No Muslim will allow that suggestion to cross his mind for one moment. Let all the forces of evil confront us, we stand around our Quaid-i-Azam

undaunted, defending the sanctity of his word with our life- blood. *Aameen*!

I have already taken much of your time, every moment of which is so precious for the good of our much-handicapped nation, but I hope conveying enlightenment to a faithful Muslim, and thus relieving him of much mental worry, will not be time lost. I can await reply or present myself as commanded.

Khuda Hafiz. May you live long to steer us through cloudy times! *Aameen*!

With loving respect,

Yours,
HASAN

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Ch. M. M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/183

NEW DELHI,
2 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am fully conscious that what I propose to convey to you as a common feeling is already receiving your serious consideration. I am aware of your very busy and most valuable pre-occupations but I simply desire to take a few minutes for which I may please be pardoned.

The acceptance of office by the Muslim League is welcome. Although the distribution of portfolios is very undesirable, the circumstances in which the Muslim nation was put in, had [left] no other way. However, the Bombay Resolution,[1] untimely as it was, coupled with the acceptance of office now, has rendered the man in the street most dissatisfied. For him Pakistan and Pakistan alone is the solution and not the acceptance of office, which may lead [us] to be inactive rather than produce better results. The common folk of Muslim nation is alive and so is the intelligentsia. The only difference is that while the former are ready to sacrifice the last drop of [their] blood to have a Muslim sovereign state, the latter is thinking [of] sav[ing] the last drop of [their] blood and achieve Pakistan by constitutional means. Anyway, the former is to be assured and the latter is to be brought to the level of the former, if we must

achieve Pakistan, lest the former should perish and the latter diminish into oblivion. That is for the Quaid-i-Azam to do. And we are sure he will do it. This is what we need now.

In order to achieve our goal in the present circumstances, it is essential that we must [have] stable League Ministries in the Punjab, Sind and NWFP, [and the] sooner the better. I feel Quaid-i-Azam is more particular about this than anybody else. The fight that was communal once has now become national. And the Muslim nation, whether it accepts office or not—it is immaterial—, must accept the challenge which is so boldly given under the garb of Noakhali propaganda of UP-Bihar atrocities [*sic*] by the well-organised and more prepared Hindu nation. The challenge must be accepted. We must be prepared, fully organised and properly looked after [*sic*]. It requires a Musalman to face, a Khalid[2] to fight, and a Mohammad Ali to organise. Musalmans believe in one God. They, therefore, cannot understand the trinity. They want Jinnah and Jinnah alone as an embodiment of a true Muslim. We shall then achieve our right[ful] place on earth. *Insha Allah*.

I hope my feelings and request will not be in vain and a few lines in reply will be much encouraging.

With apologies,

Yours sincerely,
M. M. A. KHAN

[1]Resolutions adopted by the Council of AIML meeting in Bombay on 29 July 1946, regarding (i) resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan and (ii) renouncement of titles conferred on Muslims by the British regime.

[2]Presumably, Khalid bin-Waleed, military commander of Islamic forces renowned for his exceptional gallantry and extraordinary ability to command and lead his forces in battle.

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A. B. Yusufi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/72

SARHAD SYNDICATE,
PESHAWAR,
3 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have learnt from a very reliable source that the statement issued by Ralph Izzard and published in the *Dawn* of 1.11.43, page 1, column 4, was discussed by some prominent Congressites in an informal

meeting. Mir Yahya Jan, the Education Minister and son-in-law of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was also present. They finally resolved to ask Pandit Nehru to try his best to get a photograph arm-in-arm with your goodself.

Probably they intend to distribute the said photo in the tribal area, showing that you have surrendered. As an humble follower I deem it my duty to write these lines for your information.

Yours sincerely,
A. B. YUSUFI
ex-Secretary, Muslim League Conference

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/132

DELHI,
3 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sure you must have read an account of the Bihar disturbances. Thousands of Muslims have been mercilessly butchered, maimed and subjected to countless other horrors; and God knows how many others await similar fate in other minority provinces. This is extremely sickening, depressing and provoking at the same time. Still more so is the silence of the Muslim League and its leaders over all such happenings. This indicates that either the League is absolutely incapable of taking adequate measures to check or suppress these disturbances or that its leaders are quite insincere in their cry of Muslim good.

I hope you appreciate that all this country-wide tension is due to the League's hatred-spreading policy and as such yours is a great responsibility for all these happenings; as also the fact that all your greatness is due to the force of public opinion behind you; but it shall be a very false notion of dignity if you keep silent and engaged in your daily routine as usual while your community is so callously massacred.

You daily see yourself that whenever there is the slightest danger to Hindu (even individual) interests, all the top-ranking Congress leaders plus its press will raise a hue and cry against it. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Kripalani, and almost everybody else, who is anyone

in particular, will be busy undoing the slightest harm done to a Hindu. While contrary to it is our League, that almost everyday and everywhere the Muslims are insulted and provoked, thrown out of employment because of their support to the League, and thousands killed whenever the enemies get the better of them, and that all this makes not the slightest impression on members of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League. No one cares to visit places of such happenings and see the authorities and make them take necessary action.

Owing to their support to the League, the Muslims are as a whole completely blacked out from almost every walk of life, social, economic or educational. Will you care to think what the League has done or [is] doing for them?

In view of the loyal and ready support of the Muslims to the League, I think it is quite natural if they expect similar response from you and your colleagues when they are in need of it.

I hope that instead of taking offence, you will rather realize that complaints are lodged to the one over whom the complainant has any right or pride or from whom he expects sympathy. Moreover, if not to you, then to whom the Muslims should take their grievances?

With best wishes, and hoping that it shall receive your serious considerations,

Yours very sincerely,
A MUSLIM LEAGUER

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J. Chinna Durai to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1155)

10 KING'S BENCH WALK,
TEMPLE,
LONDON E.C.4.,
3 November 1946

My dear Jinnah,

You will doubtless remember we were contemporaries at the Privy Council.

I have often wanted to write to you but there was so much to say that I felt it would be better if I waited till I had an opportunity to meet you. I am leaving England on a short holiday for India on the

25th of this month and am looking forward very much to discussing with you many matters. concerning India that are nearest both to your heart as well as mine.

Let me say how very much I admire your courageous stand against the Congress party. I hope to address many Indian Christian audiences during my visit to India—when I hope to put to them the view I have always held that they could serve the cause of India better by collaborating with the Muslims [rather] than the Hindus unless, of course, the Hindus cease to feather their own nest, then [*sic* for when] all of us Indians irrespective of our caste or creed can settle down to work together for the common good of India. Till, therefore, there is a change of heart on the part of the Hindus, it is my firm conviction that they must be fought at every turn, and not a bit of ground should be yielded.

Have you read my book, *The Choice Before India*? I have addressed countless audiences in this country and it has often been my lot, or shall I say privilege, to refute in the open the lies about the Muslim League that the India League in London has constantly been putting over here through the press and platform. The greatest offender of all is [V.K.] Krishna Menon[1] whom Nehru has sent over as an Indian delegate to the [General] Assembly of the U.N.O.

If you will kindly indicate where you will be about the end of January, I will do my best to pay you a visit before I return to England in March 1947.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
J. CHINNA DURAI

[1]President of the India League in Britain.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/104-7

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
3 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am so anxious that every important item of news should reach you that I bother you again and again; if I do not want that Caste-Hindus should outmanoeuvre you in anything, you are one and there are

thousands [of] flying kites of treacherous schemes. I often wonder how you with such a frail physique should be able to do so much work that you are doing. But God is on our side, and, therefore, you are getting the strength and inspiration from Him to save a people who possess a great philosophy and [have made] a great contribution to humanity. Events in the country are taking shape according to our desires in spite of the mean efforts of the Caste-Hindus to overpower everybody. Look, how the minorities are looking up to you as their leader and guide. I wrote to you a couple of months ago that only if you open the doors of the League to non-Muslims, all minorities would flock to you. I especially referred to the Dravidians (non-Brahmans) of South India and see how their leader, Dr. Naikar,[1] now gives the clarion call to come under the League banner. All this work has been organized by the great Swami [Dharam Theerath] of whom I have been writing to you. I am forwarding his letter[2] to you so that you may be convinced of the sincerity of his purpose and that you may use him to strengthen the cause of the Muslims and others who are threatened to be wiped out by Caste-Hindus.

I am also sending you a cutting[3] from Professor Brij Narain's article on *Power Politics* in today's press. He is an expert economist and I have read his books and articles with great interest. He always supports the Pakistan case as this cutting will reveal to you. In your future plans this man should have a place in Pakistan planning. See how fair and just he is in his vision and how he comprehends situations in their correct reading. He is a Hindu, but his point of view is fair-mindedness.

I want to bring another thing to your notice. This morning I was discussing League politics with some Congress Muslims and I learnt that in the Frontier the Congress Government is going to close down the Mission (Edwards) College and have also warned the Islamia College to the same effect. The reason for this is that the boys of these two colleges made demonstrations against Pandit Nehru's visit. If colleges are going to be closed down because the students show tendencies towards certain political parties then there is going to be no end of closing down of institutions. For them the League will have to do the same in their own areas. This should be nipped in the bud. The League should protest against this kind of dealings. You will soon hear of this unheard-of action of any sane government. I was surprised to hear from the same source that the children of all League leaders in the Frontier send their boys to Hindu institutions for education. It is a matter of shame that Muslims, while condemning the Hindus for many things, should not improve the Muslim

institutions and bring them on [to] the level of the Hindu standard of efficiency and give a chance to them (Hindus) to say that they possess nothing worthwhile. I think it is high time that the standard of Muslim schools and colleges was raised by a special effort of the League so that the Hindus may not have a chance to condemn them. This should be particularly done for the girls schools and colleges where the standard is so very low. There is only one Islamia College for women here, but its financial position is so insecure [that] Muslim women are just coming out. They should seek the help of Christian women in raising the standard of their institutions till there are not [*sic*] sufficient Muslim [educated] women. These colleges do engage Christian professors but the spirit is not good at all. Both communities should work hand in hand, helping each other.

I do hope and pray that God will give you health, strength and wisdom to do the right thing for the nation.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Periyar (Sage) E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of South India's (non-Brahman) Justice Party, which opposed the Congress. The party demanded 'Dravidistan'.
[2&3]Not traceable.

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Amiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/187-8

MAYOR'S RESIDENCE,
BARUD KHANA,
LAHORE,
3 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I draw your attention to a subject of vital importance for the defence of Pakistan and Muslims in the future.

2. The Central Government have under consideration the question of locating the War Memorial Academy. It would appear that provisionally Poona has been selected as the site for the Academy. Dr. Amar Nath Jha[1] has been going round the provinces and enlisting support for the proposal.

3. The Hindus want Poona because the academy will in that case be situated right in the heart of Hindudom, especially the Mahratta people. The British Commander-in-Chief appears to be giving support to the idea because he apparently wishes the academy

to be situated as far away from the Russian frontier as possible and, secondly, because at the moment the British Chiefs are not in a mood to resist the wiles and machinations of the aggressive Hindu leadership. The pity is that even Bengal and Sind Governments have not opposed the location of the academy in Poona. Of course, these two provinces, where there are League Ministries, should have vehemently opposed Poona. Possibly these non-martial provinces have not given much thought to the subject.

4. The location of the academy in Poona will mean the making of a gift at public expense of a gigantic training centre, a big arsenal and heaps of other benefits in the shape of encouragement of local agriculture and industry to the Hindu nation. Further, it will mean that the local population will be made war-minded and thus will be prepared for Hindu-Muslim war which seems inevitable one day.

5. During the war the British people and the administrative authorities in India made tall promises to the martial people of North-Western Pakistan including the Sikhs but now all these promises are being thrown to the winds. Dr. Jha has made it quite clear in his public speeches that such a myth as the martial races does not exist. Unfortunately, Governments of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., which do not represent the real Pakistani opinion, have not exerted themselves against the location of the academy at Poona. The Punjab Government is lukewarm. Malik Khizar is now reported to be demanding the location of the academy in the Punjab. Whereas the Frontier Government has sold its soul to the Congress.[2]

6. I would, therefore, very strongly urge that the League high command and the League nominees in the Interim Government should take up the question of the War Academy with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and the Interim Government without further delay. The location of the academy is a question of first-rate importance, and its location cannot be settled till the majority of both the Congress and the League nominees in the Interim Government accord their approval. I would like to make it clear that the reservation of seats in the academy on the basis of provinces, communities or even tribes will not satisfy the Muslim demand. We should not, therefore, get into this trap of nominations.

7. The basic Muslim demand is that two academies should be set up, one in the North-Western Pakistan area and the other in the Hindu areas.

A suitable place in the Western Pakistan area would be either Karachi, or the Salt Range or Rawalpindi in the Punjab, or Abbottabad in the North-West Frontier Province, or Land Forces Centre could be located in the Punjab, and the Air and Naval Centres at Karachi.

8. If the proposal of two separate academies for Pakistan and Hindustan is not accepted then the League must insist that there should not be a single National War Academy located at Poona but it should be split up in three parts. The Air Academy should be located at Karachi which is already a big Air Centre. The Land Forces Academy should be located in the Punjab, and the Naval Academy can be located in the Hindu area, say, Bombay. There is already the precedent of the Constituent Assembly which is meeting in three autonomous sections.

Yours sincerely,
AMIRUDDIN

[1]Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad.
[2]Faust, in the medieval German legend, had "sold his soul" to Mephistopheles, an evil spirit, for wisdom and power. Goethe's version of *Faust* is regarded as a magnum opus in German literature. Amiruddin obviously had in mind the Faust legend.

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Sh. Mohammad Sharif Betab to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/186

DELHI,
3 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Most respectfully I beg to bring to your kind notice the following few lines for consideration and necessary action.

In the Punjab Province the Muslims were allowed to keep the sword without licence as our religious leaders kept the sword but this has only been in the Punjab and we cannot keep sword in other parts of India without licence. The Sikhs are entitled to keep the *kirpan* as their religious thing in any part of the world. When Sikhs can keep the *kirpan* why should we not be entitled to keep the sword without licence in any part of India, when our Prophet (PBUH) kept the sword.

I hope that being the leader of the Muslims your honour will take necessary steps in this matter.

Yours most obediently,
MOHAMMAD SHARIF BETAB
Ticket Collector

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Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/64

STRICTLY PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
4 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have thought it [*sic*] fit to lay before you in its true perspective the correct position of the Muslim League in so far as the results of the ensuing Assembly elections are concerned. Ever since my return to Karachi from Delhi, I have [been] engrossed for the last few days in assessing the correct position. I have contacted scores of influential and leading Muslims of all the districts as also many Muslim League nominees. To me, after all these discussions, the prospect of our success does not appear to be quite so rosy nor very hopeful.

The main cause, as I understand, is that our top-ranking Muslim League provincial leaders do not seem to have buried the hatchet in so far as their personal internecine quarrels within the League fold [are concerned]. The whole atmosphere is surcharged [*sic*] with distrust and lack of whole-hearted and out-spoken co-operation and support. The spirit of 'one for all and all for one' is lacking.

Due to this, there are certain constituencies where our chances are very poor. If the present lack of active co-operation and mutual distrust are not removed, I doubt if we will carry our candidates in such constituencies. The most distressing news comes from Mirpurkhas where down-right dishonesty and treachery in its [*sic* for their] most shameful form were perpetrated on the Muslim League. For our nominee there, Mr. Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, who was supported for the grant of League ticket by Hon'ble Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Hon'ble Mir Ghulamali Khan Talpur, withdrew his nomination [papers] in time on the 2nd November 1946, after having filed nomination [papers] on the 1st November. Thus, in that constituency, we have no League nominee. On the contrary Mr. Bhurgri has enabled his younger brother, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri's nomination papers to stand from that constituency. Mr. Bhurgri is an active member of the Sayed Party and is a sitting member. He is a live wire in Sayed Party. This has had a demoralizing effect on the Muslim League prestige in Sind.

I may also mention here that I do not receive any co-operation for organising, canvassing and supporting the Muslim League candidates all over the province, from the Ministers. Added to that is the fact that I have no funds at the Centre to run the election all over Sind in a manner in which I would like to do.

Under these circumstances, I feel called upon as the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, to place before you, without reserve, as honestly a picture of the situation as I can. Your presence, Quaid-i-Azam, would completely close our ranks and it would have a dynamic effect upon the present lethargic attitude of our top-ranking leaders. Also if some all-India leaders could be ordered by you to come and stay in Sind up to the time of elections, it would also considerably help me. Further, I am not depressed nor dejected nor down-hearted. I am doing all that is possible to the best of my light[s] and ability to maintain the prestige of the Muslim League so that we might come out with flying colours in the ensuing elections. Our cause is right and I am sure *Allah* will crown our efforts with success.[1]

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

[1]Jinnah counselled him to pluck up his courage and endeavour to maintain unity within the party.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

Telegram, SHC, Sind VIII/63

KARACHI,
4 November 1946

Please issue your statement supporting Muslim League candidates all over Sind. Also go Sayed's constituency. Do all you can along with other leaders. Am arriving Karachi soon after fifteenth. Will wire exact date arrival later.

M. A. JINNAH

233

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1156)

HAQQANI MANZIL,
BALLIMARAN,
DELHI,
4 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to remind you about what I wrote concerning Alwar in my letter of the 18th October 1946,[1] and the request I made personally at the end of our party meeting held on 27th October.

I am in constant receipt of news from Alwar. The office-bearers of the Alwar State Muslim League have, since I wrote to you last, been proceeded against under Sec. 107, Cr. P.C., on absolutely false allegations that they in their speeches at a public meeting incited the Muslims to arm themselves and attack the Hindus. I was asked whether these gentlemen should refuse to furnish the security demanded and should court imprisonment. I advised them to fight the cases which they are doing. Under the instigation of the officials and with their connivance, the Hindus are organising and arming themselves with lethal weapons, and it is reasonably apprehended that the orgies of Calcutta and Bihar will be repeated in the States of Alwar and Tonk, if timely steps are not taken to prevent them.

Kindly fax as early a date as possible for the Alwar deputation to wait on you, lest it should be too late.[2]

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG
MLA

[1]No. 158.
[2]Jinnah communicated his inability to find the time to meet the deputation from the Alwar State because of his preoccupation with the tragic and heart-rending events in Bihar. See *SHC* (1163). Not printed.

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Indian Welfare and Political Association, Kimberley to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 559/236

P.O. BOX 417,
KIMBERLEY,
4 November 1946

The United Indian community of Kimberley desires to express their sincere feelings of gratitude for your untiring labour in uniting the League with the Congress in the Interim Government. Pray, that efforts would continue to work for cooperation between Congress, League and All India States regardless of party and religion. Coordinate united efforts attainment complete independence.

INDIAN WELFARE AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

235

M. H. Gazdar to Yusuf A. Haroon

F. 576/31
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

KASAR-E-NAZ,
GARDEN LANE,
GANDHI GARDEN,
KARACHI,
4 November 1946

Sir,

The following have filed nominations against me:

1. Dr. A. A. Khan
2. Naseem Tahir
3. Aboobakar Sakhimohamed
4. Ahmed Khatri

No: 3 is actually supported by Hassanali Hoti who is doing open propaganda against me.

Further, Messrs Hatim Alavi, Hoti and Aboobakar have approached G. M. Sayed for financial aid. I can satisfy you on that score.

If the Muslim League prestige and discipline is not to be a farce, I request you to kindly immediately expel Dr. A. A. Khan, Hassanali

Hoti and Hatim Alvi from the League fold.

Yours truly,
M. H. GAZDAR

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/113-4

KARACHI,
5 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to know that I have returned to Sind Assembly unopposed.

I enclose a copy of my letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in connection with the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board about assigning some of the League tickets for the Sind Assembly elections. Do kindly go through it in order to know the real situation here.

I learn you intend coming to Karachi by about the 20th or 21st of this month. My wife and I will be very pleased if you and Miss Jinnah kindly come and stay with us. Our present house is very close to that of Yusuf Haroon and we hope to make your stay quite comfortable here.

I got your telegram[1] this morning. As I was declared unopposed, I decided to tour in Sind and visit such of the constituencies where contest is serious and where my presence to assist the League candidate will be of material help. In view of that, I have already chalked out a programme with effect from 9th evening up to the 20th instant. Again I shall be starting further tour in this connection from 23rd or 24th November. I propose returning to Karachi for 3 or 4 days on the 19th or 20th instant. There are at least 8 or 9 constituencies outside Karachi where the contest is very keen and proper help is needed by the Muslim League candidates. More later on.

With best wishes and regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]See No. 232.

Enclosure to No. 236
M. A. Khuhro to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 365/115-9

CONFIDENTIAL

KARACHI,
5 November 1946

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

I believe you must have by now learnt that Mr. Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, who was given Muslim League ticket for Mirpurkhas constituency of Tharparkar District, has withdrawn from contest and this he has done at the instance of Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, I understand. If you kindly refer to my note which I gave you regarding the various constituencies in Sind at the time when you and your colleagues were in Karachi, you would find that I had expressed strongly against Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri getting the ticket for this constituency. He is a man with no back-bone and with no sense of his own. Mir Ghulam Ali has merely used him to his own advantage to remove his (Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri) another opponent out of his way. The younger brother of Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, named Ghulam Mustafa, who is a great opponent of Muslim League, was returned from this constituency last time. He played a clever trick by filing one nomination paper against Mir Ghulam Ali in Tando Bago constituency and another against his own brother in Mirpurkhas constituency. Mir Ghulam Ali easily succumbed to his threats and persuaded his elder brother Ghulam Rasool who held the League ticket to withdraw in favour of his younger brother, the non-Leaguer. Mir Ghulam Ali also made two other Mirs, namely Mir Allah Bachayo and Mir Imam Bux, to withdraw simultaneously. Had they not withdrawn, it was very easy for anyone of them to win in that constituency, on League ticket. Now there are two weak candidates left against Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri in that constituency, namely Mir Ahmad Khan and Mr. Mohammad Ibrahim. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan has given in writing to Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the President of the Provincial Muslim League, that the League ticket be given to Mir Ahmad Khan owing to the withdrawal of Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri. I have no interest one way or the other and I can't say whether League will win this seat now or lose it. You have this time given at least three tickets against my wish and express opinion in the matter and I had warned you that we would lose these seats. This was one of those three seats. The other constituency was of Mr. Yusuf Chandio and there also Pir Ali Shah, who was not at all a qualified person for

League ticket nor has any influence in the constituency, was given ticket just because Mir Ghulam Ali wanted to clear his own path and send away his opponent somewhere else. Thus, in order to make his (Mir Ghulam Ali) position safe, two seats of the Muslim League which could have been easily won have been lost. Similarly, just to please Honourable Ghulam Hussain, the Premier, by giving his son, Anwar, ticket in Thatta constituency and refusing the same to Mir Maqbul Khan, the sitting member who had been loyal to the League, and discarding the claims of Mr. Sadiq Ali Memon, who was another strong candidate in that constituency, you have almost made the present of that seat to the opposition. It is very difficult, I believe, to win that seat also and by antagonising Mir Maqbul Khan we have lost Mir Maqbul Khan's support in G. M. Sayed's constituency where he wields good influence. I am definitely of the view that this bungling may cost us at least five seats if not more. My object of writing this note is to tell you how the Central Parliamentary Board has been successfully misguided in the grant of tickets in certain constituencies in which Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussain and Mir Ghulam Ali and some other Ministers were interested. This selection has not been fair at all. I am, therefore, afraid that because of these mistakes we might be losing four to five seats and this will naturally result in making the League Assembly Party weak to that extent and it may not again be a strong party.

2. You would be glad to know that five Muslim Leaguers have been returned un-opposed, namely myself, Mrs. Allana, Sayed Miran Mohammad Shah, Rais Ali Mohammad Mari and Nabi Bux Bhutto.

3. I am sending a copy of this note to your two other colleagues, Choudhary Khaliquzzaman and Hon'ble Syed Hossain Imam, and also a copy to Quaid-i-Azam for their information.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Chairman,
Central Parliamentary Board, AIML,
New Delhi

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Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/107

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
5 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before I went on my visit to Bengal and Bihar I spoke to you about summoning your Council with a view to their accepting the [Cabinet Mission's] Statement of May 16th.[1] I hope you will arrange to do this at an early date. I am doubtful myself whether there is any use in holding further discussions, but if you are convinced that some assurance is necessary, would you please let me know what exactly it is? I suggest that it might be a good thing for you to have another talk with Sir B. N. Rau[2] who would, I am sure, be glad to call on you.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[2]Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly of India.

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Mohammad Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F.965/56

[*Original in Urdu*]

VILLAGE SANDA,
P.O. MASAURHI,
DISTRICT PATNA,
6 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Janab President All India Muslim League,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The atrocities being perpetrated on the Muslim population of Patna District have been observed by the General Secretary of All India Muslim League. I am also one of the victims.

Sanda is a village situated two miles to the east of Masaurhi Police Station, with thirty to forty houses of Muslims. On 31 October 1946, at about 3 a.m. four to five thousand Hindu miscreants attacked the Muslim houses. The villagers faced the mob courageously and repulsed them. Later, at about the time of morning prayer, they launched a second attack with a larger force. Malik Bazaut Hussain, under whose leadership Muslims were fighting the enemy (Hindus), was martyred after which the Muslims were discouraged and left the scene of the fray.

Among those who left the village was my brother, Mohammad Maseeh, who came to Ranchi where I was employed in Bal Krishna High School. I learnt from him that my mother had stayed back in the village to guard the dead body of her martyred husband. Since then I know nothing about her. The family of our five brothers lived jointly in the village and it is not known where and in what condition our womenfolk are. Our houses have been completely destroyed causing a loss of rupees forty to fifty thousand to our family alone. I could not visit the village so far as the route to the village is very dangerous. We were counted among big cultivators in the village. All the farm produce, ornaments, and household effects belonging to the five families were left in the house.

You are our leader. As such I thought it appropriate to write to you about our predicament so that safety of life of my mother, who had preferred to look after the dead body of the *Shaheed*, [rather] than save her own life, my be ensured.

As the paddy crop is ready for harvesting, its protection through the police may be arranged, [or] else the surviving children might die of starvation. Our cultivated fields lie both in Sanda and Chishtipur villages.

I will send further information on reaching my village.

Yours,
MOHAMMAD AHSAN
son of Bazaut Hussain

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Interview of M. A. Jinnah by Walt Mason, Correspondent, APA

F.1012/141-2

NEW DELHI,
6 November 1946

Muslim League President, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, declared today he was convinced India's Interim Government "will never work because the differences between Muslims and Hindus are irreconcilable" and that the solution to the problem is Pakistan, an independent Muslim State.

The League entered the Interim National Government because "we had no other choice," Mr. Jinnah told the Associated Press of America in an exclusive interview, adding that "The League Ministers are there as the sentinels of the Musalmans, to protect their interests."

The League President withheld comment about when or whether the League Council would be summoned to revoke the Bombay Resolution[1] adopted last July rescinding the League's previous acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission's Plan for India's independence.

The second phase of the Cabinet Mission Plan–the drafting of a constitution by an Assembly already elected—is scheduled as of now to get under way with the convening of the Assembly on December 9. The League has not yet indicated whether its boycott of the constitution-making body will be withdrawn before that date.[2]

In the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy which led to the appointment of five League-nominated Ministers as against nine by the Congress Party, including representatives of the Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi minorities, the Viceroy said: "Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of the 16th May,[3] I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution." Nothing further was mentioned in the correspondence.

In response to a question, Mr. Jinnah made it plain that he considered there was no agreement on this point between him and Lord Wavell. "Any such assumption would be in error," he commented.

The League President, who has maintained that the only solution to India's independence problem and to the recurrent disorders between Muslims and Hindus is a separate state composed of Muslim majority provinces, said:

> There can never be any peace between the communities so long as they are forced to live together. They will live side by side, they will

walk on the same roads, they will use the same railroads, but the feeling is there nevertheless, and disorders break out at the first opportunity.

Of the current communal troubles afflicting India, he said that "it is regrettable that even a single human life, whether Hindu or Muslim, should be lost", adding that he was certain these out-breaks would cease immediately if there was a division of the country.

"Then the Muslim minority in Hindu majority provinces would know they had to get along with the Hindus, and likewise in the Muslim minority [*sic* for majority] provinces the Hindus would have to get along with the Muslims—or move," he said.

The League President expressed the belief that if Pakistan were achieved, there would be a considerable interchange of populations. "As a matter of fact, I am getting many messages on that very subject even now," he added.

So far as the economic aspects of Pakistan are concerned, his comment was: " Look at your own country. Do not Canada, the United States and Mexico get along well commercially? Then what is the problem in India? There is no problem economically."

Matters of trade and exchange of goods could be settled amicably by treaties, Mr. Jinnah concluded, saying he had no doubt that Pakistan would prosper. APA.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 561-6.
[2]See ibid., 405-6.
[3]Appendix I.20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.

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Mohammad Abdul Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/25

[*Original in Urdu*]

ARRAH,
DISTRICT SHAHABAD,
BIHAR,
6 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, may you live long,

You might have received information of the carnage and cruelty perpetrated on the Muslims, through letters, telegrams and newspapers. Abdur Rab Nishtar and Liaquat Ali Khan might have also informed you about the heart-rending events seen by them. I

need not add to it. All that has happened in Bihar and is likely to happen is due to false propaganda by the Congress leadership of which you are well aware.

I believe that Muslims of Bihar, though only 13%, are a significant force that can turn the tables if properly guided by you. The cruelty meted out to Muslim children and women and the destruction of Muslim villages is to be seen to be believed. They are facing these ordeals with great patience. The Muslims of Hindu-dominated provinces strongly feel that you should convince Wavell to act humanely and justly towards the Muslims, and arrange for their migration to Bengal, Punjab or U.P. He may also be assured that the Muslims would never forget his kindness.

You might recall that the last Prophet (PBUH) had also migrated and the success he achieved thereafter is well-known.

The Hindus have decided to destroy the Muslim minority completely. Rest assured that God will protect us but we have to think about the ways and means and act upon them ourselves.

In conclusion, I hope that I have conveyed my views clearly.

MOHAMMAD ABDUL QADIR
Salaar-i-'Ala,
District Muslim League

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Rifat Ullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/134

INTIKHAB MANZIL,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
6 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

All the harrowing accounts of cold-blooded murder of the Muslims and the looting of their property in Bihar Province should be collected and published in a book form. These books should be distributed freely in England and America so that the public of these two countries may know what is happening in India. It should be brought out in your report that this general massacre of Muslims has taken place with the connivance and direct and indirect help of the Congress

leaders from Gandhi downwards.

Mr. Sinha prepared the ground for this drama weeks beforehand. In defence and justification of the coming events, he wrote to the Viceroy that communal strife should be stopped in Noakhali, otherwise they will have repercussions in Bihar. When the Hindus started wholesale massacre of the Muslims, the Prime Minister did nothing to stop it. The police and the magistracy, under the command of the Hindu minister, did not raise even their little finger to check the excesses of the Hindus.

To sum up : i. Propaganda of events in Bihar should be carried out on extensive scale in foreign countries. It will be better if this move is kept secret and the Hindus do not come [to] know about it until the book has reached its destination and its readers get the first impression about the atrocities committed by the Hindus.

ii. Mean tactics and machinations of the Congress leaders should be fully exposed.

iii. Evidence should be collected to prove that riots in Calcutta were also engineered by the Hindus and that Noakhali incidents had been purposely magnified a hundred times by the Congress press to discredit the Ministry of Bengal, inflame the Hindus against the Muslims wherever the latter are in minority, and retain the portfolio of the Home Department so that the police and the magistracy and other district authorities may remain under the thumb of a Hindu minister, viz. Mr. Patel, and may not be able to render any help to the Muslims in their hour of need.

By religion, tradition, culture and rigid caste system, the Hindus are temperamentally incapable of giving a fair deal to the minorities. The only solution of all these ills and evils is Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
RIFAT ULLAH

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V. Veeraswamy to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1159)

TRICHINO POLY,
6 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with a high sense of gratitude and homage to you, the accredited

leader of the ten million Muslims of this country, I write this letter to pay my humble meed of tribute and heartfelt thanks to you for your broad-mindedness by having so generously sacrificed a high office on the Interim Government from the quota of five seats allotted to the League. The Scheduled-Caste people did not expect such a great boon as the nomination to the Interim Government by you of a Scheduled-Caste member working under the banner of the All India Scheduled-Caste Federation and a humble and faithful follower of our leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. But we were all sure and certain that you and your selfless followers would put up a fight against the caste-ridden Congress to protect our rights and improve our lot both in the society and in the body politic. The nomination of Mr. J. N. Mandal to the Interim Government by the Muslim League has been a great surprise to the general public and has given a rude shock to the Congress leaders and their peers. They accused the League saying that the League [had] entered the Interim Government not to cooperate but to dissociate with the Congress nominees, not to maintain peace and order but to intensify the already existing confusion and chaos by conducting an internal fight in the Interim Government.

What is more surprising and regrettable than anything else is that Mahatma Gandhi was the first man to condemn your generosity. He has proved that Dr. Ambedkar's accusation, "Mr. Gandhi is the worst enemy of the untouchables," is a truth. He could not act otherwise because he is a Hindu.

The British Cabinet Mission and the Wavell-Gandhi-Congress combination had done an unpardonable and unforgettable injustice to such a great and ancient community as the Scheduled-Castes have been by ignoring their just demands and by the inclusion in the Interim Government of a Harijan, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, [who is] no less [an] enemy than an orthodox Caste-Hindu to the Scheduled-Caste people.

Now the Muslim League's nomination of Mr. J. N. Mandal, a true representative of the Scheduled Caste Federation, is a great solace to us and has served as compensation for the wrong done [to] us by the British Government and the Brahmin-*Bania* dominated Congress.

We look forward to a bright future and a respectable place in the national life of the sub-continent. This will be quite possible provided we, seven crores of the untouchables, embrace Islam as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar indicated in London and Mr. [J. N.] Mandal at New Delhi meeting.

Once again paying my humble respects to you and the members

of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, I conclude this letter.

With humblest regards,

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours faithfully,
V. VEERASWAMY
Secretary,
The Dr. Ambedkar Students' Home

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M. Abdulla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/505

18 EDWARDS ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 November 1946

Dear Sir,

BIHAR RELIEF FUND

In response to your call for contributions towards the above Fund inaugurated under your personal supervision, we enclose herein a cheque for rupees five hundred only (Rs.500) towards this Fund, which may please be acknowledged.

Humanity is shocked at the barbarous atrocities committed in Bihar and the perpetrators and more than them the instigators of these dastardly crimes deserve the severest punishment. The blood of the Muslims at this end is boiling with rage and the Muslims long to march to Bihar to protect the oppressed, suppressed and outnumbered brethren there and to avenge the sufferings of the Muslims on the brute Bihari *goondas* and their patrons and instigators let loose on humanity by the Congress—the preachers of *Ahimsa* [non-violence]. A signal from you is awaited very anxiously.

Yours faithfully,
M. ABDULLA
Proprietor,
M. Nur-ud-din & Sons

PS. We might venture to say that perhaps the selection of Mr. Firoz Khan Noon as leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party here might be valuable at this stage.

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Secretary, Begusarai Muslim League, to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/27

P.O. BEGUSARAI, MONGHYR, [BIHAR,]
7 November 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I, on behalf of the Muslims of this place, beg to place the following points for your immediate consideration:

a. That the happenings of East Bengal have brought a great reprisal in the Province of Bihar and the life of each and every Muslim is in danger. Although the Congress people are doing their best to afford all possible protection to the Muslims, still their voice does not count [for] much with the masses. There have been no doubt several instances in which Hindus have saved a large number of Muslims at their personal risk.
b. That the happenings of East Bengal should be checked immediately if you think that the Muslim population is to be saved from complete destruction.
c. That the public statement of Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan[1] has added fuel to the flames, and this is badly standing in the way of peace since the Hindus, after this statement, say that the mass conversion in East Bengal was organised [as] official policy of the Muslim League.

We, therefore, pray that you should do all in your power to stop lawlessness in Bengal if you have the least care for the protection of the Muslim community of Bihar Province.

With best regards,

Yours affectionately,
[UNSIGNED]
Secretary,
Begusarai Muslim League

[1]While addressing the students of Islamia College, Lahore, Mr Ghazanfar Ali had, *inter alia*, stated that the Muslim League had joined the Interim Govt. to get a foothold to fight for achieving Pakistan. See Enclosure to No. 483, *TP*, VIII, 756.

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Mohammad Qasim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/28

P.O. SIWAN, DIST. SARAN,
7 November 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I represent the Muslims of Siwan Subdivision of [District] Saran in the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

The Musalmans are in a hopeless minority in this Sub-division and are scattered throughout its length and breadth in the midst of an overwhelming Hindu population. An organised Muslim massacre was set afoot on the 25th October in Chapra and Hindu mobs attacked Musalmans in the rural areas also and murdered them in cold blood and committed arson and looted their properties. This state of affairs is still continuing and the situation in Chapra Sadar Subdivision is far from satisfactory. This event has naturally caused great alarm to the Muslims of this Subdivision and they have become panicky and are expecting Hindu mob attacks on them any moment. It seems to me that the Hindus are doing these things in pursuance of a set plan of wiping out Muslims in Bihar and they will not spare [*sic*] their cruel designs from being executed on us. The local authorities have not made any arrangements for the general protection of Muslims' lives and properties in the Subdivision in spite of the fact that it is in their knowledge that the Hindus are aggressors in all cases in the recent occurrences throughout Bihar.

In view of the situation, I and the Subdivisional Muslim League advised the Musalmans in the Subdivision to keep up their nerves, organise themselves in self-defence and prepare themselves against any Hindu mob attacks and face and bear with calm all the consequences.

With all the precaution on the part of Muslims, the communal disturbance at last started and an innocent Muslim was murdered in cold blood on the public road while proceeding to his village home in broad daylight. But the authorities have deliberately suppressed this event and in spite of it have taken no measures to requisition armed forces to protect the Muslim lives and properties in the rural areas.

On the 28th October 1946, the Subdivisional Officer passed

the following orders. "In view of the emergent situation in the country it is necessary to order that all private individuals in Siwan town possessing arms shall return these arms with the licences and cartridges immediately. You are, therefore, hereby ordered to return the same at once to me for deposit until further order." Thereupon the Subdivisional Muslim League represented before the Subdivisional authorities that the aforesaid orders should be withdrawn and [that] the arms should not be seized as the Musalmans in the town were in a minority and there were no arrangements to protect their lives and properties against the depredations of the Hindu mobs, as evidenced in the happenings at Chapra and elsewhere. The matter was thereupon discussed in the Siwan Town Peace Committee, the Muslim members whereof opposed the enforcement of the order vehemently on the aforesaid grounds *en bloc*. It is significant that the Hindu members of the Committee strongly supported the seizure of firearms. In the end the Subdivisional Officer who presided over the meeting justified the order on the ground that in case there was a mob attack on the town, and firearms and licence [*sic*] fired at the mob, there was every danger of the fact that the armed guard posted in the town might get scared and might not use his arms against the mob. I pleaded that in August 1942, there had been cases of theft of firearms in innumerable cases and firearms were being fully used in dacoities in this part of the country since then invariably. There was every likelihood, nay even strong probability, that the mob might use guns, as they had done in Chapra, and the inadequate armed police contingent might fail to disperse them, if the individual licensees are deprived of their firearms, the only effective means of protection from the attacks of desperate hooligans and looters. The matter was thereafter dropped for a few days. But the S.D.O. could not persuade himself to see the reasonableness of the above argument and held on 1.11.46 that the orders would stand.

[*Six paras containing copies of letters exchanged omitted*]

During my talks with the Subdivisional Officer and the Deputy Superintendent of Police, I had urged upon them that they should requisition Muslim forces for the town and the interior, and the Hindu armed forces were not expected to be impartial and just in the execution of their duties [since] they had openly sided with the Hindu hooligans in disturbances elsewhere, and in that case alone I was prepared to see my way to agree to the enforcement of the S.D.O.'s order of surrendering arms. But they did not pay any attention to the request. Within the last few days, you will be pained to know

that many attempts have been made by Hindu mobs to surround the villages in the vicinity of the town, but, thank God, vigilance on the part of the Musalmans and persuasion by some sensible Hindus have frustrated their nefarious designs. We are thus living in a state of perpetual danger from all sides, and do not understand what to do. The Hindu officials have disarmed us and the higher authorities do not pay any heed to our request and appeal and they have not even the courtesy to favour me with a reply to my telegram.

It will not be out of place to mention that in Patna town, where there have been a number of cases of stabbing and killing and in whose neighbouring villages Hindu mobs are making attacks on defenceless Muslims, the order for seizure of firearms passed by the City Magistrate has after a careful review of the entire position been withdrawn by the District Magistrate. This position has also been brought to the notice of the local authorities but to no effect.

I would, therefore, request you to take a serious view of the matter and see to it that the firearms of Muslims in Siwan town are restored to them. I have already telegraphically requested Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan to intervene in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M[OHAMMA]D QASIM
MLA

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Khurshid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/215-8
[*Original in Urdu*]

RAMPUR,
7 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The recent news of the tyrannies against the Muslims of Bihar has been grieving the heart of every Muslim. Islamic fervour recognised by the whole world is dead now. You are observing the whole situation silently without raising a voice in sympathy. Hindu leaders are trying to organize the Hindus against the Muslims although they are in the wrong. However, a stupid person cannot understand the language of reason and we have

to pay them in their own coin. It is reported that the Hindu leaders have been threatened by the Pathans of N.W.F.P. Reacting to this threat, Gandhijee resorted to the expedient of a hunger strike. The Hindus have failed to compete with the Muslims and have suffered heavy losses in every encounter. The Muslims of Bombay, Ahmadabad, and Dacca, and especially of Calcutta, were the victims of Hindu atrocities but neither you nor Congress leaders visited those areas. On the other hand, minor excesses by the Muslims of Noakhali have resulted in hectic visits by Congress leaders, even by the Viceroy himself. They have nevertheless taken revenge on Muslims in Bihar. After the atrocities have been committed, condemnation by Jawaharlal Nehru or Gandhi would not dry the tears of Muslims. For God's sake, take some precautionary measures and guide us and make a scheme for collecting donations. Do not forget Pakistan. National Government is a farce that is going to be finished soon. Tell your malicious enemies that Noakhali does not present the real picture of Pakistan, rather it is the result of their provocative speeches. The true picture of Pakistan can be seen in the history of Muslim emperors and from the example of present Indian Muslim States while the Hindu States present the picture of *Akhand* Hindustan.

Your servant,
KHURSHID

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Rafiul Haque & Others to Deputy Commissioner, Dibrugarh
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)
SHC, Assam I/179

TINSUKIA,
7 November 1946

It was the day of *'Id Mubarak*. All the Muslims were enjoying the festival with peace and order.

A mob of about 1,000 non-Muslim *goondas* led by some of their leaders, armed with varieties of deadly weapons carried in motor trucks, suddenly attacked the residence of Mr. B. Ali Hazarika, President of the All India Railways Muslim Employees League, B. A. [Bengal and Assam] Railway Tinsukia Branch (an Assamese local gentleman of the Tinsukia town), at about 3p.m. (local) on

5.11.46, assuming that he slaughtered a cow in aid [*sic*] of *Qurbani*.

In spite of sending some representatives, including two members of the Tinsukia Peace Committee, to look inside [*sic*] the actual position, a party from the *goondas* numbering nearly sixty forcibly entered into the compound and searched the whole things [*sic*] thoroughly if anything could be proved so as to find the clue for taking revenge against [*sic*] the Noakhali disturbances.

After a thorough and forcible search, it was evidently proved that no cow was slaughtered but a *Khashi* (goat) only. Still the mob in various ways urged Mr. Hazarika and a few other Muslims present on the spot to defend against them [*sic*] on the subject. But to our luck, through various efforts, the mob leaders were convinced to turn up [*sic*] from the spot when they gave [*sic*] an armed procession on motor trucks throughout the town....

Beside[s] these, there were so many unpleasant things during the procession.

It is, therefore, requested to pursue this case and arrange to take necessary steps against the criminals so that there may not arise any further troubles.

NAWAB RAFIUL HAQUE
AND OTHERS

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M. Mahmud Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 563/1

SHILLONG,
7 November 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to submit herewith a report on the present situation in the Province on the eve of the impending evictions of immigrants by the Congress Government of Assam, for favour of your kind information and doing the needful.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHMUD ALI
General Secretary,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 248

F. 563/2-5

No sooner [had] the Congress Ministry under the premiership of Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi assumed charge of Government in the Province [than] they launched a campaign of exterminating the immigrant settlers, who had cleared the jungles [and] reclaimed and brought under cultivation a large portion of the vast cultivable waste lands in the Province, by evicting them from their land.

The atrocities of the Congress Government on the immigrants consequent upon the inhuman eviction policy appeared in the various newspapers from time to time throughout India which I need not recount here once again.

Failing [in] all efforts to prevent the Government of Assam from following its eviction policy, the Assam Provincial Muslim League Council met at Barpeta (where, in the meanwhile, mass eviction had started) on 28.4.46 and, in view of the situation then prevailing, sought the permission of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League to launch Direct Action against the Government policy. The Congress Government went on with their nefarious task of evicting the immigrants, forcibly demolishing their houses as many times as they were erected, destroying, attacking and seizing their crops, depriving them of all facilities due to common citizens, forcibly employing the prominent amongst the immigrants as Special Police[1] and prosecuting some of them for trespass and theft for no more than the offence of living in their own houses and harvesting crop from the land cultivated by their own hard labour.

The Relief Committee set up by the Assam Provincial Muslim League did its best to give relief to the destitute evictees. The Provincial Muslim League started a Relief Camp at Muamari in Mangaldai Sub-division and rendered medical and other relief to 866 evicted families of Bagpari, Hatipari, Kharpari and Missamari, the so-called Professional Grazing Reserves.

Although the Government announced by a communique on May 18, 1946, to suspend [*sic* for suspension of] the operation of the eviction policy during the monsoon, yet the eviction continued up to the 24th June 1946 in spite of repeated representations by us to the Ministry and the Governor of Assam that the Government declaration was not being followed up.

Anyhow, the evictions were suspended on the 24th June 1946. But the prosecution of the evictees went on unhampered. The evictees harvested their crops then on the field against all odds and consequently a

large number of them were prosecuted and are now undergoing trials. The number of cases instituted is well over 1,200. The Muslim League, of course, are defending the cases and might succeed in getting acquittal for some of the prosecuted persons. It is over three months that [*sic* for since] the operation of the eviction policy was suspended. During this period, all the evicted persons, as advised by the Assam Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, re-constructed their demolished houses and cultivated the land under their possession and have produced food crops in large quantities.

The Government of Assam have once again declared their intention to bring into operation their eviction policy from the middle of this month. They are not only determined to clear the so-called Grazing Reserves of the immigrants but also have served notice on other immigrant settlers on '*Khas*' land of the Government to quit within three months from 15.10.46. Otherwise, they would be forcibly evicted.

Mr. Wahidur Roza, a member of All India Muslim League Council from Assam, and I have just returned from a fortnight's tour of the evicted areas and some other parts of the lower Assam district. The purpose of the tour was to see at first hand how the people would behave in case the evictions were started as declared by the Congress Government of Assam.

I found the people feel very strongly about it and the attempt to evict the immigrants would meet with [*sic* for lead to] serious consequences.

The Government also seems to be not unaware of it.

The indigenous Assamese Hindus have, of late, also been roused against the immigrants by the Congress.

[With] the incentive gained from this attitude of the Congress, coupled with the communal tension prevailing in the country, the Hindus appear to be on the readiness for attack simultaneously with the launching of eviction.

As matters stand now, in Barpeta Subdivision, 4,600 immigrant families who have settled in Pakabetbari, Theka, Koimari, Mandia, Gobindapur, Kanara, Fulara, Menisimla and Khela Reserves; in Mangaldai Subdivision, 989 immigrant families who have settled in Bagpari, Kharpari, Hatipari and Missamari Reserves; in Gauhati Subdivision, over 600 families who have settled in Bhanganmari, Pukripar, Malibari and Makali Reserves will face the hardship and miseries of eviction as soon as the same is started by the Government of Assam. Besides, 1,100 more families in Muamari and about 200 more families in Gedarimari Government waste land area in Mangaldai Subdivision and about the

same number of families in Government waste land areas in Barpeta Subdivision have been served with notice to quit within three months from 15.10.46 or face forcible eviction thereafter.

From the statement of Mr. B. R. Medhi, Revenue Minister of Assam, it appears to be certain that the Government would carry out their eviction policy at any cost. If that be so, and in all probabilities [*sic*] that is going to be so, a clash is inevitable with its disastrous consequences. Assam has so far been immune from Hindu-Muslim disturbances as prevalent in other parts of India. But the launching of evictions is bound to serve as a signal for troubles throughout the length and breadth of the Province which none would be able to prevent.

Recent experience of evictions has proved, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the immigrants can undergo any amount of hardship with fortitude and strength and no power on earth can dispose them of from their holdings without exterminating them from the world. Moreover, these hapless people have no other place to go under the sun after being evicted. If, in spite of this obvious fact, attempts are made to disturb them, the result would be as I have stated above.

Besides, there is food shortage all over India and it is doubtful whether Assam, a surplus Province, would be able to meet her own requirements due to the heavy damage done to crops by the recent floods in some parts of the Province.

In view of the grave issues of far–reaching consequences involving all the peoples of India, I strongly feel that it is a fit case for the Interim Government to intervene and set matters right before it becomes too late.

Submitted by,

M. MAHMUD ALI
General Secretary,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

[1]Prominent persons were conscripted by the Government of Assam into what was termed 'Special Police,' ostensibly to help maintain law and order but in reality to degrade them.

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Qazi M. Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/150-2

2 LYTTON ROAD,
QUETTA,
7 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just completed a very long and complete tour of the tribal areas of this Province. Along with me were about forty workers of the League, representatives of *'Ulama,* National Guards and Muslim Students' Federation. Our publicity van was decorated with League flags, mottoes and loudspeaker. It was one of the most complete part[ies] in every sense; we had our own doctor, our own mechanic, our own poets and our own reciters. It was a self-contained convoy which adhered strictly to its programme. Now I can with courage say: Quaid-i-Azam, pick any town or village in my Province and I shall take you [there] without any preparation and [you will] see for yourself how deep the League message has penetrated. Unfortunately this Province has no paper to flash our activities; thus we get no publicity for what we do, and sometimes even our well-wishers think we are doing nothing but my people know our work. I am so proud of the masses here that I can say we have the real selfless League workers. I can offer them inducement, either of elections, seats in the Assembly, or [of] District Boards, or even [of] any other committees or sub-committees. You wanted our Province to become politically wide-awake, now we are wide-awake, and we refuse to be treated as we have been treated so far for more than half a century. We expect the Centre to do us justice now. We have neither Assembly nor Council to redress our grievances therein; therefore, we look to the Centre. It is rumoured that an advisory committee for Baluchistan is going to be appointed—the committee will be composed of the nominees of the League, the local Congress and the *Jirga.* I strongly object to this combination, especially to the inclusion of the Congress. The recent Quetta Municipal elections proved that the Congress could not return a single Muslim on its ticket, and as for the rest of the Province, if general elections cannot be arranged soon, then let there be a test election. Let the Congress choose any district in the Province. The League and the Congress will fight a test election. Whoever wins shall speak for the Province. I request you to see to it that no unjust arrangement is

imposed on us. The local branch of the Congress can, if it so wishes, speak for the minorities, if the minorities agree to it. I have crushed the Congress and I cannot accept it as an equal co-sharer with the League. I have written to Liaquat about this also. We have certain other grievances, which we expect our members would help us to remove. We have been bearing the brunt of the Centre so far and now since we have, to a great extent, a benevolent Centre, we do not want to be treated as a backward and forgotten Province. Our business-men have their grievances, our Musalmans in service have theirs, [and] the poor peasants have theirs. The local officials are very unsympathetic. Something must be done. A man is imposed on us to represent us at the Constituent Assembly who is illiterate and cannot even write a line of Urdu, yet nothing has been done about it. My people come and worry me and I do not know what to tell them. Something must be done about this; under no circumstances are we going to accept this man to represent us at the Constituent Assembly.

I do hope you are in the best of health. My regards to Miss Jinnah.

Yours as ever,
ISA

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Ghulam Dastagir Khan Nishat to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/113

[*Original in Urdu*]

USMANPURA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
8 November 1946

Allaho Akbar! Pakistan Zindabad

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending this letter to you at a very critical juncture when evil forces have waged a war against Muslims. The news of Muslim killings in Patna and other places in Bihar is heart-rending. It is a challenge for ten crore Muslims of India which we are prepared to face under your guidance. We will revive the history of bravery of our ancestors and defeat the enemy despite our limited resources and poverty.

We cannot rest peacefully till the account of the blood of our Muslim brothers has been settled. I would request you to announce

the observance of an All India Bihar Day in memory of innocent Muslims who lost their lives.

May God give you good health and victory in your struggle for the good of Muslims,

Your loyal servant,
GHULAM DASTAGIR KHAN NISHAT

Note. In response to your appeal I am busy collecting donations which would be sent to Habib Bank very soon.

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Anjuman-i-Mufidul Yatama to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/519

[*Original in Urdu*]

MADANPURA,
BOMBAY 8,
8 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, may you live for ever!

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We are greatly aggrieved over the horrible and countless atrocities being committed on the Muslims of minority provinces. In response to your appeal,[1] the students of Anjuman-i-Mufidul Yatama have pooled their *'idi* and collected donations from teachers and employees of this Anjuman, amounting to rupees twenty-five. This amount has been sent through money order to the Agent, Habib Bank Ltd., Chandni Chowk, Delhi, so that you may help the oppressed people and also express your grief at the treatment meted out to them.

Always at your beck and call,

[UNSIGNED]
Teachers and Students of
Anjuman-i-Mufidul Yatama

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 251

APPEAL BY M. A. JINNAH[1]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 6.— "The titanic and gruesome tragedy in

Bihar and the serious happenings in some other parts of India, of brutal killing and outrageous destruction of property has resulted in thousands, who have survived, being maimed and wounded, homeless men, women and children flying in different directions," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in a statement.

"I need not go into the details of sufferings that are involved, but at this moment all our efforts should be concentrated on law and order, peace and tranquillity.

"In the meantime, thousands of suffering brethren and sisters must be helped and every possible effort should be made to give them relief that is necessary. So, in the name of humanity, I appeal to everybody to send me your contributions for this relief work without delay. Bihar is the worst and most appalling tragedy and I propose immediately to set up a responsible relief committee, which would undertake this work of rescuing, protecting and making all possible arrangements for the refugees and the homeless.

"It is hardly for me to emphasise the immediate and urgent necessity of this work. I, therefore, thought fit to appeal for all-India funds, because no single province or part of India will be able to cope with it by their individual or collective effort, having regard to the enormity which we are confronted with.

"I have opened an account with the Agent, Habib Bank Limited, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, with my personal humble donation of Rs. 5,000.

"I most earnestly appeal to every one to make his or her contribution and send the money direct to the Agent, Habib Bank Limited, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, in cash, by cheque, money order, postal order, draft, etc. and obtain a proper receipt from the Bank for whatever amount be sent. I shall supervise this fund and give out such amounts as may be necessary to the committee or committees that may be appointed, which I have no doubt will appoint reliable and trustworthy agents for the purpose.

"I have read in the press the statement of Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Premier of the Central Provinces, resenting my reference that the Muslims were being harassed in the Central Provinces.

"My allegation is based on reliable and responsible sources of information and not intended, as Mr. Shukla tries to make out, for propaganda purposes. Mr. Shukla and some Congress leaders unfortunately always judge others by their own standards. His statement shows ignorance of, or indifference to, what is happening in his province.

"I do not wish to stoop to the offensive and aggressive tone that

he has adopted in his statement. I may draw his attention specifically to what has already taken place—and it is not merely harassment—in Jubbulpore, Amraoti, Badnera and Katni, and the Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore and authorities in Amraoti have been apprised of attacks upon unarmed Muslims, which have already resulted in some deaths and injuries."—A.P.I.

[1]The *Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 November 1946.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/127

VIA AIR MAIL

WALDORF HOTEL,
NEW YORK 22,
8 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since I last wrote to you we have made satisfactory progress. I shall record it briefly hereunder:

i. We have met top representatives of *Reuters, A.P., U.P., Amasia, New York Times, Herald Tribune* and British News Agency, amongst others.
ii. We have held several conferences with Muslim political workers in New York and we plan to establish an Information Bureau in New York from which Muslim news will be served to the U.S. public who are bound to get more and more interested in our problem and our case.
iii. Held a largely attended conference with Muslim students from in and around New York. Talked for three hours, gave them the latest news and gunpowder for propaganda—I mean telling the true state of affairs in India to everyone they meet. Each youngster will be the League's ambassador in the U.S.A.
iv. Held a successful press conference at the Waldorf yesterday noon. The influential press and news agencies were present. The conference lasted one hour and forty minutes. We answered a carload of questions and dispelled the fog from the brains of most of those present. I am enclosing a cutting[1] from the *New York Times*. Our enemies, and even our friends, are wondering how so much space was given to us. *The* [*New York*] *Times*, like

the *Herald Tribune,* has very little space for India—and has had no space so far, for Muslim India.

v. Begum Shah Nawaz addressed a very influential gathering of the M.R.A. [Moral Re-Armament] Group last evening and made quite a hit. Everyone present confessed that they were not at all aware of the true conditions in India and were so far the victims of one-sided propaganda.

vi. We are dining with the Ogden Reid family tonight.

vii. We are lunching with the Salsburgers, the owners of the *New York Times,* on Monday.

viii. Begum Shah Nawaz is addressing a big gathering of ladies at the Ladies' Club on Monday.

ix. We have contacted the Iranian Delegation.

x. We shall be seeing [Ernest] Bevin[2], [James F.] Byrnes[3] and possibly [V.M.] Molotov[4].

xi. We are trying to obtain an audience with President Truman. We shall know definitely early next week.

xii. We attended the *'Id* prayer and lunched at the Muslim Club on *'Id* day. I spoke for 45 minutes and my colleague, for over an hour.

xiii. I am having printed a booklet with the title, *The Case of Muslim India,* and I shall distribute it far and wide in the U.S.A. Every Senator, every Member of the lower House [of Representatives], every delegate and Secretary attending the U.N. will be sent a copy of this publication.

xiv. We are leaving New York on a tour of the Middle-West and the West on the 16th instant. We shall speak, broadcast and give interviews.

xv. We will throw a farewell reception at the Waldorf to friends on the eve of our departure which is scheduled for the 29th of November.

I assure you that we are not sparing ourselves in carrying out your commands. We want to make our trip a success—a success from the point of view of service to our nation.

Believe me, we have made at least a few in this country conscious of the fact that the Congress does not represent the 100 million Muslims of India. Mrs. [Vijayalaxmi] Pandit, J. J. Singh and the rest of them are very sore. We have cut down most of their tall trees. We have exposed their game. We have put the case of Muslim India for the first time before the American public.

The Indian Delegation to the U. N. threw a party two nights ago to a lot of people. Naturally, we were not asked, fearing that we would

not fail to take advantage and spread "poison" amongst the foreign delegates. Don't worry, we shall get them somehow!

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your] self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2-4]British Foreign Secretary, US Secretary of State, and the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, respectively.

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Syed Abdul Manan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/209-10

[*Original in Urdu*]

DITYA STATE,
8 November 1946

Respected President of AIML,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thank God that no written orders have so far been issued against Syed Ainuddin, the *Dewan* of Ditya State, and other Muslim office-bearers of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, and the matter is still with the Political Department.[1] The allegation against the *Dewan* and the office-bearers of the Anjuman is that they conspired in the desecration of a temple. The Hindus observed a strike on 6.11.1946 and also for two days earlier on. The Muslims, who are poor and uneducated, are only four per cent of the population, and are being oppressed by the Hindus. Efforts are also on to get rid of the small number of educated Muslims by putting them to sword or converting them to Hindu religion. There is every possibility of riots being initiated by the Hindus. Trade is not in the hands of Muslims. The Hindu population will, it is understood, be supplied foodgrains surreptitiously. The Muslims are being forced to close their shops of tailoring, grocery and shoes. They are tolerating the repression of Hindus and are not in a position to arrange for their foodstuff. The situation worsened on 7th when *Dewan* Ainuddin also tendered his resignation. The Muslims are now without a leader. The Hindus have succeeded in their scheme of making Muslims *das* (slaves). There is a rumour that a Sikh is being appointed *Dewan*.

I will keep you informed of the events in future.

Yours faithfully,
SYED ABDUL MANAN
General Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Islamia

[1]Department of the Government of India, dealing with the Indian States, directly under the Crown Representative assisted by his Political Adviser.

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Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/43

3 SOUTH END ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
9 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was pained to hear that you accused my husband of intriguing against Mamdot and as proof of the unimpeachable evidence you mentioned to him the letters which I wrote to you from Kulu at a time when he happened to be in Bombay for '*Id* after *Ramazan*.

This does not encourage me to write to you ever again in that open and frank way on matters which I think you ought to know.

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

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S. Q. Hoda to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/532-3

SAMASTIPUR,
BIHAR,
9 November 1946

Dear Sir,

In obedience to your pathetic appeal, the Sub-Divisional Muslim League, [Samastipur,] has deposited Rs. 1,300 with the Imperial Bank [of India] to be transmitted to Habib Bank, Chandni Chowk, Delhi,

for crediting it to Bihar Relief Fund. Hence this letter by way of information.

It is further requested that, if possible, a branch of the Habib Bank may kindly be directed to be opened in Patna, so that transactions may easily be made.

I may further be permitted to add that the majority community in Bihar has decided to wipe out the minority community altogether today or hereafter. If arson, loot or killing has been stopped today with the help of the military and British bayonets, what arrangements or precautions are being made for safeguarding the lives and properties of the Muslims in future? What guarantee is there that if the British force is withdrawn, the Muslims will be immune and free from all sorts of anxieties from the minds of the Hindus [*sic*]. The hostility, arson, loot and killing are temporarily suspended and not for ever in Bihar.

The Province of Bihar has given its quota of blood, nay more than its quota, for the attainment of Pakistan, which has become an article of faith with the Muslims. You have already got first-hand information through Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar about Bihar tragedy and the condition of the Muslims.

One thing which I may be permitted to add is that many Muslim ladies have been placed in different *Anathala* started by the Hindus for keeping them, taken by forced abduction, seduction or in other ways. Many innocent children have been forcibly converted to Hinduism. What steps should be taken to re-convert them and obtain them. These are the questions which are very uppermost in the mind of the Muslims of Bihar. Although we are safe today seemingly, we do not know what will happen the next day. We are passing sleepless nights and are quite upset and do not know what to do. We have faith in God.

Any useful suggestion for our safety may kindly be communicated.

Hoping to be favoured early,

Yours sincerely,
S. Q. HODA
President, Samastipur Sub-Division ML

Jinnah addressing an all-tribal jirga at Government House, Peshawar
17 April 1948

Jinnah with sister Fatima on way to Olympic games at Karachi
April 1948

Jinnah and Fatima with
Begum and Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola

Jinnah with Fatima arriving at the Constituent Assembly
14 August 1947

Jinnah with Egyptian leaders at Cairo airport
December 1946

Jinnah with members of AIML Working Committee in Bombay
1943

Jinnah and Chundrigar with a delegation from Kathiawar

Jinnah and Fatima with some ladies

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Mohammed Burhanulhaq to Ravi Shankar Shukla (Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, C. P. & Berar II/91

JUBBULPORE, C. P.,
9 November 1946

On the sympathetic statement of Quaid-i-Azam, which he has broadcast in connection with the tyranny and unmanly treatment given to the Muslims of the minority provinces, advising them to be patient, your passing adverse remarks thereon have tried to save C. P. from that blot.

Agreeing to the fact that no actual riot burst out in Jubbulpore, your Government did not issue any press note etc. refuting the message broadcast some days ago by the All India Radio that they received information from Jubbulpore that in Saugor, which is 150 miles away from Jubbulpore, riot broke out and four men were killed. This should be the reason that Jubbulpore was mentioned.

However, Quaid-i-Azam has clearly named Amraoti and Badnera and after adding Saugor may I dare to say that C. P. cannot be left un-blotted [*sic*]. How mercilessly Muslims have been massacred in these places you must be aware of. In Jubbulpore, Katni, and specially in villages where the Muslims are in hopeless minority, it is being tried that they should not live peacefully. In schools and colleges where few Muslim students are studying, Hindu students with the help of Hindu professors freely tried to create troubles with taunting languages[*sic*]. A responsible man of your status cannot be left uninformed of this. In Jubbulpore and Katni, on public platforms, at Hindu mass gatherings, fiery speeches were delivered on loud-speakers fixed on *tongas*, Muslims were abused in public streets in Jubbulpore. On this, the police and judicial authorities in Jubbulpore have promulgated Section 144 of Cr. P. C. in time. To add to this the sensible and peace-loving influential Muslims and Hindus also stood in the right hour [*sic*] and did try their level best to maintain peace and order, but emphatically I must point out that your Government did not, uptill now, issue any orders to punish the agitators who openly tried their level best to outburst [*sic*] a riot to play *holi* with Muslim blood, as one and all they are Hindus. In this connection, I would like to refer to my letter to Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra dated 21.10.1946.

In the end may I ask you whether you still doubt the truthfulness of the Quaid-i-Azam's statement?

M. BURHANULHAQ
MLA

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L. C. Samant to M. A. Jinnah

F. 927/132

CHEERA BAZAR,
BOMBAY,
9 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not know whether you will like a letter from me. But the time is very critical. The country is in the throes of civil strife. And anarchy is engulfing the whole country. Hence I think [it] is high time for every sensible person to set himself to the task of finding out ways and means of bringing back peace and tranquillity to our unfortunate country. Let me assure you that in my this attempt I am not trying to apportion blame. Nor will I fix up guilt. And much less will I touch the controversial political issues. I have ceased to aspire for politics. Because politics and sin in India have become interchangeable and inseparable.

Cannot the present vicious circle of communal fanaticism and counter-communal fanaticism be stopped? And stopped immediately and completely. Is it paying anybody? Will it be beneficial to any community in the end? Don't you think that by their loose talk some politicians and by their irresponsible writings a certain section of the press are endangering millions of innocent lives? How little men like Mr. Ghazanfar Ali and Mr. Suhrawardy realize that if they can, by their speeches and actions, prove themselves to be a terror to 3 or 4 millions of Hindus at the most, [they] will at the same time be proving themselves to be the cause of great hardship to 230 millions of their co-religionists in other provinces? What is this madness about? Why all this? And why this political butchery? Why these poor and innocent people of both the communities should be made pawns[in the game] of political hypocrisy? What is their sin? They are in no way interested in these games. Their chief concern is the betterment of their present lot. It is solely due to it that they made the leaders their

leaders. And certainly not for their self-effacement. Can't everything be amicably settled? If it cannot be so, what is the use of that thing which destroys and decimates the very thing it professes to serve?

I really admire you. You have certainly served your community. I simply cannot believe that you cannot serve the masses at the present moment. Or you cannot chalk out a proper course for at least your own community if not for all the people of India. Don't you think that this communal frenzy should stop? And stop for ever. And those who indulge in this hobby should be severely handled. According to my humble opinion, for the attainment of this object the law should be made merciless and all-pervading and its ruthless enforcement should be assured. And also the majority community in every village, town, city and province should be made responsible for the loss of minority community in men and material. And there should be a central board composed of equal number of members of all important communities of India to decide these things. And its decision should be enforced through the provincial or central government.

In the end, I am very sure that you will pay the best of your attention to my humble request. It is useless for me to impress upon you the urgency of it. Let me thank you in the end for all the trouble I have given you.

I assure you of remain[ing],

Your sincere friend,
L. C. SAMANT

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Shariful Islam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/42

PATNA,
9 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have read again and again your *'Id* message to the Musalmans of India. It is indeed a message of hopefulness—a message that will enkindle our hearts with new aspirations and energy, emanate as it does from one whose constant interest is to look after the well-being

of the down-trodden Musalmans. We pray to the Almighty so that He may grant you long life to lead us to our cherished goal—Pakistan.

I cannot however refrain from thinking constantly of the pitiable conditions of the Musalmans of Bihar. Their houses have been burnt, their women molested and their entire culture has been ruined by the all-powerful Hindu *goondas* in an organised way backed by the Congress Government. Dr. Syed Mahmud tells us that he can do nothing to protect our lives. The number of casualties is perhaps fifty times more than the exaggerated figures of Noakhali. Nothing like this has ever happened in the annals of Indian history [*sic*]. This is an organised means of wiping out Islam from Bihar—nay, from the whole of India. Relief is not forthcoming from either Bengal, the Punjab or the NWFP. I appeal to you to come to Bihar personally and inspire us with confidence. Your presence at Patna will work miracles. Please spare some time to come to our rescue at this critical hour of our national life. I am a railway employee. I hail from Bengal. My family of ten members depend on me for their subsistence. I cannot, therefore, afford to plunge myself in relief work as in that case they all will have to starve. I, in requesting you to come to Patna, am simply echoing the voice of thousands of Musalmans all over India.

Hope my appeal will not go in vain and you will make [*sic*] time to come to Bihar to relieve us of our distress.

Yours truly,
SHARIFUL ISLAM
Inspector of Accounts,
East India Railway

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Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan to Mohamed Ismail Khan

SHC, Sind VIII/67[1]

9 November 1946

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to intimate that the following title-holders of

Sind have renounced their respective titles in obedience to the decision of the All India Muslim League.

Name and address of the gentleman	*Date of renouncing title*
KHAN SAHIB	
1. Mr. Mohammad Hassan Dakhan, P.O. Dakhan, Taluka Garhi Yasin, Distirct Sukkur	6th September 1946
2. Rais Ghulam Rasul Khan Jatoi, MLA P.O. Moro, District Nawab Shah	12th September 1946
3. Arbab Togachi, MLA P.O Diplo, District Tharparkar	12th September 1946
4. Sardar Sohrab Khan Sarki, P.O. Thul, District Jacobabad	15th October 1946
5. Sardar Noor Mohammad Khan Bijarani, P.O. Karampur via Thul, District Jacobabad	15th October 1946
6. Wadero Ghulam Kadir Narejo, President, District Muslim League, Tharparkar, P.O. Mirpur Khas	15th October 1946
KHAN BAHADUR	
7. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Wassan P.O. Mirpurkhas	Immediately after the AIML Council decision was known
8. Mr. M. A. Khuhro, PWD Minister	-do-
9. Mir Ghulamali Khan Talpur, Civil Supplies Minister	-do-
10. Haji Fazal Mohammad Khan Leghari, P.O. Sajawal, District Karachi	17th October 1946
SARDAR BAHADUR	
11. Sardar Kaisar Khan Bozdar, P.O. Sukkur	15th October 1946
12. Mir Haji Hussain Bakhsh Khan Talpur, P.O. Tando Mohammad Khan, District Hyderabad	15th October 1946
KNIGHTHOOD	
13. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah Premier, Government of Sind	Immediately after the AIML Council decision was known

FAKHR-E-HIND MEDAL

14. Begum Ghulam Kadir Shahban -do-

Yours fraternally,
[ILLEGIBLE]
for AGHA GHULAM NABI KHAN PATHAN
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

PS. A detailed list of those Muslim League members in Sind who have not yet renounced their titles will be submitted on receipt of the information from Primary, District and City branches of Muslim League in Sind.

[1]Also see *SHC* (1165). Not printed.

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Mohammad Qasim Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/138-9
[*Original in Urdu*]

NAWAB MANZIL, QILA ARAK,
AURANGABAD, DECCAN
9 November 1946

Allaho Akbar, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad
Highly respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

May you live till the Day of Judgement
And may the Day of Judgement never come[1]
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I had the honour to read in the *Manshoor* your thought-provoking address at the Delhi *'Id Milan* reception wherein you expressed your Islamic sentiments. May God give you long life. We are proud of your services rendered in the cause of Islam. We are also delighted to learn that you read all the letters sent to you, personally.

For quite long I have been thinking of making a suggestion to you which I now dare to present. I hope you will excuse me for this impertinence.

My humble suggestion is that you may consider grow[ing] a beard and say[ing] your prayers regularly. In consequence, all Muslims will come round you thus lending great strength to Islam. I get irritated and feel ashamed when certain people talk against you. *Alhamdulillah,* the Muslims of India are with you and are ready to obey

your commands. May God bless you with success and, through your efforts, Muslims of India [with] independence.

With respectful regards,

Wassalaam

HAFIZ MOHAMMAD QASIM SIDDIQI
Contractor

[1]Translation of an Urdu couplet, *Tum salaamat raho qiyamat tuk, Aur qiyamat Khuda kare ke na ho.*

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M. A. Jinnah to Baboo Khan

SHC (1167)

10 November 1946

Dear Mr. Baboo Khan,

I have received your letter[1] regarding your ideas of a daily paper in Bombay. Since then you were here in Delhi and we had a talk about it. Therefore, I merely acknowledge your letter and hope that you will consider the matter carefully and let me have your reply with regard to the suggestion that I made to you in our interview in Delhi. Of course, I need not tell you that the *Dawn* requires help as we have already placed an order for the first class machinery, including the rotary, which we expect to get shortly.

Hoping you will let us know about your reaction to what I told you in the course of our interview.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Baboo Khan Esq.,
Abid Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]See *SHC* (1168). Not printed.

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Mohamedali S. Maniar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1171)

MEMNI BUILDING,
BYCULLA, BOMBAY,
10 November 1946

My dear Quaid,

I have reached Bombay safely. The trouble has spread over the districts and specially in Kolaba District.

The Congress workers firstly exaggerated the Noakhali incident and spread it to all the villages. Then they instigated the people to take revenge. They supplied the Hindu villagers and Katarees, the hilly tribesmen, with lances, spears, arrows and bows, etc. These bloodsuckers, gathering in thousands from the neighbouring places, attacked the Muslims, who are in a hopeless minority. Those villages in which the Muslims possess a few old rusty guns they frightened them and drove them back [*sic*]. But the Government has now ordered them to give up their guns to the Govt., thus depriving them of their last resort to defend themselves.

Besides, most of the Government servants, including police officials, indirectly helped the Hindus. Postal service was also taken [over] by the Congress workers under the pretext that postmen had run [away] on account of fear. The Muslim businessmen suffered a heavy loss as their goods and produce were lost, looted or burnt.

It is my humble suggestion that a delegation, consisting of either Nishtar, Chundrigar or Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, should come here and visit this place.

Wishing you best wishes,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMEDALI S. MANIAR

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Abdus Sattar Waris to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/47
[*Original in Urdu*]

PUCCA BAZAAR,
ASANSOL,
10 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The tragic tale of the repression, brutality and atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims in Bihar and their destruction and helplessness is unforgettable. You might have ascertained the facts of these dreadful events through the newspapers and personal contacts. These events have revived the memory of the Karbala tragedy. You, being the wisest amongst us, might have assessed the far-reaching results of this state of affairs.

However, I hereby submit some humble suggestions for your consideration to find a solution to the issue.

i. We are unnecessarily obsessed with the issue of 'Muslims in minority' as against our traditions of the past where we did not depend on numbers. In the Islamic history, there is no example that the Muslims, even in small numbers, were defeated by large forces of the non-Muslims. Therefore, the need of the hour is that this aspect should be highlighted for the information of the nation for its redressal.
ii. The Muslims of India, particularly of Bihar, should not keep lamenting the losses suffered by them. The Muslims have been defeating cruel enemies in wars. It is time the *'Ulema, Sajjada Nashins* and Muslim scholars highlight[ed] the importance of *Jihad*. Unfortunately, Allama Mashriqi has adopted a wrong course of action which caused the destruction of discipline. The nation now needs full discipline, spirit of valour, action and self-respect.

The latest bloodshed and killings of the Muslims in Bihar have clearly proved that in this province, majority of the civilised people is not living, rather it is inhabited by ferocious animals in the garb of human beings. In such circumstances, a campaign should be launched immediately under which all the Muslims, especially [those in] the minority provinces, including Bihar, may keep arms in self-defence

like the Sikhs, and the influential people should take the initiative.

Simultaneously, the Government should immediately be presented with a demand and approval taken for provision of firearms and ammunition to the Muslims.

An humble Leaguer,
ABDUS SATTAR WARIS

[1]In 61 A. H., Imam Hussain, grandson of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), with seventy-one male relatives and companions, were martyred at Karbala in Iraq for the reason that he had refused to swear allegiance to Yazid, the Umayyad Caliph, who had blatantly trampled on the pristine teachings and principles and values of Islam.

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Syed Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/255-7

SALEM JUNCTION,
MADRAS,
10 November 1946

Most esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter[1] addressed by me to the Home Member, Interim Government, for your perusal.

As you are aware, Hindu Congress has been wooing the INA on the one hand and, on the other, openly discrediting and disowning the twenty-five million [Indian] ex-servicemen but for whose blood, toil and tears, the Congress would not have held its present evil sway over this sub-continent.

Since the assumption of power by the Congress these twenty-five million brave sons of the soil have felt like orphans.

You, noble Quaid-i-Azam, who is the tower of strength for the Muslim nation and the source of strength for the minorities, will, I hope and pray, come to the succour of these men and give asylum to these 'orphans'.

They are not tramps but young men who have been well-disciplined and trained in the art of war. Any scheme, initiated under your inspiration by Muslim millionaires and capitalists, which can absorb a few of the considerable number of Muslim ex-servicemen, and any publicity which may be given at your instance to the just demands of the ex-servicemen such as the one now under reference, will have its manifold reward in winning the gratitude, love and devotion to

millions of ex-servicemen throughout this country.

Pakistan Zindabad!

I beg to remain,
Most esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,
Your obedient servant,
SYED AHMED

[1]Not traceable.

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M. Hassan Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/44

30 MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSTEL,
P. O. BANKIPORE, PATNA,
10 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must be well aware of all that has happened in Bihar during the last few weeks. Being a servant of Islam, I thought it my duty to place before you a few facts for your consideration.

The oppressed Muslims of Bihar look to you with hope and expect proper guidance from you in their hour of miseries. We have suffered miserably. No amount of sympathy can heal the deep wound that has been created.

You are the President of a responsible organisation, an organisation that can rightly claim to speak on behalf of Muslim India.

The wounded patients and harassed inhabitants of the riot-affected places, who could fortunately survive the ordeal, require prompt consideration by our organisation. Evidently, the Congress leaders of this Province will try their best that these people should return to their places. But no honest person can agree to this course of action. Personally, I have met with the men in the refugees' camp and have talked with the patients in the Patna Hospital regarding this issue. Most of them were unwilling to go back to their homelands. For, will they like to return to places where they lost everything they had, homes, properties and their dear ones? Will they again settle there and build their homes to be looted and plundered again after some time by their neighbours?

Therefore, I would suggest [that] you arrange, in consultation with the Premier and Governor of this Province, and if need be with the help of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India, to make [*sic* for have] them settled in a Muslim majority province, preferably Bengal, where they cannot expect in future to be looted, raped or done to death. They may also be made to settle in Muslim majority areas of Bihar that border Bengal. It will be the greatest blot on the organisation if it fails to bring out effective means of their transfer to a safer area. We want you to take up this case personally. For this, you may have to come to Bihar and stay there for a few days. But this is no less an important work than Sindh election. It is very difficult to imagine what has happened here. It has surpassed the Japanese torture and the Nazi Belsen[1] Camp atrocities. It is the rarest example of manslaughter on an organised and gigantic scale.

My other humble suggestion would be regarding the setting up of an inquiry committee. I have seen through papers that you have asked Mr. Nauman, MLA (Central), to make inquiries about the great killing. But I hope you will excuse me if I say that Mr. Nauman is the most incompetent man for the purpose. Moreover, a report from a local man will not help much. We, therefore, want that a delegation of top-ranking leaders from the Centre should be sent for this purpose. The inquiry committee may consist of the following gentlemen: Khwaja Nazimuddin, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, Mian Iftikharuddin, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Yusuf Haroon, etc. [*sic* for et al.] They should stay here for weeks, go to every village and make a thorough enquiry in[to] the total loss of men and properties. A very thorough enquiry is needed. Not a drop of blood should go in vain, rather it should go for the establishment of Pakistan where we may live happily and according to our traditions.

The work should be taken up as early as possible.

This is the voice from a common man, who has written as he felt about it.

Yours sincerely,
M. HASSAN ASHRAF

[1]A village in NW Germany, site of a large concentration camp and extermination centre in Nazi Germany.

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S. M. Sabih to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/48

PURNEA,
10 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You will excuse me, I hope, the liberty I have taken to address you. The atrocities committed on the Muslims of Bihar, if only a bit narrated and heard in patience, may madden a man. But what is more serious and deserves the closest attention is to stop this barbarism without the least delay.

Pandit Jawaharlal, after visiting some affected areas, appeared much moved and spoke in public meetings on the 3rd of November at Patna and other places, urging immediate cessation of the barbaric acts by the Hindus of Bihar, and [that] the Central Government should otherwise take recourse to firing or aerial bombing to put it down.

It is apparent that his words fell on deaf ears. The Hindu men of Bihar are going on with the general massacre of the Muslim population and loot and arson, with growing and greater intensity every day in a way obviously organized and systematic. This is by no means a *goonda* movement, but it is a Hindu mass organization to wipe out the entire Muslim population of Bihar, and they are proceeding *thana* by *thana*. Congress activity at one *thana* appears to steal a march over another in bringing about the designed complete destruction in the most cruel manner of the helpless, defenceless and armsless [*sic* for unarmed] Muslims. In two *thanas* in the district of Patna, Poonpoon and Masaurhi only, as will appear from the details published in the '*Asre-Jadid* of 9th November of Calcutta, about 1500 houses have been burnt and destroyed and their inmates killed. Taking an average of 10 members in each family, it would bring a total of fifteen thousand killed in two *thanas* only. The casualt[ies] would not be less than one lac [lakh] by this time.

We are still unaware if the Government have succeeded in dispersing any violent mob, averting [*sic*] or opening an effective fire. Unless the Muslim or the British military are sent to save the gravest situation, innocent men, children and women, their lives and

honour cannot be saved. But Mr. Gandhi stands against the military aid and of course will lend them the greatest support and encouragement for the rioters. He emphatically disagrees with Pandit Jawaharlal over what he spoke on 3rd of November at Patna and other places. On the 5th of November in Calcutta, Mr. Gandhi, you must be knowing, said, "Pandit Jawaharlal had told the guilty party" that the Central Government would never tolerate such barbarism. They would even use aerial bombing to put it down. But that was the way of the British. The Congress was an organisation of the people. Was the Congress to use the foreign method of destruction against the people, whose representative it was? By suppressing riots with the aid of the military, [Congress] would be suppressing India's freedom, and what was Panditji to do if the Congress had lost control over the people. The better way of course is to give up the reign [*sic* for reins] of the Government, if the people were not amenable to discipline and reason".[1]

Next day, on the 6th November at Goalundo Ghat, Mr. Gandhi said from the steamer, "that the reign [*sic*] of the Government was in the hands of the 14 members of the Central Government, but if they had to suppress riots with the aid of the military, the reign would pass into the hands of Lord Wavell, the Viceroy. The speaker could never tolerate this".[2]

Now the clear position is this:

1. The Hindu men of Bihar are out quickly to do away with the entire Muslim population in the Province within the shortest period possible.
2. Every hour, with greater intensity, they are engaged in butchering the men, women and children for the fault that they are Muslims.
3. The oppressed Muslims, having no idea of any offensive, are armsless [*sic*] and defenceless, utterly unable to cope with the cunningly, cowardly and cruelly violent mass organisation, prepared and armed secretly for more than 20 years with free supply of weapons to its people by the Congress, [Hindu] Mahasabha and the [Rashtriya Sevak] Sangh.
4. This worst armed barbarism can only be put down by arms and by the non-Hindu military.
5. Mr. Gandhi openly opposes the use of arms by the Congress Government against the armed rioters openly. In clear words, he says that:

a. The Congress will not suppress the riots with the aid of the military as that was the way of the British.

b. The Congress cannot kill the Hindu rioters, whose representative the Congress is.
c. To suppress these riots by the military is to suppress the freedom of India.
d. If the Congress orders fire and loses control over the people, it will be nowhere.
e. If the Congress would suppress riots with the aid of the military, the reign would pass into the hands of Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, and this Mr. Gandhi can never tolerate.

6. The Hindu mass[es] who have slaughtered 100 thousands of defenceless Muslims, are madly and ferociously bent on killing all Muslims, not excluding [even] a babe, burning and demolishing entire Muslim villages, leaving no trace behind and the Congress Government, as Mr. Gandhi is clear, shall not resort to any effective firing, shall not disperse any violent mob, shall not arrest any mob or its leader, shall not prosecute anyone because the rioters are Hindus and the Congress is their representative.

Now, it is for you and the Muslim world to rise to the occasion to save the innocent Muslims of Bihar who are still not dead, and for the Viceroy and the Governor to give their best thought to the unprecedented situation of gravity, butchery and brutality to intervene and come to the rescue of the people, for whose safety they are still responsible before the British nation and the world.

I shall be extremely obliged for a word in reply,

Ever sincerely yours,
S. M. SABIH
Public Prosecutor and Govt. Pleader

[1]*The Indian Nation*, Patna, 7 November 1946.
[2]Ibid., 9 November 1946.

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Mohammad Ishaq Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/264-5
[*Original in Urdu*]

MOHALLAH QAZI SARAYE,
DIST. BIJNORE,
11 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

The day before yesterday I read your speech[1] at Delhi on the occasion of *'Id al-Azha,* and appeal[2] for help to the victims of atrocities in Bihar, in the newspaper *Tanveer*. It was very painful and heart-breaking for me.

Responding to your appeal, I have sent two hundred rupees for the relief fund.

As a result of tyrannies [committed] on the Muslims of the sub-continent, the entire Muslim world is agitated and is in agony but at this critical time the Congressite *'Ulama* are keeping quiet because of their personal greed and lust for power. These so-called patriotic and nationalist *'Ulama* are watching everything but are blinded by their self-interests. The whole Islamic world looks towards you as a captain of the ship. May *Allah* grant you long life and strength to guide the ship of the Indian Muslims to the shore of success, *Aameen*. Every word of your speech ought to be written in [letters of] gold. Every Muslim should follow your advice.

On the 8th of November 1946, Sher Mohammad Sahib appealed to the Indian Muslims through the newspaper *Tanveer* to demand from the Quaid-i-Azam and the Secretary of State for India the dissolution of the inefficient Congress Government in Bihar. All Muslims should welcome this appeal. I also request you with great respect to send telegrams to the Secretary of State for India and to the Viceroy about these atrocities so that the cruel and tyrant Government is removed and the Muslim nation could live in peace and security.

With great respects,

A humble petitioner,
MUFTI MOHAMMAD ISHAQ HUSAIN

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2454-6.
[2]See ibid., 2462-3.

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Sardar Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/154-5

ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
PESHAWAR,
11 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I know your heart is bleeding for the poor [and] helpless fallen in Bihar and your mind is sadly occupied with matters of graver importance for the moment at least, but as a humble member of my community I have a suggestion to make to my leader which I hope he will give serious thought to.

The manner in which we are being massacred on a large scale throughout India has at last dispelled that illusion of false security which the clever British administration had created for us. The fact has at last been brought home to us that we are virtually in a war zone (*Darul-Harb*) where it is criminal for us to lead ordinary, contented life. Our very existence is in danger and much as we may dislike we are being forced [in] to a civil war. We have no desire to shed the blood of others but we owe a duty to ourselves and to our brethren in Islam primarily. It is impossible for us to see our scattered and helpless brothers being wiped out as is being done in Bihar and elsewhere. They are suffering for our sake. There is no nobler example even in the whole of the Muslim history where Muslims in one region so voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the sake of their brothers elsewhere. We, in majority provinces, owe a duty to them which no amount of sacrifice will absolve us from. Under such circumstances it is impossible to go on living individual lives as we have been doing so far and for which we have suffered so bitterly. I shall therefore appeal to you to inaugurate immediately a national defence fund. This fund would be utilized to ensure effective protection to those of our brothers who, left to themselves, may not be able to defend themselves against Hindu aggression. We can shortly plan out how best to utilise this fund for this purpose. We have quite a large percentage among us of what I should call floating population, people who though able-bodied and sound in brain and character but not quite well settled in any profession and drifting about in the helpless search for livelihood.

We can very easily solicit their help and they would respond. We can dispose them judiciously in areas where they are needed most. They would earn their livelihood by their own efforts and they can also be partially supported by our organization. The idea is not to recruit mercenaries.

I feel confident that I shall be able to build up this fund with the assistance of my colleagues and my students. I shall be waiting for your permission.

I pray to God that my word may appeal to you and bring out a willing response to it. I shall be glad to give more specific suggestions in connection with the collection and disposal of this fund if you approve of this scheme.

SARDAR AHMAD
M.A.
Professor

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S. R. Ghatak to M. A. Jinnah

F. 927/117-8

11 DWARIKANATH GHOSH LANE,
P. O. ALIPORE, CALCUTTA,
11 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wonder whether my previous note has reached you. You know what has happened in East Bengal, yet you are not worried about it. Please do come to Bengal and tell your people in clear language that you are quite against barbarities, such as rape, forcible conversion, murder, massacre, arson and loot. The Muslims of Noakhali, Tipperah and Dacca are under the spell of your name. So it is your business to bring them to a rational frame of mind. If you do not care to do so, then you will have only yourself to thank for the misery of your misguided followers. There is a thing called 'Nemesis' which nobody or no community can escape. I cannot bring myself to believe that a polished and educated man like you will be the patron-saint of the hooligans.

An early reply is solicited.

Yours faithfully,
S. R. GHATAK

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Mohammad Abdul Khalique to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/266

77 CENTRAL AVENUE,
CALCUTTA,
11 November 1946

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

The plight of the Musalmans of India is fast moving towards the climax. The savage butchery of the Musalmans in Bihar by the Hindus thrills [*sic*] Muslim blood in anger and vengeance. Should this be controlled? I consider that in the interest of the Musalmans the League should exert every iota of influence to keep them peaceful, however great the provocation may be. To-day, we see dark clouds overhead and all around us. But the Musalmans have got to be saved. There is yet time to do so. May I suggest that the Working Committee should consider the matter and instruct provincial League committees to exercise all influence to keep the Musalmans peaceful!

Timely action can save the situation yet. Delay may result in losing allegiance of the people by the leaders.

Musalmans may have to fight but today is not the proper time.

Praying for your long life,

Obediently yours,
MOHAMMAD ABDUL KHALIQUE

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M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/46-7

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 Novermber 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you the clipping[1] from the *Herald Tribune* together with a copy of the letter[2] sent by one of my friends in New York which speaks for itself. I am glad that the League's voice is at last being heard.

Coming to the question of Bihar, I have very sad news. We are all doing what we can for Bihar from Bengal. I am sending Rs. 25,000 worth of clothing which I have purchased from the Red Cross, because they have to face severe winter and there are many destitutes who have lost all they had in addition to their dear ones.

I have also sent trucks, seven of them have already left, five are going today to do relief work and I will send more if there be any need. I have also sent a contingent of workers from my office.

This morning there was a telephone [call] from Bihar saying that the Bihar Government says they have no transport to help the refugees and they have just given 100 gallon petrol and say they have no petrol to dole out for the Muslim League. How far this is true I cannot say, but this information was given to me by Mr. Suhrawardy. I have requested Mr. Suhrawardy to arrange with the Burma Shell to give us petrol either under our representative's signature or Mr. Nazimuddin's signature and we would pay for the petrol here and the same will be used for relief. This shows the antagonism of the Congress Government with the Musalmans in their area. It is just the reverse to what happened in Bengal. Most of the relief was taken up by the organized Hindu institutions at the time of the disturbances in Calcutta as well as in Noakhali. Muslims have got hardly any organisation worth the name even to conduct relief in an ordinary manner and fight for their rights, and yet to our disgust we find in what manner the retaliation comes. It is a sad affair but this only puts our back up to fight with determination and to organise ourselves to face the worst which cannot be more than life itself. I hope the Muslim League will ask for a royal commission to enquire into the Bihar atrocities and they will find some power on earth to tackle the gutter press of Calcutta which flashes out daily filth that leads to the present continued disruption all over eastern India.

I was informed by the Commissioner of Chittagong Division that he will be filing a suit for publishing false information against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. I hope he will have the guts to do it.

Mr. Gandhi should be now travelling not in Noakhali where the death toll is hardly 120 but in Bihar to give succour to the refugees that are coming forward with more than 20,000 lives being lost.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1&2]Not traceable.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/129

VIA AIR MAIL

NEW YORK,
11 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter of the 8th instant,[1] I have to give you the following fresh news:

The dinner at the Reid's was a big affair from the point of view of the contacts that we established. The proprietor of the London *Times*, Lord Camrose, was there with his daughter, Lady Birkenhead. Clare [Boothe] Luce[2] and Martin, the next Speaker of the House of Representatives, were there also. Briefly, a distinguished gathering of 24 sat down to dinner and speeches were made after it. Both Begum Shah Nawaz and I spoke and again availed ourselves of the chance offered to present our case.

I spent Saturday at Princeton University. I talked to some seniors and had tea with Dr. and Mrs. Dodds—a very cultured couple. Here again, I spoke on the Muslim point of view. Some very searching and intelligent questions were put and when I finished they all thanked me for the fresh light I had thrown on the actual state of affairs in India. He confessed that the U.S. public were being fed on one point of view—the Hindu one—that the Muslims wanted the British to remain and not freedom.

We shall be leaving for Washington to meet the President on Thursday. Mrs. Reid has kindly fixed up this audience. She has been most kind to us and frankly, Begum Shah Nawaz has several excellent contacts in this country. Without her I would not have found it half as easy to get along in the political arena here. We are working consistently and hard and hope to play our part to your satisfaction.

We have so far failed to book air passage to the West and a return flight from there. If we do not meet with luck by this evening, we shall have to cry off our trip. We cannot possibly go by train, as we have not the time.

We are giving a dinner to the Reid family and some friends on the 15th instant. Mrs. Clare Luce is lunching with us tomorrow. She was bitterly prejudiced against you and the League when we started to dine. Her remarks were positively rude and were based on false

information pumped into her ears by the Hindus. By the time we finished dinner, I had got her to see reason and be more kind in her opinions. She has promised to contact me when she next visits India. She has also suggested a meeting with the editors of *Time, Life* and *Fortune* before we leave this country.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 252.
[2]US diplomat; wife of Henry R. Luce, US editor and publisher.

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A. Halim Konandi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/52

KONAND,
P. O. RAMZANPORE,
DISTRICT PATNA,
11 November 1946

Sir,

I write the following with a view to letting the world know of what actually happened in Bihar and its interior. It is futile to say why this goondaism, arson, loot and murder happened. If viewed dispassionately one would come to the conclusion that it is the Bihar Government which encouraged and abetted the crime. The Congress leaders, prior to the storm which ravaged the whole of Bihar, delivered inflammatory speeches and spurred the people on to murder, loot and slaughter of the helpless and the defenceless Muslims. The two Patna dailies would come out with expressions like arson, loot, murder, abduction and religious conversion, to mention only a few, to magnify the state of affairs in Bengal. They would not stop there. They strongly recommended to the people of Bihar to carry on the campaign of loot and murder, justifying their stand on grounds of religion. And the great Mahatma of non-violence kept quiet conveniently in the Bhangi Colony. This was the background.

It was from the beginning of November, the fateful month of the year of grace 1946, that this pre-planned and well-organised loot and murder were started in the interior of Bihar. From Chapra travelled this wave of goondaism into the interior of Patna, Monghyr and Gaya districts. The most shameful feature of the affair is the tremendously great

mob attacking small villages. Ramzanpore, a village comprising about two hundred Muslims, was attacked by at least fifty thousand Hindus, all well-armed. Not only this, almost all the villages have been burnt to ashes, [to] which I hope the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Hon'ble Ramcharitra Singh will testify. Koeribigha, Barepure, Zainpura, Bahadibigha, Kaila, Ramzanpore, Waiyao, Panchi Gorbigha, to mention a few, are the villages completely burnt. The loss of property is simply inestimable. By a conservative estimate the loss of life is well over a thousand. And below are the names of the villages mercilessly attacked, destroyed and looted. These are Waiyao, Qamaispur, Ramzanpore, Konand, Murgiachak, Barepur, Dumrawan, Maafi, Belchhi Sherif, Jana, Desna (attacked several times), Bauri, Bhatta, Bazidpore and many others. It is to be noted that Kashi Chak Railway Station on the Monghyr-Gaya line is unsafe [and] that the Muslim passengers getting down there are led into the hands of Hindu mob. This is because military help is not available there.

And what did the Police do! Could the Congress come out of the heinous charge of connivance and evasion! One S.I. Police very frankly confessed his inability and helplessness to help the people since the instruction from above was one of indifference and passivity. Nothing could be more shameful. A Government keeping their officials from discharging their duties!

It would seem incredible that the Congress want the Muslims either to quit Bihar or be slaughtered at the hands of violent followers of the non-violent Mahatma. The Muslims are hampered in [offering] their religious rites as well. Cows for *Bakar 'Id* slaughter have been forcibly taken away. Cow return was laid as one of the conditions of their safety from Hargawan, Charuawan, Chakdi, Dumrawan; all the sacrificial cows were snatched away by the Hindu mob.

Let me substantiate my statement that this loot and murder have been manufactured [*sic*] by the Congress Government. The mob along with lethal weapons, tins of k[erosene] oil and guns had many Congress flags in the front. The slogans shouted were *Congress ki Jai, Musalmanon ko khatam karo, Raj Hamara Hai, Gandhi ki Jai, Jai Hind*. These slogans and Government connivance and their indifference justify the conclusion that this arson, loot and murder are all Congress-manufactured and Government-organized.

Unless military is posted permanently in the interior (so long as the Congress Government is there) peace and order will be something in the air. And I am sure Acharya Kripalani, the President of the Congress, must be rejoicing at the reduction of Muslim population in Bihar. Now it is high time the Congress bigs felt ashamed and realized their

duties. But one does not expect much from the Congress Government and one should not. On the 8th of this month came personalities like the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Hon'ble Ramcharitra Singh and one of the Congress satellites, Professor Abdul Bari, to tour the affected areas. We the Muslims of Konand met and told them our sad and helpless condition. Our request to visit the burnt villages fell flat on them. Shockingly enough, Professor Bari had not a single word of sympathy to utter.

A word to Muslim League. No relief is forthcoming to the affected areas. People badly need food and shelter.

Your true Muslim,
A. HALIM KONANDI
MUKHTAR

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M. A. Jinnah to A. C. Mahomedi

SHC, UP III/69

11 November 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th October[1] and thank you for it.

While I am grateful to you for the honour that you propose to do me in electing me the life patron of your Association, I regret I am unable to accept it. In the first instance, I do not believe in being a patron of any Association and the whole idea does not appeal to me.

Besides, there are many reasons why it is not possible for me to be associated with various bodies in which I cannot play a proper part, nor have I any say in the matter of their activities. While I am glad to note the aims and objects of your Association, which are very laudable, I wish you all success. I regretfully have to say that I cannot comply with your request to be a patron of your Association.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. C. Mahomedi, Esq.,
Hon. Secretary,
The South African
Indian Students' Association,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]No. 165.

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A. K. M. Fazlul Quader Chowdhry & Others to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/72

CHITTAGONG,
11 November 1946

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your recent *'Id* pronouncement has slit open a window in the suffocating gloom which has been enveloping us for some time past. We not only see some ray of hope but also feel the fresh air of freedom—freedom at least to give honest expression to our genuine feelings. You have said you welcome criticism. Though like a true democratic leader of a democratic people that you are, you have given us the right to criticise you, yet we cannot do violence to our feelings of affection and respect for you by taking any such liberty. We only propose to unburden our souls of the doubts and apprehensions that have been weighing heavily on us these few days.

In the first place, permit us to say that our minds were filled with doubt when you allowed the demand of Pakistan to be put in cold storage for at least ten years without at the same time obtaining parity in the Central Government with the rest of India during the interim period. Insistence on parity would have been amply justified on the ground that if we agreed to join hands with Hindustan it could only be on the basis of two States joining together for a certain period. Both the States must then have equal status and representation. As soon as you gave up this demand and agreed to having only five seats in a Govt. of twelve, firm ground slipped from under our feet and the other side got the opportunity of pushing us down the slippery slope of surrender and compromise further and further. If 5 out of 12, why not 5 out of 13 or 14? No principle could then be pleaded in our favour as would have been the case with our claim for parity.

Anyway, the Muslim nation heaved a sigh of relief when at Bombay you yourself asked the *millat* not to be any more beguiled by the false promises of others but to prepare for Direct Action to enforce its rightful demand of Pakistan. From one end of India to the other, Muslims felt electrified at your clarion call. There was such a wave of enthusiasm and awakening as had not been noticed since the *Khilafat* days. Every one of us looked to you for guidance and a programme of Direct Action. We however felt worried at the inordinate

delay in appointing the Committee of Action and, frankly speaking, we were also disappointed with its personnel. With a few notable exceptions, most of its members seemed to lack the revolutionary outlook or background necessary for the preparation and execution of an effective programme of Direct Action. This was only the beginning of our disappointments.

Soon after, we were puzzled to learn that you had left for Delhi to meet the selfsame Viceroy who had thrown you and his solemn commitments overboard previously. But we thought that perhaps you were meeting him only with a view to inform[ing] him that in terms of the Bombay Resolution of the Muslim League Council, by which you were bound, you could only talk on the basis of Pakistan and [on] no other. The seemingly interminable meetings ended at long last. Then came the stunning news that Muslim League had joined the Interim Govt. We found this extremely difficult to reconcile with our Bombay decision. To be frank, we felt completely stupefied. More so because none of the points on which previous negotiations had broken down had been gained. In fact we had yielded on every single point—point not only of honour but also of vital importance to our future. We had agreed to the Congress right of nominating Muslims also, thereby giving up our vital Two-Nation Theory. We had acquiesced in the Congress having nine members of its choice instead of the original six. We were not even to have Vice-Presidentship in rotation. As regards portfolios, from equal distribution it came to equitable and from equitable to manifestly unfair and unjust. Arguing with ourselves we tried to have the satisfaction of feeling that Muslim League had joined the Interim Govt. on these humiliating terms as one of the forms of direct action with the object of making things so hot for the Congress members as to drive them out of office. But the statements and subsequent action of Muslim League members have belied even this hope of ours. Responsive co-operation! The old Congress phrase which was coined to cover up their defeat! Why responsive co-operation with the Congress? What have we got in return? Will it bring our ideal of Pakistan nearer? No, it looks like driving it further and further away. Again the only consolation held out was that there was to be no joint responsibility! But what do we actually find? Four members of the Interim Govt., two each from the Congress and the League, visit Bengal to look into a matter which is purely provincial and at best only concerns one of them, the Home Member. If this is not tacit admission of joint responsibility what else is it? Another aspect of the matter is to be borne in mind. The members of the Interim Govt. had not dared to visit Bengal to look into the law and

order business prior to the joining of the League. In fact they had been fighting shy of it. It would have been a different matter had these gentlemen paid the visit in their capacity of being leaders of Hindus and Muslims, respectively. The point is that they came as members of Interim Govt. and established the precedent of interference by the Centre in provincial affairs—a thing which the Congress has been so keen to maintain and Muslim League to oppose. It does not give us much satisfaction to learn that similar visits have been paid to Bihar also. The very principle of interference by the Hindu-dominated Centre in provincial affairs is vicious and militates against our present and future aspirations!

Then again, our becoming junior partners with the Congress in the Central Govt. makes the *millat* lose its bearing. Against whom does our fight lie now? Against the Interim Govt. so described by the King himself but which we still delude ourselves in regarding as the old Executive Council? How can we go any more to the people and say that this Hindu-dominated Govt. imposed on us has to be paralysed and overthrown as we did before? The imposition of this Govt. had driven iron into the soul of the *millat* and now we are pulling it out!

There is another danger to which we stand exposed. There is every likelihood of our getting bogged in the mire of constitutionalism to which we had rightly bidden goodbye earlier. The comparatively unimportant problem of legislation etc. will so occupy our attention as to throw our main objectives and ideals into the background.

In the circumstances we are to be excused if we feel our minds befogged and apprehend that our objective of Pakistan is ending in smoke.

With the best of intentions and efforts we cannot make out the reason for what in all conscience appears to be a complete reversal of policy so recently and unequivocally laid down at Bombay. You have said it would have been fatal to Muslim interests to allow the Congress the sole monopoly of Central Govt.'s machinery. We feel this does not answer the case fully. We knew before we took the great decision at Bombay that the Congress was going to be put in authority over us in complete disregard of all the previous promises. In fact that was the exact reason why we had decided to bid goodbye to constitutionalism and make the functioning of the Congress Govt. impossible. Hence there was nothing new in the situation to justify such a quick change of point. If the desirability of the League's joining the Interim Govt. at any cost overrode all other considerations then the fact should have been recognised from the very beginning and negotiations conducted

accordingly. In all probability we should have got much better terms in July than what we have got now. Where was then the necessity of calling the Council meeting at Bombay? All that happened in that great session is now taken to be mere bluff and bluster and what is worse the bluff seems to have been successfully called. Surely the Muslim nation did not mean to bluff when it took the great decision. It was and still is in dead earnest about it. This is evidenced by the appalling loss of life and property suffered by the *millat* ever since that decision. We have been straining every nerve to ask our people to keep calm and wait for the Direct Action programme. But while tension has been rapidly mounting due to the overbearing attitude of the Hindus (who can blame them for it after their complete victory and our abject defeat), no directions whatsoever have come from the high command as to how the Bombay decision is to be translated into action. The result is that there are unorganised and disjointed outbreaks of violence causing terrible loss of life and property throughout the land. And we seem to be continually losing ground. This is driving the people to desperation. They cannot be kept under control [for] long. Not only the students but also the masses are at bursting point. They have already started blaming us for letting them down and for our incapacity to feel the pulse of the people correctly and lead a successful revolutionary struggle. We can only tell them in reply to wait for the programme of Direct Action.

To their query, "when will it come?", we have no answer. We feel that unless the programme is quickly announced—a programme that will appeal to the genius of the people and look like taking them to their goal of Pakistan—the people's patience will give way and they will chalk out their own programme of action. They will not then listen to our and even your appeal and will consider all of us to be either traitors or otherwise unfit to lead them. This is in fact already happening and disturbances are going on in spite of your appeals—an indication of the direction in which the wind is blowing. Lacking coordination and central direction, such a programme will be disjointed and will involve much greater sacrifices than a centrally directed programme will do. These uncoordinated outbursts will perhaps fail in achieving their objective and the *millat* will then be in a state of collapse. All the great work done by you will be quickly undone! We look to you to save the *millat* from this impending catastrophe by calling upon the Committee of Action to launch the programme at once. If they suffer from cold feet, it is more honourable to admit it and withdraw than to seek to transmit the disease to the warm-blooded *millat* under false pretences. Let the present Committee of Action then get out and a new Committee be immediately formed to

represent the upsurge of the *millat* in a more effective and convincing manner.

In conclusion, permit us to refer to one remark of yours. You are reported to have said that you would be a criminal and not a General if you gave the order in the present state of our unpreparedness and then you proceed to tell us to get prepared. May we respectfully submit that by merely asking the people to prepare without telling them how to do it you are acting more as a preacher than a General? Which General ever contents himself with merely asking his troops to be prepared without laying down for them a detailed programme of drilling, exercises and manoeuvres and without taking adequate steps to see that the programme is strictly carried out? We are being constantly told almost *ad nauseam* to prepare. No one tells us "how". It was expected of the Committee of Action to give us detailed instructions in the matter as a first instalment of the programme. But no such instructions have come so far.

As regards the other point—discipline—emphasised by you, we think the *millat* has so far shown it wonderfully well. It has not flinched from its duty in any way and stood solidly behind you. Only now is its sense of discipline undergoing a severe strain. There is a strong feeling that our leaders have not shown correct sense of discipline by completely ignoring the decision of the League Council and negotiating with the Viceroy and accepting the terms which went against the letter and spirit of the Bombay Resolution without caring to secure the prior approval of the Council! The question is naturally asked, "How can our leaders expect us to be disciplined when they themselves show indiscipline"? We find it rather difficult to give a satisfactory answer.

We close this rather long letter with the fervent hope that we shall not be misunderstood and that you will be good enough to remove our doubts and misgivings by enlightening us on the points raised! May we have the privilege of at least receiving a line in reply under your own signature to the effect that our letter has reached you and is receiving your attention.

We remain,
Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Your dutiful followers,
A.K. M. FAZLUL QUADER CHOWDHRY
Secretary, District Muslim League
RAFIUDDIN AHMAD SIDDIQUI
MLA (Central)
S. MUZAFFER AHMED
BAZLUL KARIM CHOWDHURY
Members, All India Muslim League Council

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M. A. Jinnah to S. N. Spence

SHC (1172)

11 November 1946

Dear Mr. Spence,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd October[1] and thank you for it. How I wish I had been in Karachi from the 9th to 16th of November, so that I could have participated in the centenary celebrations of the school, where I had the privilege of receiving my early education. As one of the old pupils of your school, I whole-heartedly rejoice in the celebrations of the centenary.

I am afraid I am not aware of any book except one, which is written by Mr. M. H. Saiyid called *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* or a pamphlet entitled *Jinnah Faces an Assassin*, in which sketch of my life is given by Mr. Akbar A. Peerbhoy, Bar-at-Law of Bombay.

Originally my programme was to get to Karachi before the 16th but unfortunately I shall not be able to do so now till about the 20th instant.

Miss Jinnah and I both thank you most heartily for your kind invitation.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Rev. S. N. Spence,
Principal,
C. H. S. High School,
Karachi City

[1]The Principal had invited Jinnah to the centenary celebrations of the school to make a brief address and also preside at the annual sports function. See *SHC* (1116). Not printed.

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M. Siraj Ahmed Khan Lodhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/261
[*Original in Urdu*]

MULTANI DHANDA,
NEW DELHI,
11 November 1946

MUSLIM LEAGUE *ZINDABAD*!
QUAID-I-AZAM *ZINDABAD*!
PAKISTAN *ZINDABAD*!

Revered Sir,

It is now unbearable for us to see the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims of Bihar. In the name of God, grant us the permission to show the non-Muslims that Muslim nation, though patient, is powerful too. We cannot see the slaughter of our brethren any more. I am awaiting your orders; otherwise, by God, I would have accepted martyrdom long ago because on the one hand mosques are being demolished and, on the other, innocent women and children are being killed mercilessly since long while we have done nothing to stop it. Now we have to do something, otherwise we would become slaves of the loathsome Congress Government. We would never accept to being slaves of the Congress.

We are brave and powerful supporters of Pakistan and the followers of the holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who never submitted to the infidels throughout his life. Then why should we submit to them? We would shed the last drop of our blood for the sake of Pakistan but we would get it at any cost. I pray to God to help us and give us unity and strength to avenge our brothers.

Awaiting your reply, which I hope will be forthcoming.

With regards,

M. SIRAJ AHMAD KHAN LODHI
Government contractor and order supplier

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Fasihuddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/71

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

73 S.S. ENGINEERING HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
12 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I went to Delhi on Thursday to discuss with you the Bihar situation and what Aligarh students should do. I wanted to acquaint you with the feelings of those Bihari students who are daily receiving telegrams to these effects: Your mother dead; your father dead; home untraceable; whole village burnt. Today in Aligarh more than 500 students from Bihar have become fatherless, motherless, homeless and family-less. I had gone to Delhi with the hope of coming back with a message from Quaid-i-Azam which would act like ointment on their wounds; but what I brought for them—disappointment.

I rang you up on Friday morning and told your P.A. that I wanted to discuss with Quaid-i-Azam the Bihar [situation]. I had not even finished that he disconnected saying, you meet the Hon. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Convener, Committee of Action. Quaid-i-Azam has no time. I cannot express how I felt it.

I, just after that, rang up the Hon. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and his P.A. informed [me] that Hon. the Finance Member is very busy with the Central Assembly. He cannot meet before Sunday. After this I wrote a detailed letter to Nawabzada and stated everything clearly. I handed it over to his P.S. in the Assembly and he gave me an acknowledgment slip that I am forwarding to you. But I did not get the reply although I rang him up again. Was it not regrettable, contemptible and shameful?

My information and reactions of the experience say that the leaders who are staying on in Delhi are more interested in the question of League's Secretaryship than the terrible situation of Bihar. Anyhow it would be irrelevant just now if I carry on this sad tale. I am sure you also feel it.

But we kept on our relief work. We have collected 35 thousand rupees from Aligarh, and a few thousand warm clothings. Two batches of 25 students each with medical aid of Tibbya College have been sent and two such batches are leaving today. The students have told

the authorities that they shall take only *daal* and the money thus saved will go to Bihar. We are doing all that is possible for us because we feel that those who are dead and those [who] are dying are our own brothers and sisters.

I know that you are very much disturbed by Bihar killing and that you are the only one among the leaders who thinks that those who are dead are my children. But at the same time I most humbly request you to consider these things also. I also request you to overlook if there is anything undignified as I have written this letter to you at a time when I am very much moved by the pitiable condition of my Bihari friends.

Your faithful follower,
FASIHUDDIN AHMAD
Vice-President,
Intermediate Debating Society

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/130

VIA AIR MAIL

230 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK 17. N.Y.,
12 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today I have little to add in order to bring our news to the hour.

We had luncheon with Mr. and Mrs. Salzberger, proprietors of the *New York Times*. At the luncheon were their Chief Editor, General Manager, Editor of the Eastern Section, and another Editor. We had an interesting discussion with them and they were, one and all, surprised to hear the truth. The unity of India; the fear of foreign invasion when India will be weak through division; Muslims and Hindus are one; the caste-system is fast disappearing; Muslims obstructing freedom; Muslims wanting the British to stay and Muslims creating trouble in India. All these were demolished to their satisfaction, so much that just as we were leaving the table we were told that their information appeared one-sided and that for the first time some of the doubts and prejudices were cleared. They appreciated our position in India. Mr. Salzberger was so taken up with our replies that he undertook to send one of his crack reporters

for our exclusive interview. He is coming to see us tomorrow.

Begum Shah Nawaz is leaving for Albany this afternoon. She will return by noon tomorrow. She will be addressing a large ladies meeting there. Mrs. Reid has arranged this opportunity. The influential and thinking women of this part of the U.S.A. will be there.

We are leaving for Washington tomorrow evening and will be meeting the President on Thursday. Again we are grateful to Mrs. Reid for this swift arrangement.

We had luncheon today with Mrs. Clare Luce, the Editors of *Time* and *Life* [magazines] and their representative designate for India, Mr. Bush. I shall be glad if you will have Liaquat Ali entertain him and if you will give him time when he calls. I have learnt that sweet words and first impressions count a lot with the Americans. They are inclined to quickly like or dislike an individual or organization. We again availed ourselves of the opportunity and set right many false impressions created by clever Hindu propaganda. Let us hope that *Time* will not be so bitterly opposed to the Muslims as it has been in the past—yet, it can only be a hope.

A Mr. Neville is representing the *Life, Time, Fortune* outfit in India, it will be in our interest if we establish social contact with him—a meal or so with Liaquat Ali or some other prominent Leaguer in Delhi. I find this method to be most popular for establishing friendly contacts in this country. The Americans are so used to this sort of informal living and the Hindu propagandists know it too well.

I thank you for your cablegram of congratulations which came in today. Begum Shah Nawaz has read it. We are both grateful to you for the encouraging message. We shall spare no effort in carrying out our mission. We thank you again for your very kind words of encouragement.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

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Dr Gulam Imam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/54

ASHRAF MANZIL, BANKIPORE,
12 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope the Muslim League office of Bihar has kept you fully conversant with the state of affairs here. I do not know if you have been supplied with the genesis of the Hindu upheaval and the part the Congress Government has played directly and indirectly. I have been forced by the prevailing circumstances here to draw your kind attention. The facts are that the Hindus had been organising themselves for a pretty long time, that one of the Congress Ministers, Mr. Anugrah Narain, was taking all through very active interest in the newly formed aggressive *Dal;* that the demonstration that was arranged for the 23rd and 24th was the signal for slaughtering the Muslims; that the Government was conniving and helping the movement, that there was widespread currency given to the fact that the Armed Police has been ordered not to shoot. That Muslim Police officers were transferred to such places from where they could not help their co-religionists in difficulty. That the Bihar Police was just a sight-seer and at places many Muslims lost their lives through the help given to the marauders. That it was the well-trained Hindu force which was killing and looting outright Muslims, including women and children, in large number without any check. That Muslims have fought very bravely for days and days without any relief. That the Government of Bihar could have saved the situation as it was within its competence. That it was only after Pandit Nehru had come to Patna that steps were taken to stop this mass killing of Muslims. That even then the Government was shirking. That as a result of some shooting, Pandit Nehru became very unpopular with all the sections of the Hindus of Bihar and generally it was being spoken by the Hindus that it was a breach of promise by the Government. That some sections of the Hindus were speaking in plainest possible terms that had they known that the Government was going to change its policy as soon as that, they would not have entered this foray. How can such Government now be left to rule over Bihar? The Govt. by its partisanship in this mass killing of

Muslims has forfeited all its rights to be in office, and as the situation is, there is general fear of recrudescence of this ghastly business the moment the troops are withdrawn. Therefore, I feel [there] is the imperative nedessity to apply Section 93. After the Congress Government is put out of office then it would be the time for considering many questions which have come in the wake of Hindu upheaval in Bihar. The general opinion amongst the Muslims of Bihar is in support of the above view. I do not know why the League people are hobnobbing with the real murderers of the Muslims of Bihar, the Congress Government. Under the circumstances as stated above we are looking forward to your lead in the matter. I do not know if there is anybody else who can force this issue. The plain truth is the Muslims would not have suffered this colossal loss in men and properties if they had been organised for an eventuality like the above. The grim reality of the situation was not before our workers. Let us hope we shall be alert from now. I am sending you a *Hadis*[1] which conveys all that is required now to meet the situation.

With most respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

GULAM IMAM

[1]Not printed.

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Abid Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay II/171

MALEGAON,

12 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You are well aware of the political disturbance and unrest in the country. Unfortunately the villages and towns of the District of Nasik also could not remain safe from the political and communal conflict. It pains me much to enumerate the brutal and regrettable actions of violence which have been practised in various parts of the district during the last few months. At the moment the life and property of the Muslim minority in some localities of the district are in danger. Not only their culture, customs and religious rites but also the lives

of their women and children are endangered by the brute majority. Thousands of Muslims when harassed by the mischievous *goondas* of the majority community left their houses for safe places. Besides the inefficient and insufficient management of the police, the partiality of the Government officers and their denial [*sic* for refusal] to protect the Muslim minority are greatly objectionable. It pains me much to write below the inhuman incidents which require your special and immediate attention.

i. Communal riot broke out in the Nasik City on the occasion of Ganpati festival. The city was under *goonda raj* for several days. Attempts were made to destroy a mosque. Many shops belonging to Muslims were looted and some houses burnt. According to official reports 10 persons were killed and 50 injured, the majority of the victims being Muslims. Four or five hundred Muslims fled out of fear to save their lives.

ii. At the end of October [19]46, the majority community of Sinnar destroyed a mosque and Muslim sacred places. A Muslim Bohra was put to beating. The Muslims hardly numbering 100 were threatened and harassed by the majority community which is about 4000. The local Muslim population fled from the city out of fear. Most of the refugees have arrived in Malegaon. The officers failed to protect the Muslims.

iii. Communal tension in Nandgaon, Yeola and Chandor is increasing day by day. The life and property of the minority are in danger.

iv. At the end of the last month, Noakhali Day was celebrated in Lasalgaon. Strike was observed, revengeful slogans were raised and Muslims were threatened.

v. No disturbance took place in Malegaon as the Muslims are in majority here. A joint peace committee of Hindu and Muslim leaders was formed. *Holi, Divali, 'Id* and *Bakra 'Id* festivals passed away peacefully. But the Congress Government and the higher authorities imposed inhuman restrictions on the Muslim minority. Civic and political rights are non-existent here. Specially, Muslims have no freedom of political activities. They can neither hold meetings nor appeal to the Muslim public through board and pamphlets for helping their Muslim oppressed brethren. The Muslim League workers are harassed and threatened by police authorities to be locked up. The higher officers are mere puppets in the hands of the Hindu leaders in Fort (a Muslim *Mohallah*). A Muslim League board bearing appeal for funds in aid of Muslims of Bihar was forced to be taken away by a police authority. The activities of

> Muslim workers are always watched by the C.I.D. police. On the contrary, the Hindus [and] so-called nationalist Muslims have freedom of every sort. A large meeting of Hindus was held in which thousands of Hindu villagers gathered to hear Nana Patil, the hero of Patri Sarkar of Satara, who delivered an exciting [*sic*] speech in the very presence of Police authorities.

Also the local Hindus had attempted to erect a temple at the most critical site in the vicinity of a Muslim locality with malicious objects [*sic*] but the erection was stopped as a result of agitation by the Muslim leaders. So also a Murti procession headed by musical display was led in the face [*sic*] of *Ahle-Hadis Masjid* in Motipura at Mata Math, in violation of the customary passage. The malicious and courageous [*sic*] act had roused unrest but the Muslims voluntarily refrained from any communal clash.

I hope the circumstances will receive earliest consideration.

Yours faithfully,
ABID ANSARI
Ex-member, All India Muslim League Council

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Habib Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 965/62

26 MATA SUNDRI,
NEW DELHI,
12 November 1946

Sir,

The suggestion contained in the enclosed note is for your kind consideration.

Yours obediently,
HABIB AHMED

Enclosure to No. 282

F. 965/63-4

The general mass [*words missing*] of the U.P. especially at the Ganges [*words missing*] clearly that it is most difficult for Muslims to live honourably or even peacefully in the Hindu majority provinces. These tragic happenings have strengthened the case not only for Pakistan but

for Pakistan with exchange of population. Some people may consider an exchange of population impracticable but careful planning will make it practicable and will in the long run prove convenient to all sections of the population in the country provided, of course, the inhabitants of host provinces act generously, in the beginning at any rate, towards their guest immigrants.

2. As an experiment towards this exchange of population, the thousands of Muslim refugees in Bihar may be shifted to the neighbouring province of Bengal and in return, about an equal number of refugees from Eastern Bengal may be transferred to Bihar. The refugees having been dislodged from their dwellings, it will be immaterial to most of them whether they return to their own houses or are transferred to more congenial surroundings where they should expect hospitality from their co-religionists. In fact, having lost all interest in their own place, the refugees themselves might not feel like returning to those places. In Bengal—whether Eastern or Western—these refugees will not feel as strangers, for, after all, Bengal and Bihar are neighbouring provinces and language, customs, etc. of these two provinces cannot be far different.

3. As regards actual rehabilitation, the work will no doubt be expensive, but if carried out according to a well-thought-out plan can be quite successful. This will also show the capacity of a Pakistan province to absorb their less fortunate brethren in time of need. The work can be done somewhat on these lines. Necessary housing accommodation may first be hired in suitable areas for the refugees. Those who are fit to work may be given facilities to start some appropriate trade. For this purpose, suitable initial grants per family, to be fixed depending on circumstances, may be made to enable [*words missing*]. These amounts may either be paid [*words missing*] in the form of loans without interest. A detailed scheme of rehabilitation and relief will, of course, have to be drawn up and worked. During the 5 or 6 years of the war, Bengal and Bihar administration have gained ample experience in the relief and rehabilitation of refugees, and with a scheme on similar lines, the refugees of Bihar can all be accommodated and rehabilitated in Bengal. There will be no dearth of funds and it is certain that at the call of Quaid-i-Azam, silver in plenty will be laid at his feet for the purpose. Volunteers from all over India will also be ready to work untiringly.

4. The idea will not be liked by the other party. But the Bihar refugees may be taken to Bengal even if the Bengal refugees cannot be persuaded to go out of the province.

HABIB AHMED

283

Z. H. Lari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 368/13

26 HAMILTON ROAD, ALLAHABAD,
12 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a copy of resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the U.P. Muslim League on 11th November 1946. The underlined portion in the resolution runs as follows:

> And deputes Messrs Z. H. Lari, Aziz Ahmad Khan and Karim-ur-Raza Khan to meet Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and seek his advice.

I would therefore request you to fix some date for the purpose and inform me in time so that we may reach Delhi to see you. An early reply is solicited.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Z. H. LARI

Enclosure to No. 283

F. 368/14-5

The U.P. Muslim League Working Committee view with grave concern and alarm the increasing communal riots and lawlessness in these provinces and places on record its considered opinion that the present situation is primarily due to the partial and undemocratic party Government which has been utilizing administrative machinery to crush the Musalmans and other minorities and to demoralize the public services with a view to stabilize party domination. Such a Government is by itself an incitement to lawlessness in certain quarters and in others an invitation that they must take self-defence in their own hands.

The Muslim League with a view to ensure peace and prosperity of the province adopted a policy of cooperation in all spheres of activity such as food procurement, distribution of supplies and maintenance of peace but the experience of the last few months has convinced the Working Committee that such cooperation without an equitable share in the power and authority of the State is not capable of yielding the desired result and consequently calls

upon the Muslim League Party in the legislature to reconsider its attitude in this respect and deputes Messrs Z. H. Lari, Aziz Ahmad Khan and Karim-ur-Raza Khan to meet Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and seek his advice.

The Working Committee feels that in view of the present aggressive attitude of the majority community and the failure of the Govt. to deal justly with the Musalmans, the best protection available to them is reliance on their resources and trust in *Allah* and calls upon them to prepare for any eventuality.

The Working Committee congratulates Muslim brethren who have died or suffered otherwise in their brave stand against aggression. Such sacrifice is inevitable and inherently involved in any struggle for existence and is preliminary to attainment of freedom.

Z. H. LARI

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Sultan Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1175)

BAHAWALPUR,
12 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

I am desired to bring the following facts to your kind notice for favour of advice.

Public Societies Act is in force in the Bahawalpur State. No public society can be established without the previous sanction of the Bahawalpur Government. It was applied to the Government to sanction the formation of Muslim League in the State but it was not allowed. It is presumed that the Bahawalpur Government is only taking such measures so that the Hindu Congress might not creep in to create trouble.

A society with the title of Bahawalpur State Muslim Board was established with purely Muslim League policy and programme, which is working with full vigour and unflinching spirit of service to the Muslim nation of the Bahawalpur State. As a result of the honest and sincere working of the Society, its branches have been established in the length and breadth of the State.

After some time it was proposed by the members that with due

respect to the law in force, the Bahawalpur Government may be requested that the All Bahawalpur State Muslim Board may be allowed to change its title as All Bahawalpur State Muslim League. The Prime Minister promised to accede to this request but said that we should wait for a little time more.

A section of Musalmans is of the opinion that the title Muslim League be changed without the sanction of the Government, in defiance to the law in force.

Another section is of the opinion that the law so far [as] it is in force should be respected and every possible effort be made to get sanction óf the Government according to law, in the interest of smooth working and for the best interests of the Muslim nation for the future and no illegal steps be taken as the Muslim League high command has never directed to defy the law anywhere in India. That class also is of opinion that any defiance of law specially for the purpose of changing title will create unpleasant situation which can be a source of trouble to Muslim cause. It is hoped that the Bahawalpur Government will allow the change of title in the near future.

I respectfully appeal you to very kindly advise the Musalmans of the State in this behalf as to what steps will be advisable for them; either to continue their efforts in accordance with the principles of law or to defy the law for the purpose of change of title. I also request you [to advise] whether it would be advisable for the Muslims to defy the law in case they find their grievances not properly redressed in any matter.

I earnestly hope that you will very kindly send your message to the Musalmans of the Bahawalpur State in this connection and also a general message for their future guidance.

Needless to point out that the entire Muslim population of Bahawalpur State is ready to follow your instructions and command.

Yours-in-Islam,
SULTAN MOHAMMAD

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Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (104)

13 November 1946

Dear Sir,

On November 11, hearing [about] the disturbances and destruction of life and property that were going on in the area between Ghaziabad and Hapur, I visited the area accompanied by Miss Mirdula Sarabhai and some other friends. There were some very regrettable and touching scenes, into the details of which I shall not go. We went into the villages of Dasna and Mussorie, which were predominantly Muslim with a few Hindu inhabitants.

The police tried to prevent us from going there, telling us that if we went there, we would be killed. All the same we went in on our own responsibility. On going into the village we found that the great majority of the Muslims had collected all the Hindus at one place and were giving them full protection. They had also taken the Hindu women together with their own womenfolk to places of safety.

I talked to one of them, who said that in spite of the ruthless destruction of their lives and property in all areas around, they were going to protect the lives, honour and property of the minority amongst them because this was the instruction from the Quaid-i-Azam.

The local Muslim population said they know that the barbarities were not committed by the local people, but by the pilgrims from outside, mainly from Rohtak and Hissar, incited by the R.S.S. and other communalists.

I would request you to issue frequent appeals and send Muslim League workers to the area, predominantly Muslim, to take the responsibility of protecting the life, honour and property of the minority.[1] I am also making a similar appeal to the Congress to send prominent workers to areas that are predominantly Hindu to take the responsibility of protecting the lives, honour and property of the Muslim minority.

Yours sincerely,
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the information and advice given by him. See *QAD*(104). Not printed.

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Ghulam Muhammad Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/282
[*Original in Urdu*]

BHIMONDI
DISTRICT THANA
13 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, leader of prospective Pakistan

Assalaamo Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah

May you live long (*Aameen*). All regards to your order, forbidding the Muslims in the majority areas to retaliate against the atrocities being committed in other areas, and prove by protecting them that in Pakistan they could not be suppressed and instead would get justice and looked after decently.

Rest assured your order would be fully complied with and there would be no rioting on the part of the Muslims.

However, may I ask you for our guidance as to what should we do if the Hindus in Muslim majority area create trouble and clash with the Muslims. I hope efforts would be made to convey to me your directive in this connection.

I am prepared to sacrifice all for the sake of Islam and the Muslims.

Pakistan *Zindabad*

Wassalaam

GHULAM MUHAMMAD ANSARI

287

S. Mohammad Azam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/83

KHATAULI
DISTRICT, MUZAFFARNAGAR,
13 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith is attached a copy of the letter which I have addressed

to the editor of the *Dawn* in connection with Garhmuktesar riots. I hope the matter will receive your kind consideration and you will kindly press the U.P. Govt. through H. E. the Viceroy to take action on the lines suggested in the letter.

Praying for your long life,

I am,

Respectfully yours,
S. MOHAMMAD AZAM KHAN

Enclosure to No. 287
S. Mohammad Azam Khan to the Editor, Dawn

Sir,

In spite of the strict censorship of the U. P. Government for the suppression and total blackout of the Garhmuktesar riot news, the truth has at last come to light. The graphic details given by many refugees of what happened at Garhmuktesar leave no doubt in one's mind that Garhmuktesar has been a major tragedy.

I, therefore, welcome the reassuring announcement of the Chief Minister and the Home Minister of the U.P. Government to the effect that an enquiry would be made into the allegations made against the officers who were present on the spot, for their failure to take any action whatsoever to stop the Hindu mob's hooliganism and maintain law and order.

In this connection, I would put up the following relevant points for consideration and enquiry:

i. The holocaust started on the evening of November 6 but the police did not open fire on any single occasion during the whole night.
ii. On the contrary, the whole police force withdrew to their own camp and left the stranded Muslims to the mercy of the Hindu wolves.
iii. The S. P. did not trust his Muslim subordinates and his first orders at the beginning of the riot were to disarm the Muslim members of his force and to ask them to sit idle.
iv. The first contingent of the Army had reached the fair on the morning of November 7, and the town of Garh was sacked at 12 noon, but the police or the army was dispatched to the town only at about 9 p.m. when all was over in the town and

the entire Muslim quarter lay in ruin.

v. Even the persons on duty at the fair were not given any protection by the police as the Health Department Camp, where a few Muslim officers were working, was also attacked and sacked by the Hindu mob.

vi. The attack was not sporadic but was well-planned and pre-determined as the mob was led by regular volunteers with whistles and was fully equipped with all kinds of weapons and requisites for arson, loot, etc.

It is alleged that the main elements who took part in this riot were Rohtak and Hissar Jats and R. S. S. volunteers. It is essential for a thorough enquiry that these persons should be fully combed out and brought to justice. I have to make the following suggestions in this respect:

a. The Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police of Rohtak, Hissar and other districts be asked to prepare confidential lists through *Patwaris* and *Chowkidars* etc. of all such persons in their respective jurisdiction who had gone to the fair, and their identification parade be held with a view to enabling the riot victims to identify the culprits.

b. A similar list be also prepared of the R. S. S. volunteers and a like parade be held of them.

c. The Muslim members of the police force who were at the fair and have witnessed this general massacre should also be invited along with the members of the police to take part in these parades.

d. The civil officers who have been guilty of criminal neglect of their duties should be immediately suspended lest they should influence their subordinates with a view to hiding the truth.

e. An impartial tribunal of enquiry with wide terms of reference be forthwith appointed and wide publicity be given to it so as to allay Muslim fears.

I am,

Yours truly,

S. MOHAMMAD AZAM KHAN

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/56
[Original in Urdu]
[Extract]

BHAGALPUR,
13 November 1946

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN BHAGALPUR—MASSACRE OF MUSLIMS

The killings, arson, kidnapping and looting continued in Bhagalpur for the fifth day and the situation is fast deteriorating and becoming more and more critical. The preparations for the deadly acts of violence were being made by Hindus for the last several months. They executed their plan after chalking out proper line of action.

The organised and regular attacks on the unarmed Muslims were launched on the 28th October at 11 a.m. for which the local *Marwaris* had secretly gathered a very large number of rioters from outside. They started looting the shops and burning the houses of the Muslims and attacked the Muslim passengers and those stranded in the bazars with swords, spears and *lathis*.

The Muslims were mercilessly killed in Shujaganj Bazar, Station Road and other Hindu *mohallas*.

The District Magistrate had become fully aware of the situation of the 28th October but no measures were undertaken by him to control and check the violence or make any arrest.

The Hindus were seen roaming the *mohallas*, highways and roads despite the imposition of curfew, and contrary to the requirement, police posts were set up at Mujahidpur, Tatarpur and other Muslim localities. This situation created grave problems for the Muslims who could not go out of their homes and acquire basic necessities of life. Those Muslims who escaped attacks by Hindu mobs are dying of hunger.

The entire responsibility of the hooliganism lies on the Hindu District Magistrate and the Hindu Congress Government. Neither army nor police was called for help from outside nor any action was taken to suppress the violence.

The number of Muslims killed in the disturbances has crossed two hundred while the wounded are about seven hundred. The deadly violence is now spreading to the suburbs and villages and the life of the Muslims in Bihar Province has become most critical and miserable.

The Muslim League should take notice of the developments and take appropriate measures to protect the Muslims, keeping in view the historical background.

[UNSIGNED]
OPPRESSED MUSLIMS OF BHAGALPUR

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H. A. Mannan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 565/103-9

ANJUMAN ISLAMIA,
BANKIPUR,
PATNA,
13 November 1946

Considering the great Bihar killings and the disturbed situation which is prevailing in the province, we beg to put the following suggestions for your kind consideration and approval:

a. Most of the villages in Bihar are still in danger. So complete and free military control is demanded. Present semi-military control [has] proved a failure. Government press [is] suppressing the news. Catastrophe [is] unprecedented in history. Still no full and free military control has been given [*sic*].
b. Arrest and punishment of culprits, rioters and leaders is immediately demanded.
c. Immediate need is of combing Bihar villages, specially in the affected areas, for Muslim females, children and isolated males with special British or Muslim troops protection.
d. Some officers and police have directly or indirectly aided and abetted the rioters. Investigation and severe punishment of such officers [*sic*].
e. Harvest season is approaching shortly. The standing crops belonging to Muslim evacuees in affected areas are left uncared [for]. Arrangements should be made for their protection. The Government should reap the harvest and pay the cost [*sic*] to the cultivators as has been done by the Bengal Government.
f. Future protection of the directly affected people [should be ensured]. According to Government 70,000 refugees are living in different refugee centres all over Bihar. At least 70,000 more are housed with relatives in different parts of Bihar.

Approximately the total of refugees is 1,50,000.

[*Three paras of repetitive nature deleted*]

So we make the following suggestions for their rehabilitation:

i. Shifting of 1,50,000 refugees to Bengal, Sind, the Punjab, Frontier and Baluchistan. For this purpose inter-provincial board should be formed with central supervision for the transfer of affected population and for their employment.
ii. An independent commission is urgently demanded to investigate the causes of great Bihar massacre.
iii. Special courts with English judges be set up immediately to dispose of a large number of cases.
iv. Collective fines, punitive taxes and compensation [be decided] after the enquiry.

After the transfer of population of nearly 1,50,000 refugees immediately, the areas which have not been affected should not be neglected. We suggest the following measures to be taken in such areas:

a. Transfer of population from such areas also to Muslim majority provinces, i.e. Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan.
b. Transfer of population from minority areas in Bihar to Muslim majority areas in Bihar, i.e. Purnea, Southern Santhal Pargana and Chotanagpur.
c. Establishment of institutions in each such rehabilitated blocks. Education and training should be based on the lines of practical education, i.e. small-scale industry, mechanical, chemical and electrical, so that they may be able to earn their living as early as possible.
d. Handloom and powerloom, handicrafts, carpentry, weaving, iron-smithy and other professions on commercial and technical lines.

H. A. MANNAN
General Secretary,
Bihar Provincial Muslim Students Federation

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 965/65-8

DELHI,
13 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The lot of the Muslims in those provinces of India which are still free from large-scale bloodshed is not greatly more hopeful than that of our brethren in Bihar who have already suffered martyrdom at the hands of *Kafirs*. Even in those provinces where Musalmans are not overwhelmed by superior numbers, e.g. Delhi, we live under constant fear and often have to suffer aggression from the Hindus. I shall write more about Delhi in this letter but first I would give a few reasons for the present situation. These deserve your gracious perusal as they are expressions of an anxious heart and not so much because of their worth.

All doubts have now been finally dispelled as to the nature of this terrible oppression. This is not disturbances or riots but planned extermination of Musalmans which is being conducted by all-India militarist organizations working under the secret supervision and guidance of the Congress and the Mahasabha. I think lakhs of rupees are contributed by rich Hindus for the maintenance of these organizations. Every open-eyed person knows this. There is the Rashtariya Sevak Sangh with its branches in all the cities and districts of India. Hindus are given military training and then sent to every nook and corner of the country to organize their co-religionists. There may be other similar organizations under superior discipline and guidance which have made enormous progress in militarizing the Hindus. Today, therefore, our position is that we have to face a big nation, which is militarizing itself with increasing speed—the strength and violence of which we are already feeling—inspired with the ideal of ruling this sub-continent, if necessary, by force and complete annihilation of Musalmans.

Obviously great has been the incentive and encouragement given by the Congress Ministries to the violent activities of the Hindus. They have been emboldened by refunding the fines imposed during the Congress disturbances while ceaseless attempts are made to strike terror into Muslim hearts by punitive fines, attachment of property, indiscriminate mass arrests and firings and in many

other ways. The Hindu Provincial Ministries do not only run provincial administration; their chief aim is definitely to strengthen their organizations by rooting out all opposition and raising the Hindu community to the position of invincible masters. Thus the political, economic and social suppression of the Muslims, as also their physical extermination, has an important place in the programme of the Congress Ministries.

The treatment meted out to Musalmans by local administration everywhere in India also adds to our troubles. Since the principle of democracy has been blindly imitated in India, the administration of the country has practically passed into the hands of Hindus. I would like to cite the case of Delhi. Even the Delhi police is monopolized by the Hindus and the Sikhs. As a result, the treatment of police in the city is highly discriminatory towards Musalmans. Musalmans are persecuted on all sorts of excuses whereas the Hindus are treated most leniently. It is quite possible that some of these Hindu and Sikh officers receive big sums from their co-religionists for their discriminatory attitude. At least that is the impression one gets. The Deputy Commissioner of Delhi is also a Hindu and does not even belong to this city. The President and Vice-President of the Municipal Committee are Musalmans; but they do not belong to the Muslim League and are mere puppets in the hands of Hindus. The Chief Commissioner is an Englishman but has a Hindu Secretary and most of the responsible posts from top to bottom are held by the Hindus so that we can expect no justice even in this historic capital of ours. What must be the condition under purely Hindu Governments!

The situation can be mended if Government outlaws all militarist organizations. Even then the Hindus will surely carry on their nefarious activities in their provinces. The real remedy for us, therefore, is that the Muslim League should set up a really strong and efficient all-India organization to militarize Musalmans for defence purposes. This organization should specially concentrate its activities in the Muslim minority provinces without neglecting the rest. This organization should work so efficiently that in the shortest time every Muslim *Mohalla* should become a veritable castle. Only then we can be safe because the enemy is already well prepared for the attack.

Special steps should be taken to strengthen the position of Musalmans in the central and local administrations in every province. In this connection help should be taken from Provincial Muslim League. The Delhi Provincial League is, however, composed of worthless people and a special organization should be set up

in this province for the above purpose.

Lastly, you may personally see the Viceroy and write to the British Premier and fully inform them of the different aspects of the situation.

We are faced with a most critical situation and only hard work and God's help can liberate us.

[UNSIGNED]
FOLLOWER

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G. I. Vohra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/272-79

VAHORWAD,
PRANTY,
A. P. RAILWAY
13 November 1946

Dear Quaid,

Your statement before a public meeting on the *'Id-e-Qurban* day, to the effect that you take pains to read every letter you receive, has prompted me to write to you.

[*Next para omitted*][1]

I am one of those crores of your admirers and followers who recognize the tremendous services you have rendered for the Musalmans of India. Your responsibility is all the more [*sic*] greater because you are leading a nation which has blind faith in you and which, I dare say, will not hesitate to plunge into any activity and undertake any risk, however hazardous [*sic*] it might be, at your command. I used to believe and still believe that you are by nature a constitutionalist. Therefore, the resolution of the League Council came as a pleasant surprise to me. I firmly believe that the Congress is out to establish majority rule over India as a whole and it will not hesitate to employ any means, fair or foul, to achieve this object. The Congress after its dismal failure to wean away the Musalmans from the Muslim League is now out to crush the Muslim League. In its resolution on the disturbances in Eastern Bengal, the Working Committee of the Congress has declared that nationalism and communalism are fighting a life and death struggle. Of course the Congress has the monopoly of nationalism. In other words, the Congress is out to crush the Muslim League.

As regards the British Government, it will surely take the side of the Congress because their vested interests in India cannot remain safe if they displease the Congress.

In these circumstances, am I wrong if I believe that sooner or later, the Musalmans of India will have to fight a life-and-death struggle if they are to achieve Pakistan? This is the reason why the resolution of the League Council to achieve Pakistan by direct action came as a pleasant surprise to me. But that pleasant surprise was destined to be short-lived. The Muslim League has joined the Interim Government and the resolution of the League Council is thus virtually killed. Was it after all meant to be a resolution on paper only? I wonder.

I do not doubt that it was necessary to join the Interim Government in the interest of the Musalmans. But by taking this step, the Muslim League has not gained a victory. On the contrary it had to swallow a few insults. Circumstances forced the Muslim League to adopt this course just as circumstances forced it to pass the Direct Action resolution. Ever since the British Cabinet Mission's arrival in India, a feeling persists in my mind that the force of circumstances is against the Muslim League and as a result of this the piloting of Muslim affairs has been somewhat shaky.

I feel really conscious [*sic*] for the future of the Muslim nation. Please do not take this as a reflection on your ability.

I believe you are best qualified to lead us at this critical juncture. May *Allah* crown your efforts with success.

Please allow me to write a few lines in connection with your recent appeal to the Muslim majority provinces to remain calm in face of provocations. You have also appealed to the Musalmans in Congress-ruled provinces to bear the oppressions inflicted on them calmly. This is all good as far as it goes. But I ask you how long are they to continue to suffer? The Congress is out to crush the Muslim League. What is the Muslim League doing about it? Do you think conditions will become normal in the near future even though the Congress has adopted a fighting attitude.

And the greatest question of all, can Pakistan be achieved by constitutional means?

[*Next para omitted*][2]

Yours sincerely,
G. I. VOHRA
B.Com.

[1&2]Unimportant.

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Muhammad Afzal Hussain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/55-6

ALIGARH,
13 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is to convey to you that we at Aligarh have been most deeply shocked at the tragedy of Bihar. Our grief grows further when we find that we could not do much to avert the tragedy or even to stop it at an earlier stage. Most of the people believe that had the Muslim League high command shifted immediately to Patna and had appealed for salvage and relief, the killing would have stopped earlier and the loss would have been less. The Bihar Muslim League committed a blunder of far-reaching consequences in not inviting you immediately and our prestige has gone down.

Furthermore, the people here are indignant at the attitude of Muslim League Executive Councillors. Two of them went to Bihar. They did not make any statement to state the magnitude of the happening. Three days back, Pandit Nehru made a very treacherous statement to the press wherein he said that only 2,000 were killed and these activities were carried out by dacoits. Was it not the duty of our Executive Councillors to contradict it as a blatant lie.

Sir, we must do something more and obvious in order to restore our confidence and morale to protect the lives of the Muslims all over India. I shall request you to call the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council. I want to move in that Council meeting that the Muslims of India should demand that they should be exempted from licences on sword. Every free Muslim is enjoined by Islam to keep arms for self-defence and sword is our traditional heritage. Since the holy Prophet (PBUH) himself kept it, every Muslim should keep it. Nothing but *Qur'an* and sword can help the Muslims at this hour.

I hope this tragedy will not be wasted [*sic*] and now when the Constituent Assembly is going to meet, we will insist on some real and vital safeguards for the Muslims in the minority provinces. One of the most important, among them, is to wriggle out of the all India Centre proposed by the Cabinet Mission and to achieve free Muslim States.

I trust you will kindly excuse me for this frankness but as I find the situation I must state it. Moreover, I am seeing the repercussions.

Hundreds of our students out of dissatisfaction with the Muslim League have joined the Khaksar Movement. If this impression is allowed to grow there will be a great split among the Muslims and our national organization will go to pieces.

With respects and *salaam*,

Your devoted servant,
MOHAMMAD AFZAL HUSSAIN QADRI
M.Sc., Ph.D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Cantab)

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Ghayurul Islam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/57-8

ALIGARH,
13 November 1946

Respected Sir,

I have been sending a detailed report of all our activities but I am extremely sorry that our news could not find place in the columns of the *Dawn*. All these reports were sent through the correspondent here. People rightly expect from us something in such national emergencies but they get disappointed when they do not hear anything. The students have forgone all their comforts, left smoking, and fixed a target of Rs. 50,000. So far Rs. 18,000 have been collected and we hope to realize this sum very soon. Yesterday, we have sent a batch of 25 relief workers with some 8,000 [pieces of] clothes.

A medical mission will also be sent as soon as Dr. Ziauddin provides us with medicines and other requirements.

Quaid-i-Azam, due to your heavy engagements you could not find time to visit Aligarh for the last two years. The students are very keen to hear you and they are pressing us to request you to visit Aligarh soon. On behalf of the students, we personally waited upon you in Delhi and now again request you to fix some time in November and oblige us.

Yours-in-Islam,
GHAYURUL ISLAM
Honorary Secretary,
Muslim University Union

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Asad Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/284-5
[Original in Urdu]

BALLIPUR,
P. O. BAKIAPUR,
DIST. MANBHUM,
BIHAR,
13 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is brought to your notice that what has been written by Syed Masood Ahmad, Secretary, Sub-Division Muslim League, Begu Sarai, Dist. Monghyr, rightly and truly represents our feelings and I support it. Not to speak of myself, all the Muslims of this area, rich or poor, are extremely sad to hear about the killing of their brethren in Bihar. We are more perturbed when we hear about the possibility of further killings. Every Muslim, rich or poor, who abhors riots and brutal killing of his brethren, will agree with the contents of the letter. Therefore, if you are a real benefactor of Muslims, you should proceed to Bengal and make efforts to save the Hindus from the prevalent tyranny. The security of Hindus in East Bengal is the only way to secure safety and salvation of Muslims of Bihar. If you are indeed a great leader and people acknowledge you as such, a single statement from you will be enough, to pacify the people and they may stop oppressing the Hindus. If they do not obey you then it may very well be inferred that the people do not accept you as Quaid-i-Azam, the great leader. In this case you should abandon the title and save yourself from the ignominy which is being heaped upon you. If the Leaguers have really not perpetrated the cruelty then you may give a general statement that the Leaguers are not involved in the event and that the *goonda* elements are responsible for the reign of terror in Bengal and that the Muslims will join hands with the Hindus and the Government of Bengal to pursue the *goondas* just as the Congressites had done before and are doing now in Bihar in order to provide safety to the Muslims. Had you and your League ministry done the same in Bengal then the situation in Bihar would have been different. Your fight was for our rights and directed against the Government but God knows

better how sword and daggers were used against the innocent Hindus. The proverb 'one slays another pays' truly reflects the situation and if it is allowed to persist, the poor Muslims will be reduced to nothing. The Nawabs and the rich will secure safety for themselves but the poor, who needs a job to sustain himself, cannot stay in his abode, which is not even *pucca* and only a spark of fire will be enough to burn down his thatched hut and no one will come to his help in time of distress. Whatever has been said during the elections is merely lip-service. It is therefore, better to avert outbreak of a riot instead of providing help to its victims after the outbreak. I hope that in order to stop the unjust killing of Muslims of Bihar, you will ensure the safety of the Hindus of Bengal. I am not pleading for any group or party but writing to you only as a Muslim who is deeply shocked at the atrocious killing of Muslims.

Yours,
MASTER ASAD ALI KHAN

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Yusuf A. Haroon to G. M. Sayed
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 274/288

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
14 November 1946

My dear Shah Sahib,

I have written you several letters and also personally requested you in regard to your support to me in this election but I am sorry that I have not yet received any reply; [n]or have you neither [*sic*] issued any statement up to this day in my support.

From the various reports that I have seen in the papers and the reports that I have received from my supporters and office-bearers of the Muslim League organisation are [*sic*]that you have been touring and canvassing support for Mr. Rashdi, an expelled member of the Muslim League organization. I am sure that these reports must be without foundation but it has become now more essential [than before] that you should immediately issue a statement not only pledging your support but the support of the whole Provincial Muslim League organization in my favour.

You must have seen the recent speech of Mr. Rashdi, published in the *Daily Gazette* of 12 November, and, therefore, your recent meeting with Mr. Rashdi at Nawabshah has created some misunderstanding. Therefore, you as the President of the Provincial Muslim League should contradict all these various reports. It is your duty towards your organization in the country not to allow such reports to gain ground.

As there are about fifteen days left to the election, I hope you will take immediate action and will inform me accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

G. M. Sayed, Esq.,
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

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Mohammad Abdul Ghani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 565/110

PATNA CAMP,
14 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The most distressing features of the Bihar riots are:

i. The criminal negligence of the Bihar Hindu Magistrates and Police officers, particularly Bengali officers who are mostly agitated over Noakhali incidents, in taking timely action against the rioters.
ii. In most places Hindu police have disarmed the Muslim resisters and thus facilitated their annihilation, say in Village Paighambarpur in Chapra Saddar and elsewhere.
iii. Arrest of the Muslims, who bravely defended themselves with some losses to the rioters.
iv. Mass conversion and abduction in Chapra and other districts of Bihar.
v. Total failure of Bihar officials in supplying conveyance and escort to the Muslim League workers in Chapra as well as other places for the disposal of the dead bodies and rescuing the abducted women and girls.
vi. Guns have been seized from the Muslims. In short, there is no law and order in Bihar. Bihar Congress Hindu Ministry has utterly

failed to maintain law and order, rather have let loose the top ring Congress leaders to excite the mobs against the Muslims.

I hope you will be pleased to move the Central Government for the appointment of a special commission of enquiry into such heinous offences and also for the appointment of tribunals for speedy disposal of cases.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. GHANI
MLA
Secretary,
Bihar Assembly Muslim League Party

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Mohammad Izhar-ul-Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 578/63-4

URGENT

GHAZIABAD, [UP,]
14 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I venture to address this letter to you after deep deliberation and because I consider it my first duty to convey to you what I believe is the feeling amongst the masses of the Muslims who have been victims of the recent atrocities in the minority provinces. I am the President of the Town Muslim League, Ghaziabad, and although there has been actually no riot here in the town proper, we have witnessed the brutalities committed within three miles from us. For the last several days we have not been sleeping for fear of our lives and we have kept vigilance to ward off any possible mass attacks which have been too frequent now. Relations between the Hindus and Muslims have become strained. Whether it be on account of the Congress propaganda or the League propaganda, the fact remains that they have become strained beyond redemption. If at any time it becomes imperative for you to consider the question of transfer of population, it is now. It is almost impossible for a few strained Muslim families to live in predominantly Hindu localities. You may well defer the transfer of population on provincial scale but certainly you have to consider how best you or your representatives in the Interim Government can safeguard the life and property of the poor Muslim masses in the far-flung Hindu villages where they are

absolutely at the mercy of their neighbours and where Pakistan *Zindabad* means *Murdabad* to themselves.

I wish to make it clear here that I am not at all against the League ideal. I believe in Pakistan and I also believe that the minority provinces' Muslims should also do their bit for it but, Quaid-i-Azam, minority provinces' Muslims can continue their faith in the ideal only when they feel that the establishment of a sovereign Muslim State will better their own lot inasmuch as it will provide them with a strong ally to whom they can look in the hour of affliction.

I take the liberty of requesting you to ponder what effect the recent terrible events have had or can reasonably have on the morale of the common man. I do not know what the Committee of Action, the high command, or their representatives in the Interim Government have been doing to redress the Muslim grievances in this connection behind the scenes but I find little activity on their part in the affected areas even when they are so near the capital. Passing resolutions and throwing blame on the Congress and the Congress Government may have very good propaganda value but it is only for the intelligentsia. The man in the street has to face the hard facts. Only the other day, the Private Secretary of Pandit Nehru taunted me that the massacres were taking place because he wanted them to be massacred.

There have been ghastly tyrannies over the Muslims in the constituency of the gentleman whom you have made the Finance Member. Is it not distressing that this gentleman should not be able to spare a few minutes to drive to a distance of 14 to 15 miles from the seat of his Government to see with his own eyes what has happened to them, chiefly because they voted for him in spite of pressure to the contrary? The Muslims here feel forsaken. They realize that they can be made scapegoats only for the sake of offices and nobody is to look after them.

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Nishtar of course visited Bihar but that was at the invitation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Obviously, they attach more importance to their Assembly and Council duties than to the safety of their co-religionists.

I may be permitted to mention that on the 13th instant, I along with Mr. Anwar Ali Quraishi went to see Hon'ble Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. After waiting for an hour and a half we had the good fortune to be admitted into his presence when he was to board his motor-car. I related to him the tale of the woes and sufferings of the Muslims. I spoke to him of the indifference of the Hindu authorities of the district and I entreated him just to pay a short visit to the afflicted areas of Tehsil Ghaziabad to see for himself what damages have been done. I told him a visit by him or any other

prominent leader would reassure the Muslims and restore [their] confidence and would possibly bring about a wholesome change in the attitude of the officials. But, Quaid-i-Azam, it grieves [me] to have to say that he had not a word of sympathy and consolation. He heard it all and said *Achcha*. In his opinion, what was required was police and military and not the League sympathy.

With folded hands, I entreat you, Quaid-i-Azam, to ponder over the situation and take suitable action before the masses lose their confidence in the League high command. I am afraid rural areas' Muslims will perforce give up the League unless the League can come to their rescue when they are in difficulty.

Yours respectfully [and your]
brother-in-Islam,
MOHAMMAD IZHAR-UL-HASAN
President,
Ghaziabad Muslim League

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/349-51

BENGAL CAMP,
GRAND HOTEL,
PATNA,
14 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am here since the 7th November 1946 with our bands of Calcutta workers for the relief work. I am here as the Secretary of the Relief Committee, appointed by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. I am busy day and night in work. But I feel I must give you at least the following information so that you may get all viewpoints.

WHY CHOTANAGPUR DIVISION IS FREE FROM RIOTS?

i. Of the four Divisions of the Province of Bihar, viz. Tirhut, Patna, Bhagalpur and Chotanagpur, only Chotanagpur Division is absolutely free from riots and disturbances while all other divisions are affected.
ii. The reason why Chotanagpur Division is free from disorder is that the Adibasis (Aborigines), the Mundas, Oraons,

Santals under the leadership of Col. Jaipal Singh Munda, are supporting the Muslim League and have declared that the moment a single Muslim is attacked in Chotanagpur, the Adibasi Tribes will annihilate the Hindus in Chotanagpur.

iii. Thank God, our Adibasi policy has succeeded beyond doubt though I must complain that you, as leader, gave me little support in this move. The Bengal Premier declared in the meeting of the Bengal League Working Committee that Mr. Raghib Ahsan's Adibasi campaign has been justified by the results.

As regards our pressing and urgent needs I am constrained to say that on account of the constitutional weakness of Khwaja Nazimuddin, the President of the Bengal Relief Committee, the ICS men and the bureaucracy, little progress has been made, so far as the facilities from Bihar Govt. are concerned. The Working Committee of the Bengal League formally passed a resolution demanding the same facilities to the Bengal League delegation in Bihar which the Bengal League Govt. has offered to the Congress in Noakhali and Bengal. The resolution was published in papers and forwarded to the Bihar Premier through Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Mr. Nazimuddin was sent to Patna but K. Nazimuddin never pressed for these facilities. He prayed, prayed and prayed. He requested, submitted and offered humble supplications with the result that we have up to date [*sic*].

Practically no rescue party and trucks with armed guards to rescue thousands of Muslim girls, women and children in the possession of the Hindus [*sic*].

The Govt. have deliberately obstructed and hampered our relief work so that the injured and stranded Muslims may die or be *shudhized* and converted. Mass conversion is going on in Chapra and Patna Districts. The latest order is that League relief workers must inform the officials about their movement before leaving a place or going to another place just like *goondas*.

The Govt. is giving trucks, cars, guards, petrol and all facilities to the I.N.A., the Congress, the Mahasabha, the nationalist Muslims, the Khaksars and the Shudhi Sabha to move and work freely and destroy all evidence of Congress Government criminality and make Congress propaganda and even *Shudhi* work in Bihar with the Govt. help as they are doing Congress work.

The Govt. are burning with petrol thousands of dead bodies of the Muslims but not allowing us to photograph and bury them according to Islamic rites. Cremation is absolutely anti-Islamic and must stop. None has protested against it.

The Govt. have not arrested a single leader of the riots or even the rioters. They are arresting the Muslims for the offence of resisting Hindu mobs.

The Govt. are not sending supplies of food and medicines to over 100,000 Muslim refugees nor allowing us to do so. The Hindu officials are hampering our work. The open plan of the Hindu Congress Govt. is:

a. Firstly, destroy the Muslims in villages by Hindu mobs, police and state-killing and anti-firing policy epitomized in the order, *Bhashan Say Samjhao-Goli Mat Chalao* (preach [*sic* for persuade] with words but never [*sic* for not] resort to firing). This is the standing order of the Congress Govt. in Bihar.
b. Secondly, starve out the Muslims by stoppage of supplies of food and economic boycott by the Hindus.
c. Thirdly, obstruct all League workers in getting transport, rescue parties and guards for recovering hundreds of thousands of the Muslims still in danger and in Hindu possession as slave girls and new *shudras*.
d. Fourthly, help the *Shudhi* Movement of the Hindu Congress and Mahasabha. In short, to kill the Muslims in Bihar in the darkness of blackout. *Shudhi* is raging in Bihar.
e. Fifthly, make the League unpopular even among the remaining Muslims and force them to line up with Hindu Congress.

Our urgent needs are:

i. That a king-commissioned Muslim officer be immediately appointed as rescue officer to direct gigantic rescue operations. This is essential as there is no civil Govt. and the Congress Ministry has not done it and will never do it. Thousands of Muslim girls and women will be lost to the eternal shame of Muslim India and its leaders.
ii. That the rescue officer should get at least 200 Muslim and British soldiers and 100 trucks and jeeps to rescue Muslim girls, women and children and recover looted property estimated in crores.
iii. That disposal squads should be formed by the said officer to bury Muslims' dead bodies according to Islamic *Shariat*.
iv. That all facilities should be given to League workers, including trucks, petrol, guards, etc.
v. That food and medicine supplies should be better and under the supervision of League workers.
vi. That special non-Hindu, non-Sikh officers should be appointed as

investigation officers to investigate cases of murder, loot and arson, and the cases should be tried by special tribunals.

vii. That all ring leaders should be arrested immediately. The policy of no firing, no arrest means to prepare for the next round of the extermination of the Muslims from towns after finishing [them in] villages.

viii. That security bonds to keep peace should be taken from all local Hindu leaders, Zamindars and Chaudhries. They must be held responsible for any attack on the Muslims as was done in the Arrah, Gaya and Patna riots in 1917.

ix. That the guns and arms of the Muslims should not be seized and emergency gun licences should be given to the Muslim minorities for self-defence as a special defence measure as was done by the Bihar Govt. after the Bihar Sharif riots in 1941 in Sub-Division of Patna.

x. That immediate action should be taken against the high and low executive and police officers who have taken leading part in the destruction of Muslin lives and organizing the riots.

xi. The Govt. order that League relief workers must inform Govt. and police officials on arrival in Bihar and also inform officials on departure and arrival in different places in the province, places League workers in the category of *goondas* and criminals, and should be cancelled at once.

xii. The Govt. order not to use military uniform or helmet should be cancelled or the I.N.A. and Congress volunteers corps and the Khaksars should be equally dis-uniform [*sic*].

xiii. That an international tribunal and independent commission of enquiry should be set up to make enquiry into the Bihar riots.

xiv. That the Bihar Ministry must go as it does not exist so far as the Muslims and the Adibasis are concerned. There is no civil Govt.

xv. That the Central and the Provincial Govts. must pay to the Muslims full reparations and rehabilitation money.

xvi. Please do pay a personal visit to Bihar and see things for yourself.

xvii. Mr. Nazimuddin by constitution and training is a constitutional man who is misfit in Bihar where there is no law and no constitution and no civil Govt.

Kindly appoint Malik Firoz Khan Noon as the Resident Director- General of relief operations on behalf of the Committee of

Action of the All India Muslim League in Bihar. He is the fittest man for the job.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
M. A.,
Secretary,
Bihar Muslim Relief Committee

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Mohammad Aizaz Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/93

GORAKHPUR,
14 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is presumed that you would have seen the resolution of the U.P. Muslim League Working Committee [meeting] held at Lucknow on 10.11.1946. It was noted with surprise that fiery speakers on the Bombay Resolution [of 29 July 1946] vehemently brought this coalition move. They moved and supported it with full force of their tongue because their hearts are weak. The *Pioneer,* Lucknow, has written in today's editorial that Mr. Jinnah's lieutenants are revolting against his policy. This resolution is shameful. It is having a demoralising effect on the Muslims of this province and lowering down the morale of the *millat.*

How insulting is it that a nation which has declared Direct Action seeks coalition with anti-*millat* forces at a time when the fight is nearing its end? This should have come from the Congress side, because they form the majority, and not [from] we [*sic* for ours].

The nation is fed up with this leadership who tremble like cowards. They are not prepared for any test and sacrifices for the cause of the *millat.* It is they who have deliberately kept the organization weak to maintain their imposed leadership. They have no conception of organization and uplift of the down-trodden Muslims.

The provincial high command has expressed lip-sympathy with the martyrs and sufferers of Bihar. They have miserably failed to feel the feelings of the Muslims of this province. They could not think of their own organization at such a critical time and organize any help to Bihar Muslims. Being the first neighbour they should have organized a relief

mission but they have avoided it because in that case they will have to leave their drawing rooms. Is it the sign of national solidarity and Islamic brotherhood? Instead of doing something for the *millat* during the time which they have got they are horrified by the gruesome aggression of the Hindus. The Hindus have organized this killing simply to horrify the Muslims. This is their last card.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League, U.P., has decided to send to you a deputation, consisting of a few job-seekers, to have your permission to form a coalition in this Province with the Congress in the Government. I assure you this will kill the Muslim League in the prevailing circumstances. The entire nation is against this move. It has no sanction behind [it]. The Working Committee consists of the imposed leadership which is losing ground day by day. Those who approach you with the proposal of coalition have done nothing for the Muslims in their own districts. Please ask them to place before you the record of their services which they have rendered in their own districts and then hear them, otherwise not.

We are sure you will refuse to hear them on this subject (coalition) and save the *millat*'s honour from dwindling by the unwise actions of such opportunists. You have thrown the nation in the stormy ocean of Direct Action—it is for you to save [it] by the grace of the Almighty.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD AIZAZ AHMAD
Member, All India Muslim
League Council
Editor, the AIMAN *weekly*

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/149-50

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 November 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

First of all I must thank you for your letter of August 23rd [1]that I have received now on the 12th of November after it has been checked

from place to place. It was very kind indeed on your part to have written all the appreciation. For I am fully convinced of the fact that merit really has a meaning with the Muslim. I served the Hindu Congress for 25 years but the worth of an independently-inclined Indian Christian was not recognized there, they wanted only yes-men and yes-women.

Today, I am enclosing some very interesting clippings from the Press. [2]It is rather ironical to read the illogical way of thinking of the Hindus. Even Mr. Gandhi is not free from it. Look how he argues about the Hindu temples in Junagadh, and for that reason it is being compelled to accede to Hindustan. Does he forget that most of Muslim religious shrines and the centres of their ancient culture, their mosques, their forts, their tombs and shrines are all in the Indian territory and not a single Muslim has ever raised a voice of protest against that illegal possession by the Indian Govt.? They have taken lying down all this colossal loss without a murmur and look at their reasoning regarding the referendum in Kashmir where they do not even want to hold it till the Muslim masses have been thoroughly terrorized into their way of thinking. How is Pakistan going to hold its own under these circumstances? Look how Sardar Patel threatened day in and day out and never seems to come to a reconciling mood. He has now threatened the very existence of Hyderabad. It seems the Indian union has a plan against Pakistan after Auchinleck and Lord Mountbatten have left. They have asked for a quick division of armed forces now. They are also taking advantage of the rift in the League itself. Pakistan is threatened from outside and inside. It seems that the Muslims as a whole have not become conscious of the dangers that threaten them. People from the city tell me that you see Muslim youth in the city gambling, betting and playing cards in the lawn, saying to each other Pakistan has now come and we can enjoy! Then another fellow who goes for military parade to the Minto Park daily, told me that there is very poor response from the youth of Lahore to the call of the nation. Instead of thousands flocking there to get military training, your boys are only in hundreds. Those who are in charge of making the nation conscious of their duties are not doing it whole-heartedly and honestly uptil now. My brother was talking to Brig. Nazir stationed at Sialkot, who said [that] if he was stationed in Lahore, he would raise a very good number of national guards because here there is more supply that is not being mobilized at present. Young men who are doing nothing should be compulsorily mobilized and given military training. Look what they are doing on the other side.

The Press on that side is even demanding mobilization of girls and here young men are roaming about. The radio has now taken up the duty of making Pakistani citizens conscious of their duties but from what I hear on it, I do not think this is the way to wake up a nation at all. The proper method is not being used by those in charge.

And do you know that there are people in the top ranks who are not liking your presence over here because they have to work hard while you are here! Is this mentality not amazing? It reveals a lot of things. I can tell you things that nobody else can at times.

There are some Red Shirts engaged as drivers around the Govt. House. Care should be taken as to who remains around you and those who are top-ranking ones. I came to know of this only this morning. Because a fellow came alone to our house and said [that] he was your driver. He was driving a huge Buick car but numberless. On questioning him, he looked a bit suspicious. My name should not be disclosed about this as these are dangerous days. Everybody knows that I supply you with all sorts of information and hence there may be danger of my life in that. You know how the Muslims can be bought even for dirty deeds. At times, I feel my stay in Lahore is rather risky. Please destroy my letters after reading them lest they get into the hands of the enemies.

Trusting God will give you speedy recovery,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Mohammad Azizul Hasan Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/58

ISLAMPUR,
MUZAFFARPUR,
14 November 1946

URGENT
My dear,

I beg to bring the following facts which I hope will be found appealing to your generous heart for doing the needful.

That the exaggerated propaganda of provincial newspapers like *Aryawart* (Hindi), *Searchlight* and *Indian Nation* (English) about the

happenings of East Bengal has greatly roused the feelings of the Hindus of Bihar, causing slaughter of innumerable innocent Muslims of Bihar in particular and other provinces in general. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President- elect of the A.I.C.C., who has recently visited the area (East Bengal), has confirmed in toto the news published in these papers. Hearing this exaggerated news from such a responsible person of such a vast organization, which boasts of representing all the communities of India, the Hindus of Bihar have been still more roused to take revenge on innocent Muslims of Bihar. Mr. Kripalani should have sent thousands of well-organized volunteers to crush the hooligans creating trouble in E. B. [rather] than rousing the major party of Bihar to crush minority population. This clearly indicates that big leaders like Mr. Kripalani come to party politics, i.e. communal platform, and cause bloodshed to [the] innocent [and] helpless instead of taking revenge on real culprits. Why these newspapers are not banned and, at such a critical moment when independence of India seems close, Mr. J. B. Kripalani is [not] replaced with a suitable man for presidentship of such a vast organization (Congress) which, otherwise, will go on widening the gulf of differences between the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims, and thereby causing delay in achievement of independence.

From the news published in *Searchlight*, dated 12.11.1946, it is learnt that 380 persons have been arrested regarding disturbances at Benibad (Muzaffarpur District), which include some chronic patients of paralysis and gout. The persons who are said to be patients of gout and paralysis are sure to escape from being prosecuted, and when their [*sic*] charge is proved false, it is certain [that] others who are able-bodied will be set free, saying that allegations against all the arrested are false or at the most they will give slight punishment to some of them. This is what is external and internal deeds of the planning [*sic*]. Further, before the incident of Benibad, when a Govt. official was deputed to control the situation of Benibad, he pretended that the motor in which he was going to the spot went out of order and thus he could not reach the spot in time. When everything was complete and houses and properties of the Muslims were looted and nationalist Muslims like Hafiz Mohammed Shafi, his father, his son with 12 other Muslims were killed, Government officials rushed to the spot to wipe out the tears of those surviving and thus console them and gain name for their sympathy for the Muslims in their peril. This is what the Government officials have done

at the instance of big zamindars and *mukhias* and their own internal communal feeling with few exceptions in other parts of the Province, Patna, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Saran etc. What was the thing that during the Civil Disobedience Movement the Government controlled the worst internal situation of India while at the same time border of India was being threatened by the enemies of India? It was not difficult for the Govt. to control the situation of Bihar if Govt. officials were bent upon it by [*sic* for from] the core of their heart. Even those who are told to be best leaders of the Congress come on platform and speak " I know you are enraged by troubles created by the Muslims of Noakhali". What is the necessity of speaking these words when they have internal motive to check the trouble [*sic*]. I have been reported by one of the members of our organization that in Village Done, P.O. Done, P.S. Darauli, Dist. Saran, poor Muslims, having 23 houses in the total population of about 500 in the village, are being threatened [in] various ways. Last year, they were being forced to contribute towards *Ramlila* and succeeded in realizing from many of them before the letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, warning them to stop such contribution from the Muslims, had reached their hand. Now they are propagating here and there that Muslims have kept knives and that they are slaughtering cows now and then. On the 5th Nov. [19]46, at the time people were about to sleep, people raised loud shouts that a cow is slaughtered and innumerable [people] reached the mosque of the village where there is *Bathan* (cow house) of some Muslims and later on when they found nothing but an old man, they returned. Now the land that had been given for cultivation has been returned [*sic*] from the Muslims after they had kept ready for *Rabi fasal* [crop] and standing paddy which is nearing harvest is to be taken for H. E. School there. The poor Muslims of the Province have on the one hand to help the Hindus in achievement of independence and on the other they have to free themselves from the slavery of their neighbour Hindus who regard them as *Achhut*, nay, even degraded [*sic*] than *Achhut*.

It is high time when Muslim leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani, Sheikh Zahiruddin Ansari, Advocate; Maulana Hafizur Rahman, Honourable Abdul Qayum Ansari, Mr. A. A. Mohamed Noor and others should please do their best indeed not by words to bring all the Muslims under one banner of Islam, even risking their personal gains for the sake of their

brethren and the country in general.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HASAN
General Secretary,
District Jamiatul Momenin

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Mohammad Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/288-9

NASIRABAD CANTT.
RAJPUTANA,
15 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You have heard Nehru's speech on the floor of the Central Assembly and in his [own] estimation he has won to [*sic*] minimize the gravity of the Bihar tragedy and justify the greatest possible inhumanity done by the Biharis on account of the Calcutta killings and he wants to prove it to the world that whatever had happened in Bihar was the sure result of Calcutta riots.

On the other hand he comes as a great champion to protect the Bihar Govt. and his colleagues by putting it that the Bihar Govt. is doing all for the destitutes, the distressed and the injured, having [made] no mention of the Muslim League's work. He says that Biharis [*sic*] started it and the Hindus—he, Rajendra Prasad or Gandhi—stopped it. He did not say that when there was left none to be killed, drowned or burnt, the tragedy stopped by itself. Can't you or Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan give a lie to his utterances on the floor of the Central Assembly as well? Only yesterday the Home Minister had tried to gag the Muslim press and the same very day, Nehru preached all the false arguments to still provoke the Hindus against Muslims with quite [*sic*] innocence and hospitability [*sic*]. What is the so-called Mahatma doing? He is visiting Eastern Bengal, Noakhali District, and giving vent [*sic*] to the occurrences in Noakhali to prove that whatever has been done in Bihar was justified and keeps up the provocation undaunted. The Congress has got the control of the Home and Foreign [Affairs] and is pitched to outcast [*sic*] the Muslims. Here, I most respectfully beg to submit that Muslim India is crying

for your orders and the time is ripe now for the orderly respected Quaid-i-Azam. No retaliation, no revenge to kill or destroy, although in revenge there is life. You must proclaim forthwith to the world and to Muslim India that Bihar Muslims will never return to where they were living and must be taken by the Muslims of India for rehabilitation and that should be your order of the day. Bihar Govt. can never be trusted and the Hindu Congress can never be allowed to massacre [Muslims] in Bihar in the future, and the Muslims can never be left to the mercy of these hooligans. This is the time to do it—Muslims from Bihar Districts are now all in camps and these camps be transferred to Muslim India. Muslims of Bihar have borne the brunt. Let the whole [of] Muslim India bear this other one too [*sic*]. I humbly submit—strike the nail aright. Hit it on the head—strike with all your might while the iron is hot. Muslims are looking towards [*sic*] your guidance. No matter you may be cool-headed logician.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
My Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD HASAN
Sanitary Superintendent

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Mirza Babar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/64

ARRAH, DIST. SHAHABAD,
BIHAR,
15 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is needless to write to you [about] the Bihar happenings as you must have been apprised of the full facts and figures of the terrible calamity. Now the only question worth solving for the Bihari Muslims is their peaceful migration to Muslim majority provinces. In this connection, is there any place before [*sic*] the Muslim League or the Govts. of NWFP, Sindh, Punjab and Bengal for such a migration and their settling in some occupations of life immediately? I have written a letter to

Honourable S. Hossain Imam, President, Bihar Muslim League, on this subject, to write officially to you and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as well as the Govts. of NWFP, Sind, Punjab and Bengal, for their immediate attention and consideration.

Yours obediently,
MIRZA BABAR HUSSAIN
Mokhtar

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M. A. Jinnah to Fasihuddin Ahmed

SHC, UP III/72

15 November 1946

Dear Mr. Fasihuddin Ahmed,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th Novermber[1] and thank you for it.

Yes, the Bihar tragedy is terrible and I am glad that you are doing your bit, and I assure you that I am doing all that is in my power.

There are so many people who really wish to see me and talk to me, but I have hardly any time just now to discuss the heart-rending tales. The thing is that we must all act and do our bit. I quite appreciate your feelings and how deeply you are moved. You know Liaquat Ali and I have to attend to so many things; therefore, you should not be annoyed if it is not possible for him to see you immediately. I am sorry that my Secretary annoyed you when he said that you should meet Liaquat Ali Khan. But, you see, I cannot see anybody who turns up, as my whole day is occupied with engagements. Anyhow, the thing is for all of us to work [on].

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Fasihuddin Ahmed, Esq.,
73 S.S. Engineering Hostel,
Muslim University, Aligarh

[1]No. 278.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/41

5 MASSON RAOD,
LAHORE,
15 Novermber 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding to you the editorials[1] of the Hindu press that goes on repeating the lies till they appear true, otherwise what other reason they have in calling Muslims the aggressors everywhere.

The other article[2] contributed by some Pir Ali Mohammad of Sind seems to be from the pen of a Hindu who has bought this bluffer of a man. He seems to be mad after seeing what the Hindus have done and are doing to Muslims in Congress Provinces. For a Muslim to write in this strain is staggering indeed. He does not seem to realize what you have done for the Muslim nation and minorities.

He seems to have lost all sense of judgement and reason. The only conclusion one draws for such Muslims is that they stand with open hands for the Birla [and] Tata cheques to be thrown into [*sic*] them. What a shame it is for such silly creatures to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

Hope that God will give you health and strength to stand the strain of such blasphemous [*sic*] utterances.[3]

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.
[3]Jinnah thanked her for her encouraging and informative letters and wished her to keep communicating with him. See *SHC*, Punjab V/42. Not printed.

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S. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/139

DELHI,
15 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to draw your attention to a very widespread complaint felt

by the Muslims all over India, and particularly in Delhi Province, regarding the open carrying of three-foot long *kirpans* by the Sikhs while the other communities are virtually disarmed by the Govt. under an order promulgated under Section 144, Cr. P. C. This callous and differential [*sic* for discriminatory] attitude of the Govt. is un-understandable [*sic*]. It means that the Hindu Interim Govt. at the Centre wants a portion of their community, I mean the Sikhs, to be armed, while disarming the other communities. As the imposition of ban on the carrying of arms has become a routine in Delhi and has been in force for a very long time and is likely to remain in force in the future, the matter assumes first-class importance. It is, therefore, vital and most important from the Muslim point of view that this matter should be taken up by you urgently as well as by the *Dawn* and some members of the Legislative Assembly should raise this question in the Assembly. It further appears strange that while the order of District Magistrate, Delhi, bans the carrying of all kinds of weapons including the *kirpan,* the authorities have conspired to see that the Sikhs are allowed to carry the same without any legal action being taken against them.

This discrimination is also telling very heavily on the morale of the Muslims which must be kept up and maintained.

It is highly unjust and unfair that whereas the Muslim community should be disarmed by law and not allowed to carry even licensed weapons, the Sikhs should be permitted to go about armed to [the] teeth.

The carrying of *kirpans* by the Sikhs openly also offers a good deal of provocation and not unoften leads to breach of [the] peace which should be maintained at all cost under these disturbed circumstances.

The claim of the Sikhs that they are enjoined by their religion to carry a *kirpan* is only a camouflage. The fact remains that the *kirpan* is a very deadly arm and a weapon of offence and has been used as such on countless occasions by Sikhs in personal as well as communal fights.

Respectfully yours,
S. H. SIDDIQI

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Mohammad Abdur Rahman & Others to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/65

MILKI MOHALLAH, ARRAH,
DISTRICT SHAHABAD,
15 Novermber 1946

Our respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We know that you are fully aware of the harrowing atrocities which are being perpetrated on the Muslims of Bihar. It is needless to say that thousands have been massacred and countless rendered helpless and homeless. You must also be aware of the fact that not less than seventy thousand horror and terror-stricken refugees with heart-rending and painful tales of inhuman butchery to relate are taking shelter in district towns.

Leaving Purnea District, where 8 to 9 per cent of Muslim population of the province is concentrated, only 5 to 8 per cent of Muslims inhabit other parts of the province. Now one can easily say that the Muslims are living only in the district and sub-divisional towns of Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpore, and Chapra. Rural population of the Muslims in those districts has been completely wiped out. The future of Muslim population in the Congress-Government provinces is bleak and barren. The lives, honour, properties, nay, everything dear to the Muslims of Bihar, are always in jeopardy. Now the helpless and woe-stricken Muslims of Bihar are looking towards you for your orders of migration to the zone of Pakistan.

As regards ourselves, we are inhabitants of a small Muslim *Mohalla* of a town which is predominantly populated by the Hindus. Our whole district, which is notorious as one of the most ferocious districts of Bihar and predominantly a Hindu district, is seething with communal discord and dissension. Our honour, lives, properties, and everything dear to us, are always threatened. God forbid, if communal riot breaks out in the District of Shahabad, not a single Muslim can escape its brutal and inhuman sway because the Muslim population of this district is only 3 per cent. We know that the Hindu leaders of this district are trying to fan the flames of communal riot by delivering fiery and inflammatory speeches on every occasion. Passing away of late [Pandit] Madan Mohan Malaviya had caused a great commotion in the whole district. Keeping all these [*sic*], which go to make the situation

tense, everyone of us is passing restless days and sleepless nights.

Now most of us are thinking that migration is the only solution to our troubles. As our great leader and well-wisher, you can rightly judge whether the time for migration is ripe. Really, we shall feel solaced if you kindly explain to us your scheme of migration to the eastern and western zones of Pakistan. We wish to let you know that most of us are Govt. servants having no landed properties except a house to live in. Some of us are Central Govt. servants and most of us are Provincial Govt. servants, but those who are employed in the central services can try for their transfer to the Pakistan zone through our leaders, if advised to migrate. If migration is taken up gradually on a small scale, most of us request you to throw light on the following points:

i. To which part of eastern and western zones of Pakistan we should migrate and settle?
ii. What sort of help shall we get from the Govt. if we take up trade as our profession?
iii. Guarantee of service by the Govt. in the private firms or in the provincial and central services.
iv How the provincial govt. servants will seek their employment in provincial govts. of Pakistan, if they resign and migrate.
v. What is the prospect of expansion of different types of industries in the Pakistan zones?
vi. What is the plan of inhabiting certain areas which are uninhabited and how far our Govt. will help?

Your sincere followers,
MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN & OTHERS

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S. B. Huda to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/66

SIR FAKHRUDDIN HOUSE,
P. O. BANKIPUR,
PATNA,
16 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I would not have troubled you with this letter but for the fact that I find you, in one of your statements, saying you read every letter

you receive and give consideration to the view-point therein.

You must have by now come to know a lot about Bihar and the brutal atrocities perpetrated by the offensive majority on poor Muslim innocent minority. Sufficient to say that even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could hardly imagine such cruelty being practised on a defenceless people by human beings and we are grateful to him that but for his strong handling of the situation even at the cost of unpopularity to himself the situation might have become worse and the entire Muslim population wiped out from Patna District.

Now that the trouble seems to be at an end for the present, it is [*word illegible*] the Muslim leaders thought for the future of these helpless Muslim minorities. It is indeed our misfortune that in spite of this great calamity inflicted on us you did not consider it desirable to give [*sic*] a personal visit to the stricken place and be a solace to those who have suffered. Besides, it would have given you an opportunity to make a correct appreciation of the disaster which no amount of second-hand reports to you could do. If the election in Sind could need your presence there, the necessity of a visit to this province was all the more [*sic*] greater, for here was the question of the very extinction of the Muslims whereas in Sind there was a tussle for personal gains, for whether it be [G.M.] Sayed or Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, he will be a Muslim.

In view of colossal suffering we have begun thinking whether Pakistan is really in our interest or it is only meant for the Muslims who are in majority in certain provinces. Pakistan or no Pakistan, no person can dare harm a single Muslim who inhabits NWFP, Sind or Punjab. This is, therefore, a sort of pet ideology with practically no substance in it and it is not fair to make us bleed like this for it. It cannot be denied that communal relations had been impaired beyond any hope of repair since Pakistan had held the field. It had unnecessarily irritated the Hindus and we were not made prepared to face it with the result that it has cost us an irreparable loss and only those people who live in the province can visualize to what indignity and degradation we have been subjected. We do not want to be the sacrificial goat for the Muslim majority provinces. Your recent interview to the representatives of a certain press is also not very heartening for yourself. If Pakistan is not conceded, the same thing would happen what is happening, meaning perhaps that the communal tension would not cease. If that is to be so, I would request you to arrange for our migration before you launch a fight in right earnest for Pakistan, [or] else you should think of some other arrangement by which both the communities could live in peace

honourably. In this connection, personally I would like to commend to you the formula of Moulana Mohammad Ali about proportional representation with reservation of seats. In that case there would be a check of the minority over the majority.

As for myself and certain other persons, we have become absolutely fed up with this province and would prefer to migrate by the first possible train. I appeal to you most earnestly to make some arrangement for our migration, preferably to Karachi where we could spend an honorable life. We belong to the upper middle class and own a small zamindari which we are prepared to liquidate. I have already contacted the Premier of Sind but have not had a reply from him yet.

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

S. B. HUDA

309

Z. S. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/360-1

BAGH MUZAFFAR KHAN,
AGRA,
16 Novermber 1946

My dear Sir,

We are very glad to read your nice appeal[1] printed on page 1 of the *Statesman* dated 13.11.[19]46. We hope you could mean sincerely what you advise your Muslims now [*sic*]. You are such an able and strong personality that if you so desire you can stop this bloodshed at once even now. It is equally painful to us to know that so many innocent lives are being lost every day (may they be Hindus or Muslims). Had you preached this earlier and taken care to properly clarify what 'Direct Action' means, you and we would not have seen the picture of Calcutta and Noakhali nor elsewhere [*sic*]. What you say in regard to Bihar now, we say and said the same before in regard to the above-noted places but neither you nor others listened to us. Had you raised your hue and cry soon after the occurrence of Calcutta (just as you are doing now) the scenes of Calcutta would not have multiplied. Please take into account how many precious and innocent lives have been wasted for nothing. It is high time even now for you to take immediate steps to check this rowdyism, otherwise we are afraid lest [*sic*] the whole of Hindustan

might turn into a waste land (without any human being), a fit abode for swines to revel and enjoy a 'free India'. Please think over the matter twice and seriously if you wish that we (Hindus and Muslims) should exist in this world and live peacefully like two brothers. Man can deceive man by his false speeches and deeds but he cannot deceive God. Not only Islam but no religion in the world permits brutal killing of men (*Ashraful Makhlooqat*) and forcible committal of rape on ladies of high families, looting and arson. These are all sins of the worst type, sins not only against society but sins against God. Those alone who have faith in the existence of God and are afraid of the Day of Judgement can realise all this but for others it is a mere delusion and a myth. However, it is a matter of compliment to you to have published your appeal to Muslim brothers who, we hope, would surely act up to your advice in future.

Soliciting an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
Z. S. SHARMA
Secretary,
The Kasht Niwarak Samiti

[1]See Appendix II. 2.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/292-5
[*Original in Urdu*]

LAHORE,
16 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam, may you live long and have sound health,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahamtullah

I have learnt that in your *'Id* day speech, you had permitted the general people to write letters to you for expressing their feelings, sentiments and views.

On this basis, I venture to write to you my second letter, hoping your honour would consider my submissions. These would be brief so that your valuable time is not wasted.

a. The position of Muslim League has been diminishing among the general masses day by day. The Congress has become the ruler of the country and is utilizing its influence and capital to create dissension among the Muslims. Strong verbal

and written campaign is in progress to downgrade you, Muslim League and the Muslim League leaders' image in the public. New newspapers are being brought out by the self-motivated Muslims and the old papers are being bribed.

b. The massacre of the Muslims at many places is continuing. The Muslims are so helpless that they cannot get correct reports because the press is under the full control of the Hindu Government. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindus are also promoting mischief. You would have observed how much press coverage has been given to the activities of Gandhi. You would have also heard the statement of Jawaharlal Nehru, given in the Assembly. But you and your Ministers in the Interim Government look quite helpless.

[*Next para omitted*]

c. A number of Muslims understand that the Muslim League leaders exploited the Muslims to secure the offices and membership of the Assemblies. They used the students to get votes and then became contented, thinking that they were experts at befooling the public. They have been talking about civil war, bloodshed, Genghis Khan and Halagu Khan, but they did not realise the consequences of such utterances, and thus the Muslims suffered ultimately.

d. The Muslim League on its part had formed the Council [Committee] of Action but its impact is insignificant as thousands of Muslims have been mercilessly massacred in Bihar and at other places. Now, where have the people who had been talking about civil war gone and why did they not take revenge for the bloodshed of the Muslims.

It is regrettable that our leaders were of the view that they would achieve their objective just by threats whereas the rival group had made full preparations to crush the Muslims. Why do not they go to Bihar to take revenge for the bloodshed of the Muslims?

e. In my view, disorder has taken its course in the country and it would continue for years. The Muslim League leaders, one day, would unconditionally surrender to the Hindu Congress. Despite that the massacre of the poor and helpless Muslims would not end, and the whole responsibility for the destruction of life and property of the Muslims would lie on you and your leaders.

f. Please forget about the idea that the British Government or

any British party would help you in this crisis. The Britons and Hindus are now one, and this situation would remain so for another twenty-five years.

I regret I am watching the developments helplessly and cannot do anything except to pray to the Almighty for rectifying the situation and for the recovery of the Muslims from this turmoil, and enable the Muslim leaders to work for their community.

ROOHUL MILLAT

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 286/13

HYDERABAD, SIND,
17 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th instant,[1] to hand only yesterday, as I am here in camp, and your letter went to Karachi and was readdressed to me from there.

I would have been only too pleased if you came and stopped at my place, where my family would keep you very comfortable. As regards your staying with Khuhro, I wish to bring some matters before you for you to decide for yourself whether it is desirable for you to stop with him, or not.

Khuhro has entered into a pact with G. M. Sayed. This is a matter of common knowledge. He is very indifferent about my election, but this I do not mind. What I mind, however, is his carrying on an intrigue with Sayed. I have both official and non-official evidence to this effect.

Khuhro and Sayed had met at Karachi; I have reliable evidence of this. It is only due to your telegram or letter that he is keeping mum about my election. But he does not tell people openly to support me.

The Hindu press has been proclaiming from the house-tops that Khuhro is against me. I have asked him repeatedly to contradict this report, but he has not yet done so.

Sayed had put up candidates against Khuhro nominally, and then asked them to withdraw. There were some prospective candidates in the field against him who were disqualified, but for his sake I did not remove their disqualification.

I and others have asked him to go to Sayed's constituency to work for our candidate, but he is avoiding doing so.

All these are so many and very convincing pieces of evidence of Khuhro's working against the League.

As you know very well, I have never exploited you or anyone else who has stayed with me. But Khuhro has been exploiting members of the high command whom he has been keeping with him [*sic*].

Mir Bandeh Ali has a very nice bungalow which was originally the old Government House. It has a very fine garden, and many other comforts. Though he is away for his election, he has a very nice establishment which will look after all your comforts. So I think you will be very comfortable if you stay in his bungalow.

I now leave it to your good sense and discretion to decide for yourself whether, in all the circumstances I have mentioned above, you should stay with Khuhro or not.

Hoping you are doing very well, [and]
with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Not traceable.

312

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/104-5

17 November 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of November 46,[1] and I thank you for it. Owing to the very grave situation created in Bihar it was not possible for me to consult such of my colleagues as would have been available in Delhi, or my Committee of Action, and in order not to delay my reply, I have consulted some and beg to inform you that the Congress have not accepted the Statement of May 16, from the very beginning. To mention only a few official documents, there is the letter of the President of the Congress dated 25 of June,[2] the Congress Working Committee's Resolution of the 26th June,[3] and various pronouncements of the foremost Congress leaders; and thereafter the Wardha Resolution of Congress Working Committee dated August 10. This clearly shows that the

Congress never had, nor have they even now, accepted the Statement of May 16.

Even recently, in a letter to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam, published on the 30th of September 1946 (after the Assam Legislative Assembly had given a mandate to their representatives to the Constituent Assembly in the clearest terms to defy the fundamentals of the Statement of May 16), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says:

I fully appreciate the feeling in Assam in regard to the sections or grouping and I think that our position will safeguard your sentiment completely. Having accepted the document of May 16 we have inevitably to accept going into the sections, but the question is as to how we shall function in these sections. You are right in saying that I did not go into this matter in my broadcast,[4] because I did not wish to raise controversial issues there. But our position is clear that provincial autonomy must be maintained and a province must decide both about grouping and its own constitution.

It is true that we have accepted the Federal Court's decision in regard to the interpretation and we must abide by that decision of ours. But in no event are we going to agree to a province like Assam being forced against its will to do anything.

The Constituent Assembly has now been postponed to December and we do not know what development might take place by that time. Whatever they might be, if Assam is strong enough, nothing can happen to Assam that it does not like.

Next, Mr. Gandhi, only as recently as the 23rd of October 1946, in one of his pronouncements, said:

The Constituent Assembly is based on the State paper. That paper has put in cold storage the idea of Pakistan. It has recommended the device of 'grouping', which the Congress interprets in one way, the League in another and the Cabinet Mission in a third way. No law-giver can give an authoritative interpretation of his own law. If, then, there is a dispute as to its interpretations, a duly constituted court of law must decide it.

In the first place there is no provision in the Statement of May 16 for any court to decide what is the true interpretation of the document. Besides, the basic and fundamental principle underlying that document is not, and cannot be made, a justiciable issue. The proposals embodied in the Statement of May 16 are recommendations of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which can only be carried out when both the major parties are agreed, in the clearest manner and unquestionably, upon the fundamentals.

I quite appreciate [it] when you say that there is no use holding further discussions, and you informed me that there was no chance

of the Congress budging from the position they had taken up. In these circumstances, I hope you will appreciate that it will be futile for me to summon the Council of the All India Muslim League.

You ask me to let you know what exactly it is in the way of assurances that will be necessary. The question is not, as you put it, that, if some assurances are necessary, I should let you know exactly what they are. The real question is to get the Congress first to agree to the fundamentals in the clearest language and then devise ways and means by which the proposals can be implemented and enforced by His Majesty's Government if the Congress break their word.

Apart from this impossible position that the Congress have taken up throughout and have followed up to the present moment, now we are face to face with the mass, organized and planned ruthless massacre of the Muslims in various parts of Bihar.

The foul and gruesome methods adopted under the very nose of the Congress Government, the administration and the police in Bihar, show that the Congress have entirely failed to protect the life and property of innocent people, to say nothing of the small-scale killings and destruction of property that are going on in various other parts of the country where the Muslims are in minority. In this highly charged and explosive atmosphere, even to think of the proposed Constituent Assembly or any talk about it, when we are faced with two hostile camps with the result that killing, murder and destruction of property are going on a pace, is neither advisable nor possible. It will only exacerbate the present situation.

I most earnestly urge upon you to concentrate upon the measures to be adopted and carried out first to protect life and property without delay. The entire machinery of the administration of the Government must immediately be concentrated upon establishing peace and tranquillity and [providing] succour and help to those who are homeless, foodless, clothless, in need of medical help and wandering about in Bihar in thousands—the latest reliable estimates so far available are about 30,000 killed and 1,50,000 refugees—and further to see by every means how to avoid and prevent a recurrence of human slaughter in future. This is your sacred duty and trust and I hope you will immediately impress upon His Majesty's Government to take up this immediate task. In my opinion, therefore, you should announce immediately the postponement of the Constituent Assembly *sine die* and let us all forthwith concentrate every ounce of

our energy upon restoring peace and order first.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. E. Lord Wavell,
Viceroy of India,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[1]No. 237.
[2]Annex II to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 110-14.
[3]Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 122-3.
[4]See No. 275, note 3, *TP*, VIII, 441.

313

Husan Ara Begum to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/73

11 TILJALA ROAD, CIRCUS,
CALCUTTA,
17 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In continuation of my report[1] on the Calcutta disturbance [and] with due respects, I have the honour to submit herewith a statement[2] of the outrage in Bihar for your perusal.

I may be permitted to state that many of the causalty cases were removed from the ward of the General Hospital and placed in another wing, two hours before the visit of the Viceroy on the 9th instant. In report being [*sic*] received, I went immediately and found that it was correct. I took down the full particulars, and reported the matter to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Khwaja Nazimuddin.

I shall be going back to Bihar this week again, and shall be staying at Mrs. Yunus, Grand Hotel, Patna. If any service is demanded from my humbleself, I am at your command.

Quaid-i-Azam, the eyes of the Muslims of India are now turned towards you. Their hopes are centred in [*sic*] their leader. The bleeding wounds can now only be healed by the great Creator, but the balm can be given by our earthly leader. May the great Almighty bless you with a long life to steer the ship of Islam clear of all storms.

I do not [want] to waste your valuable time. I can realise your

uneasiness of mind, and your thought for the future of the Muslims of India.

I had sent a statement from Patna. I wonder if it has reached its destination. Hence I am sending this by registered [post] from Calcutta. May I cherish the privilege of a few lines from your goodself?

May divine [*sic*] Providence shower His choicest blessings on you and protect you from all harm,

Yours in humble service,
HUSAN ARA BEGUM
MLA
(Mrs. H. A. Hakam)

[1&2]Not traceable.

314

A.Hussain to K. H. Khurshid

SHC, Bihar II/71

DAWN,
P. O. BOX 109,
DELHI,
17 November 1946

My dear Khurshid,

Herewith please find a letter from Patna. We cannot publish it, but the writer wants it to be put up before Quaid-i-Azam.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. HUSSAIN

Enclosure to No. 314
S. Jabbar & Others to the Editor, Dawn

SHC, Bihar II/72

PATNA,
11 November 1946

REGARDING BIHAR KILLING

Dear Sir,

Through your esteemed journal, we want to draw the attention of

Mr. M. A. Jinnah towards the shameful fact that only the Congress Govt. is responsible for the cold-blooded murder of fifty thousand innocent Muslims of Bihar during the current riots but Hossain Imam and Badruddin, the President and Secretary, respectively, of the Bihar Muslim League, can in no way escape the responsibility. Their inability, incompetence, selfishness, lust for money, hypocrisy and cowardice are also main causes of the butchery, arson, loot, rape and abduction that have been perpetrated on an unimaginable scale in Bihar. They were the people who devoured thousands of money [*sic*] accruing to the election fund and lost five seats in the Bihar Assembly. We, the Muslims of Bihar, were apprehending [this] from [*sic*] long before the present terrible disaster and approached the high command in vain several times with a request to look into the matter and take proper and necessary action. When the orgy of blood[shed] began and relief was needed, we approached the Secretary of the League for funds and he replied [that] the balance was blank [*sic*] and he had no money at his disposal. We then asked him for the propaganda van to carry the casualties, but were shocked to learn that the Secretary had sold off the van soon after the election was over. Since the opening of about 36 refugee and relief centres at Patna, neither the President nor the Secretary has cared to go to any of the centres and inquire about the happenings personally. Even the Congress leaders in their day-to-day statements have admitted the situation to be terrible, horrible and likewise, but we wonder what is the policy of our President, Mr. Imam, [who] says it is simply alarming.

About 90 per cent of Muslim villages in Patna District alone have been completely burnt down and thousands of our brothers and sisters have been killed or dishonoured. We have lost our hearths and kith and kin. We are aggrieved people. Our agonies know no bounds. If [*sic*] we wish we can tell lots of facts about the dishonesty and inability of the President and Secretary, but refrain at present due to the critical moment. We have lost faith and confidence in them. What we want is that they should be asked by the Quaid-i-Azam to quit the[ir] offices, otherwise they will lead us to more terrible disasters if [*sic*] they are allowed to remain in office any longer.

In case you do not publish this letter of impeachment, please forward this to the Quaid-i-Azam for favour of his knowledge and information. We know each and every trick Hossain Imam has played in dissuading Quaid-i-Azam from coming over to Bihar. But we have unshakeable faith in our Quaid-i-Azam and do strongly hope that he will be in our midst very soon and see through his own eyes thousands

and thousands of maimed and homeless Muslims and hear with his own ears the heart-rending tales of gruesome tragedies unprecedented in the history of civilization.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours sincerely,
S. JABBAR AND OTHERS

315

M. A. Jinnah to J. R. D. Tata

F. 132/73

18 November 1946

My dear Jehangir,

I have been discussing for some little time with Mr. Ghulam Mohammed whether he can join the Muslim League and take up the work of General Organizing Secretary under me, as the League work has now so increased that I want to get, to begin with, a few men of outstanding abilities, with whose cooperation and help alone it is possible to organize ourselves.

I am happy to find that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed has whole-heartedly responded to my request to him to get himself free[d] and released from his present commitments with your firm. I know that you have your sympathies with us and I am sure that you will try and release Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, as I want him very badly at this critical moment.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

J. R. D. Tata, Esq.,
Bombay House,
Bruce Street,
Bombay

316

Mohammad Abdul Gaffar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/141

NAWAB GUNJ,
18 November 1946

Dear Sir,

Three or four days ago I phoned you for an interview to lay before you the true condition and position of the Delhi Muslims, but I was told to write to you for an appointment. Certainly I am neither a rich man nor have any fame, hence I thought that it was not for me to gain an interview. So much I can say that every councillor of the Delhi League, Mr. Zafar Ahmad Ansari (Secretary, Committee of Action) and even Mr. Siddique Ali Khan, MLA, and *Salar-i-'Ala,* [Muslim National Guard,] know me.

Allow me to put briefly the situation of the Delhi Muslims:

i. They are not yet an organised body.
ii. Delhi Govt. has put armed police pickets in Muslim *mohallas* while Hindu *mohallas* are quite free and not a constable is seen there and stabbing is going on there.
iii. The Police is freely molesting the Muslims. At *Masjid* Tahawar Khan, the Sikh Police Inspector Mit Singh broke open the door of a respectable Muslim merchant and prosecuted him and four others under the false charge of brick-throwing. The persons were sleeping and the City Magistrate refused to release them on any security or surety.
iv. The Hindus of Pahari Dheeraj (a notorious Pahari) attacked the Bara Muslims many times without any success, but the Delhi Govt. has declared Bara *illaqa* as a disturbed area, and I have heard that punitive tax will also be laid [*sic* for levied] here. Police pickets and the army are stationed here but the Pahari is quite free to stab and attack.

Sikhs bearing *kirpans* and swords roam without any hindrance while Muslims are deprived of their walking sticks even, without any consideration to old men. Why sword is allowed and Section 144 is mute for these Sikhs? The Hindu Police cause panic among Muslims and ignore stabbing cases as was done in Hauz Kazi. The matter was reported to the Secretary of the All India Council [Committee] of Action on 15th November of the panic and the stabbing cases with

the number of the constables on duty by the Muslims of *Masjid* Tahawar Khan and of Hauz Kazi in my presence [*sic*].

I have briefly laid down a few cases and request you to help the Delhi Muslims as they are feeling depressions and panic [*sic*]. Delhi is now under a Hindu Deputy Commissioner and it is rumoured that shortly this Province will be in sway [*sic*] of a Hindu Chief Commissioner and this is causing more panic.

The Delhi League is a quite bogus body and has done nothing for the Muslims, and the Delhi Muslims have no faith there [*sic*] and this is why I have dared to approach you. Save us from the calamity we are in.

Yours faithfully,
M [OHAMMA] D ABDUL GAFFAR KHEIRI

N.B At Bara Hindu Rao curfew begins at 4 p.m. and ends at 10.30 a.m. and the Muslims are not allowed to say their prayers even in the *mohalla masjid*. If *kirpan* is allowed to Sikhs even under Section 144, being in [*sic*] their religion, why prayers in mosques are not allowed? *Kirpans* are not so much in Sikh religion as five-time prayers in congregation in Islam. It is an open interference in religion [Islam].

M[OHMMA]D ABDUL GAFFAR KHEIRI

317

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/625

BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 100 for the Bihar Relief Fund. This cheque has been sent to me by a small boy aged only eight. He is Arshad Naseer, a student of the 4th (primary) class at Gujrat. In his covering letter he says that he has been able to save only one hundred rupees out of his pocket money during the last so many years and he wants me to send you all his savings to be spent on riot-affected children of his age. He adds "My heart weeps. I wish I could myself go to Bihar and evacuate these children to some safe place."

You would be glad to know that Punjab Muslims are contributing generously to the Fund opened by you. Every day we are publishing lengthy lists of contributions from every corner of the province. Only today's list of contributions published by the *Nawa-i-Waqt* exceeds Rs. 32,000.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI
Editor, *Nawa-i-Waqt*

318

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/99

ROORKEE, DISTRICT SAHARANPUR,
18 November 1946

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

It is unnecessary to say that your heart must have been moved and rent by the facts of merciless butchery and wholesale massacre of innocent Muslims by organised mobs of Hindus and Sikhs in Calcutta, Bengal, Bihar, Garhmuktesar fair, Meerut and Moradabad Districts and several other places, more than that of an average Muslim. The Interim Government and the Congress *raj* in the provinces have proved to be horrible calamities, misfortune and disasters to Muslims. Organised gangs of Hindus have murdered nearly all the Muslim shopkeepers, a number of Muslim government servants on duty, and a majority of the Muslim inhabitants of Garhmuktesar Town. Even the children and women have been cruelly done to death. Moreover, about 125 young Muslim women and girls have been abducted by the Hindu *goondas* from Garhmuktesar Town for conversion and immoral purposes. The magistrate and the police officers in charge of the fair being Hindus, did not intervene and witnessed the *tamasha* for two days. When these outrages and murder of four to five thousand Muslims, both at the fair and [in the] town, moved the Muslims of other villages for revenge, Govind Ballabh Panth, the Congress Premier [of UP,] managed to post the Hindu military on the routes and villages of the Muslims so that the Hindus may safely clear the way from the fair. And so it did.

The carrying of spears, daggers, *kirpans*, swords, even fire-arms, by Hindus and Sikhs in their processions has discouraged and

intimidated the hearts of Muslims these days. A Sikh has become brave because he has been permitted to carry and put on a sword openly everywhere without licence in the name of *kirpan*. If *kirpan* is his religious weapon, so is the sword for a Muslim. Even in the Punjab where Muslims are in majority, Sikhs are prone to seek opportunities for doing havoc like Bihar and Garhmuktesar. In the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Hindus and Sikhs being in minority have got larger number of licensed fire-arms. These are mostly possessed by Hindus excluding *Achhuts* and by Sikhs disproportionately.

It is therefore brought to your notice and requested that you must kindly move the government strongly that either Sikhs must be compelled not to keep *kirpans* and swords without licence or Muslims should also be allowed to keep them without licence like Sikhs. Similarly the fire-arms licences must be according to the proportion of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh population, otherwise it is greatly apprehended that Sikhs and Hindus will do havoc to the Muslims in the Punjab, Hindu and Sikh States, etc. It is high time for all parties of Muslims to unite into one tie. Hoping it will meet [with] your kind approval and early action.

Yours as ever,
A MUSLIM

319

Fazal Suroor to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1187)

BHILSA,
GWALIOR,
18 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Words are few when our heart is full [*sic*]. I beg to convey to you the magnanimous [*sic*] sorrows of the Muslims of Gwalior who are struggling for existence with their backs to the wall. We look to find your support.

The Musalmans have been bereft of the postal and telegraphic facilities and their national workers are being arrested, all in the name of so-called justice.

The details are too long; a few circumstances will be able [*sic* for suffice] to paint the tragic picture. The Noakhali incident has provided a *coup d'etat* for the Mahasabhaite hooligans. From 5th November

1946, they have established a regime [as it were] of murder, loot and arson. The policy of the Government is openly encouraging the rogues. The obvious proof is that two Muslim students were cold-bloodedly butchered right in front of the Maharaja's Palace, and the police, instead of arresting the culprits, took into custody the General Secretary of the Gwalior State Muslim League and a member of the Working Committee, who were going to inform the Inspector-General of Police of the tragedy and thus the murderers were facilitated to escape.

Quaid-i-Azam, I, on behalf of the Muslims of Gwalior State, implore you in the name of humanity to come to the rescue of the oppressed Muslims of Gwalior. Their life, honour and property are in danger. Please do whatever you can before it is too late.

We are only seven per cent of the four million population.

Khadim-i-Millat
FAZAL SUROOR
Secretary,
Bhilsa Muslim League

320

G. E. B. Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/108

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
18 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

H.E. asks me to refer to his letter No. 592/58 of the 5th Novermber[1] to you, in which he said that if you were convinced that some assurance about the Constituent Assembly was necessary he hoped you would let him know what it should be.

2. H.E. would be very grateful for a reply, and I mentioned this matter to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on Saturday.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. ABELL

[1]No. 237.

321

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/40

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is another editorial[1] on one India. The Hindus go on repeating the same thing shamelessly in spite of what is happening all around. He says there is either going to be one India or no India! The one-month regime of the Caste Hindus has so badly intoxicated them that they feel as if they now are the masters of the land. Look at the vulgar manner in which they refer to you and other League leaders. To them Pakistan has become a bogey that would ruin everybody. All the explanations that you give from time to time seem to fall on deaf ears. But the only solution to this slogan of one-India business of the Hindus is counter-propaganda of a divided India. You should make a weekly statement to the effect that without the division of India there can be no peace till the Hindus realize the fact and consent to come to honourable terms.

I am sending you a statement[2] of Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan, President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. How can a Leaguer make such a statement. It is really surprising that a Muslim should thus blame his own organization. Have the Congress ever blamed their ministers and officers, even when they are to blame, in all Congress-Hindu provinces where Muslims are being mowed down ruthlessly. They in fact deny all oppression everywhere. It is strange that Leaguers should behave so abnormally. Look how the Hindu press makes capital out of such statements!

I do hope you are receiving all my letters in which I am giving you all the Punjab information. I have received no reply. You are extremely busy, I know, but a short reply will satisfy me of the fact that the letters are not being intercepted.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

322

Ahdullah Habib to M. A. Jinnah

F. 807/249
[*Original in Urdu*]

HUMAYUN MANZIL,
FATEHGARH, BHOPAL,
18 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The involvement of Gandhi and Pandit Nehru in the killing of Muslims in Bihar and Garhmuktesar is as certain as death. Congress and [Hindu] Mahasabha are one and the same, and in order to hoodwink the Muslims they have adopted different names. The killing of unarmed and unaware Muslims by coward[ly] Hindus leads to killing of some innocent Hindus in retaliation. The perpetrators of cruelties in Bihar and Garhmuktesar are hereby challenged to collect two lakh Hindus against one lakh Muslims for a contest.

In case they lose the battle, which *Insha Allah* they will, they should abandon their idols and pray to God five times a day. The mean activities of Hindus have provoked the Muslims. We believe that God will help us.

Your servant,
AHDULLAH HABIB

323

Syed Aulad Ali Bilgrami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/308-10
[*Original in Urdu*]

ROUSE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
19 November 1946

Most respected leader,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Every sane and kind-hearted person is deeply concerned over

the tribulations and problems faced by the Muslims and the miserable life which they have been leading since long. This fact is acknowledged by all and your honour is more concerned about their plight than anybody else, while everybody is praying for your long life and health.

The Almighty bestowed the Muslims of India with Mohammad Ali Jinnah for their awakening and organizing them just as He created Mustafa Kamal for Turks' survival and Raza Shah Pehlavi as deliverer of the Iranians.

It is quite evident and every common man realises that the plight of the Muslims, whether economic or political, has deteriorated due to their negligence and carelessness which is well-known to your honour.

Leaving all these matters aside, the most distressing and disheartening factor is that the Muslims have no medium of press or newspapers. We remain unmoved despite knowing how powerful and organised the Hindu press and the newspapers are.

One cannot do anything except be regretful for those people who, in this era, are unaware of the impact and importance of the press and the newspapers. The Muslim capitalists are so much involved in the life of pleasure and enjoyment that they do not have time to ponder over these matters.

Currently, the Hindu press is engaged in anti-Muslim propaganda with full force in an organised manner, and to win over the public opinion it is ignoring the current events and most daringly playing up the ordinary faults of the Muslims. This trend of the Hindu press should be sufficient to awaken us.

However, keeping in view this deficiency and weakness, I have one practicable suggestion to make. If every Muslim in India pays one *anna* monthly then the collection of about fifty to sixty lakhs of rupees would not be a big deal. This can be done easily by the branches of the Muslim League all over the country. This collection can be made conveniently if League leaders make the general people aware of its significance.

Respected, Sir, I am venturing to draw your attention towards this matter so that the Muslims could do something for themselves.

Wassalaam

Humbly yours,
AULAD ALI BILGRAMI

324

Ghazanfar Ali Khan[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 797/11

SECRET

KING EDWARD ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
19 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a note about the facts as I ascertained them during my recent visit to Meerut and Garhmuktesar.

Yours most sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI

[1]Member for Health in the Interim Government.

Enclosure to No. 324
Note by Ghazanfar Ali Khan

F. 797/12-22

19 November 1946

I visited Meerut and the village of Garhmuktesar, which were the scene of a recent savage attack on Muslim life and property, and have gathered the following facts after verification from the officials concerned and the local Muslim League workers.

A Hindu *mela,* which is an annual affair, had assembled near the Village of Garhmuktesar. The gathering was estimated to have been 7 to 8 lakh. A Hindu Additional Superintendent of Police and a Christian Magistrate were in charge of the Police arrangements. They had under them a force of 400, of whom 60 were armed with rifles. Trouble started in this *mela* at about 6 p.m. on 6th November, when on some trivial pretext an attack was made on the Muslims in a crowd gathered to see the acrobatic performance which is called 'the well of death'. This first attack, which was accompanied by arson, seems to have been followed by a brief lull. According to the Additional S.P. he thought that the trouble had ended. He tried to send a report to the District Headquarters in Meerut shortly at 8 p.m., saying that there was some disturbance but that the situation had been brought under control. This report, however, was not actually sent because transport could not easily be arranged. Meanwhile, attacks on the Muslims and looting and arson of

Muslim shops had started in several parts of the *mela* and constables on patrol duty brought dead bodies of the Muslims to the Police Post in the *mela*. At midnight, when 25 or 30 dead bodies of the Muslims had already reached the Police Post, the Additional S.P. wrote a second report to the effect that rioting was in progress on an organised scale and that the situation was wholly out of control. This report was sent to Headquarters at Meerut, and [it] reached the Senior Superintendent of Police at about 3 a.m. Meerut is at a distance of about 30 miles from this village. Without any kind of interference or check by the Police, the massacre of the Muslims and looting and burning of Muslim shops went on during the rest of the night. Estimates about the number of the killed vary but the figure would be over 1000. There were very few women among them. The victims were mostly shopkeepers, lorry drivers and bullock-cart drivers, who had brought Hindu families to the *mela*, and performers at various amusement shows. Only about 100 or so of the total number of Muslims in the *mela* were, it is said, able to escape. The killing and arson ended only when there remained no Muslim to be killed and no Muslim shop to be burnt. I gather from my talks with the Additional S.P. in charge of the *mela* that it was one big party, probably divided in groups, which was doing this killing, burning and looting.

At 9 or 10 a.m. on the 7th, the District Magistrate, also a Hindu, reached Garhmuktesar with a few Army platoons. At about the same time, a big Hindu mob proceeded from the *mela* grounds to the village and began to kill the Muslims and demolish their houses. Here, I have to mention a very curious and significant fact, the evidence of which I have seen with my own eyes. Every Hindu house or shop in the village had *Jai Hind* written on it as a distinguishing mark. The mob did its work most systematically and with surprising precision. No house with the distinguishing mark on it was touched, but practically not a single house or shop belonging to a Muslim was left unburnt or undemolished. The assailants were using petroleum and other chemicals. They carried machines with which these chemicals were sprinkled on the buildings. This points clearly to the conclusion that it was not the handiwork of ignorant villagers but of trained ex-servicemen. I cannot undertake to say whether these ex-servicemen were from the I.N.A. [Indian National Army] or not. There was only one Muslim house, which was not attacked. This belonged to an old Muslim, whose son is a Sub-Inspector of Police, posted somewhere else. It was believed by the local Hindus that the inmates of this house had fire-arms. The mob, therefore, did

not dare to attack it. There were some 47 Muslim women sheltered in this house. They were all saved.

Two of the local Muslims were employed in the local police as constables and posted at the Garhmuktesar Police Station. They begged their officers to give them fire-arms and undertook to disperse the mob if they were given a rifle each and a few rounds of shot. Their request was not acceded to and their families in the village were wiped out and their houses burnt down. One Muslim Head Constable got hold of a gun from a private source, went to the roof of his house and fired a few shots, putting the mob, which was attacking it, to flight.

The local Hindus were guiding the assailants and telling them in cases of doubt where and whom to attack and whom to spare. The local Muslim villagers are in a position to identify those local Hindus. A Hindu doctor in charge of the local civil hospital offered shelter in his house to a Muslim friend. The latter came there with his own and some other families. In all, 27 Muslims were taking refuge in his house. The local Hindus, however, brought a detachment of the mob to his house, where all the 27 refugees were butchered. The killing, burning and destruction went on till the afternoon. Neither the police nor the military were brought into action at any stage. No official moved his little finger to save anything or anyone. The Sub-Inspector in charge of the Garhmuktesar Police Station had left his post and gone to the *mela*. The District Magistrate and the Senior Superintendent of Police, who had come from Meerut in the forenoon, stayed at Garhmuktesar for hardly a couple of hours and then went back. During this killing Muslim women were in a number of instances stripped naked, raped and then murdered. Dead bodies of women without a strip of clothing on them have been recovered by Muslim League workers from wells. A number of people were roasted alive in their houses. A large number of corpses were thrown into wells. A number of dead bodies were lying amidst the ruins of the houses when a relief party of the Muslim League reached there from Meerut. These were buried where they were lying, so that the ruins of every Muslim house in that village are today a graveyard. Mosques were desecrated.

The number of those killed in the village during this attack on 7th November is estimated to be 500.

Some Muslim women (it is difficult to estimate their approximate number) were carried off by the mob from the village to the *mela* ground. They were kept in the *mela* during the night and on the 8th November a weird ceremony of making their *shudhi* or converting them to Hinduism was performed. One woman at a time would be

stripped naked and marched as a captive in the midst of a crowd of 200 men or so to the Ganges, the crowd shouting slogans of triumph to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The procession would reach the bank of the river, the woman would be dipped into it and after this 'purification' handed over to a Hindu as his chattel. After one woman had been disposed of, the ceremony of appropriating another would begin. One procession after another marched in this way from the *mela* to the bank of the Ganges. When this ceremony was being performed, a conference of the Jat Sabha was being held only a few hundred yards from the scene of the ceremony under the presidentship of the Defence Member[1] of the Government of India. On the other side, only a few hundred yards from the scene of this ceremony was the *mela* Police Post.

When several successive processions had thus led naked Muslim women to the bank of the Ganges, the Additional S.P. in charge of the *mela* sent an Inspector of Police to see what fun was going on. This Inspector seems, for the first time since the beginning of the riot on the evening of the 7th, to have offered some kind of interference. He arrested one man and rescued the woman. The crowd offered no resistance. In fact, the mob do not seem to have shown any signs of resisting official authority at any stage. Only no authority was ever exercised and the mob put its own interpretation on this. The woman rescued from this procession is now in Meerut.

On the following day, that is November 9th, a mob once again proceeded from the *mela* ground to the village to make a second attack on the Muslims and to give finishing touch[es] to what had been accomplished on the 7th. On the first occasion, a few Muslim shops and houses containing valuable goods just opposite the Police Post inside the village had been spared, probably because they were too near the police. During the attack, these shops were looted and demolished. By this time the strength of the police in this Post had been raised from 6 to 20. The police, however, calmly looked on and did not interfere. This happened, as I have pointed out, just opposite to the Police Post inside the village. The main Police Station is about two furlongs outside the village. In the vicinity of this Police Station there was a Muslim *'Idgah*. During this attack a mob also raided the *'Idgah* and demolished it. There were police constables posted on the roof of the Police Station at the time, but they did not care to fire a single shot.

I had a discussion with Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Minister, U.P., during my visit to Meerut. He gave me his impression, based on the information which he had obtained from local officials, that the whole

thing was premeditated and carefully planned. My own impression, gathered from my talks with the officials and non-officials, is that there were three distinct parties co-operating in this long-drawn-out butchery and destruction. One big party was planning, instigating and shouting slogans like *Noakhali ka badla leinge* along with the slogans of *Gandhi ki jai*. A number of *Sadhus* are said to have been prominent in this party. Another party was doing the actual killing, looting and burning. Hindu Jats of Rohtak are said to have been prominent among the actual perpetrators of the horrible crimes that were committed. The third party consisted of the local Hindus, who had put distinguishing marks on the houses and shops of the Hindus and who were generally providing local guidance to the outsiders. Some clue as to the elements from which outside parties were drawn is furnished by the shouts with which they seem to have praised one another's work. These shouts were heard by the S.P. and the Magistrate. During these shouts were [*sic*] *Delhiwale achha kam kar rahe ho; Lakhauti College ke Jat larkon ke hath dekho.*

The local guidance to the murderers and wreckers from outside was so precise that the shops belonging to Hindu landlords, but tenanted by Muslim shopkeepers, were not burnt. Only the contents of the shops were looted. One Muslim landlord owned several shops, some of which [were] tenanted by Hindu shopkeepers and others by the Muslims. Only those of his shops were burnt which had Muslim tenants. A local Muslim owned a small but prosperous factory. This was completely ruined. In the *mela* shouts of Shahjahanpur *ko lootna hai* (we have to loot Shahjahanpur) were also heard. Shahjahanpur is a village of Pathans, about 8 or 9 miles from Garhmuktesar. Reports about the intention of the Hindus reached this village and the inhabitants got ready to resist an attack. Mobs returning from the Garhmuktesar *mela* organised this attack. It is said that the invaders were several thousands in number, led by a Sikh on horseback carrying a drawn sword. The Pathans showed fight and soon put the mob to flight. Three of the local Pathans and 25 of the Hindu invaders were killed in this clash. The Pathans were also able to rescue one Muslim woman from this army of invasion.

The village of Garhmuktesar is now practically deserted. The Hindus have all fled, probably to evade arrest, the few remnants of the local Muslim minority are seen moving about in the ruins of their houses. They sometimes come to the village and then go to some neighbouring village or to the Muslim League refugee camp in Meerut, hardly knowing what they are doing or should do. They do not even know for certain the fate that has befallen their womenfolk

and children, who have disappeared. They may have been killed or may still be alive in the captivity of others and the agony of doubt doubles the agony of grief.

The plea that the police and the military did nothing because their force was inadequate is not at all convincing. Even a few rifles would have sufficed to put these coward[ly] rioters to flight at any stage. They showed themselves incapable of standing up to anybody, who either had or was even believed to have a fire-arm about him.

The need of the present moment is that:

i. An independent commission of inquiry should be appointed to ascertain the main facts of this tragedy and judge the conduct of the officials concerned.
ii. A strong investigating staff of the police should start investigations in order to bring to book such actual perpetrators of various crimes as can be traced. This staff should be under a suitable police officer drawn from the Intelligence Department of the Government of India and the staff should consist of officers and men from the U.P. as well as the Punjab because the residents of two provinces are involved in these crimes.
iii. The officials, whose criminal negligence, if not silent complicity and abetment in connection with this tragedy is so glaringly clear, should be suspended or transferred from their posts so that they may not hamper the course of justice.
iv. The Government should provide adequate relief and immediate compensation to the sufferers.
v. The U.P. Government should adopt a policy of giving a sufficient number of licences for arms to the local Muslim minorities.
vi. There is grave panic among the Muslims in the villages round about Meerut. The Congress session is about to be held at Meerut. Even though it has been announced that no visitor except the delegates will be admitted to the session, it is generally believed that large parties of villagers will assemble at Meerut on the occasion and may indulge in mischief on their way to or back from Meerut. It seems essential, therefore, that British troops should be posted at strategic points immediately to allay the panic and restore confidence.

GHAZANFAR ALI

[1]Baldev Singh.

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Muhammad Saghir Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/316-21

77 LUKERGUNJ,
ALLAHABAD,
20 November 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to you my third letter. The first I wrote to you before the Muslim League passed the famous Lahore Resolution in 1940 and the other on the eve of your fateful decision at the All India Muslim League Council at Delhi in June last. You might have perhaps gone through them as your recent statement was that you read every line of the letters that come to you.

[*Next para omitted*]

I may be allowed the frankness, rather bluntness, to say that you have blundered egregiously in accepting a common Centre and joining the Interim Government. You withdrew the Bombay resolution but [*sic* for and] reversed this decision to join the Executive Council. Your Committee of Action sat for about a month and hatched schemes which did not see the light of day. You promised a division of India and accepted a united Centre. You made the public believe that you would not accept interim arrangements unless the principle of Pakistan has been accepted or the long-term settlement concluded, but you have now agreed to run day-to-day administration without any assurances about the long-term settlement. One blunder is leading to the other that would end in disasters increasing in magnitude by geometrical progression.

One who is not stark-blind can see where your leadership is now leading the Muslim nation. It is leading nowhere as you have lost the clear vision which was yours until the first Simla Conference. You were then bold and straightforward and relied on your own sense or perhaps till then you were not on any cross-roads. When a cross-road appeared which required the right judgement, prompt decision and bold step, instead of choosing the right path you adopted the wrong way. [Five lines omitted].

You lost the battle of Pakistan in your encounters with the British Ministerial [Cabinet] Mission and the Congress high command. Inasmuch as you accepted one Centre, you are still persisting in

making the people believe that 'grouping' would finally lead to Pakistan. You also lost the battle of grouping in the face of the Hindu Congress but joined the Central Executive to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. What are the Muslim interests that you are out to safeguard? Perhaps a few positions that your rich followers cannot afford to lose. As for the common Musalmans, they have been said good-bye [to] long ago. You are still dinning into the ears of the foreign journalists that we cannot give up the ideal of Pakistan, that Pakistan is the only remedy for all the ills of India but your actions quite belie what you are saying. You buried deep the ideal of Pakistan when you accepted a united Centre. Your crying for Pakistan is nothing but a hoax to mislead the Muslim nation into believing that you still believe in Pakistan. You roused the Muslim nation to action, you roused the Hindu nation to oppose it and crush it if it could. You and your Committee of Action wasted precious moments in inaction. The Muslim nation wanted to have a programme of work to engage their time and energies. You instead proposed work for the few who did not want any work. Of course you may be able to say to the world that you have entered the Interim Government to safeguard the interests of the Muslim population but your actions deny the facts. You have thrown the Muslim nation at the mercy of self-seekers of your community and to the devouring wolves of the now militant Hindu community. H. S. Suhrawardy is proving as much an enemy of the Indian Muslims as are the Mukerjees and the Moonjes.

By seeing all that is happening nowadays one is led to believe that either you have yourself lost the clear probative [*sic*] of the real facts and things, or you are surrounded by sycophants who are exploiting your leadership for their own selfish ends, or you are led into committing mistake after mistake to keep your prestige and leadership. Allama Mashriqi, and other upstarts like him, misguided the nation for a generation and fattened on their credulity. You were extolled as a leader who was sincere and could counteract ably and firmly the machinations of the opponents but you yourself seemed to have fallen prey to the similar kind of ills. We have not yet been able to get rid of the insincere host of leaders; how long will it take the Muslim nation to be rid of you who is making a mess of his leadership. Perhaps not long, as the times are critical and cannot afford waiting. The nation cannot allow his [*sic* for its] sons and daughters and children to be butchered in hundreds and thousands to see that Mohammad Ali Jinnah remains the Quaid-i-Azam or Liaquat Ali Khan the Finance Minister. More is at stake than these

false notions of prestige and position.

No nations have won their battles by mere arguments or by shunning the use of arms. You have provided a field of work for the few intellectuals but what you have done to defend the unarmed and unwary millions of the Muslims scattered all over India amidst the brutes who while killing people do not even distinguish among the children, women and the old. At such critical times only that person can be at the helm of affairs whose vision is long and clear, who possesses untiring energy and rightly distinguishes between a friend and a foe in disguise, who provides work and guidance for every section of people, who sees at a glance all sides of every problem and who does not shun plung[ing] into the worst of battles to save his flesh. A Gandhi can undertake a journey at this age to go to the interior of Noakhali in East Bengal to rehabilitate the Hindus who [had] fled away from their homes for fear but a Jinnah cannot move from Delhi to speak a word of sympathy to the thousands of refugees who have lost all of their kith and kin and [where]withal, everything that could maintain their lives. A word of sympathy to them and to be in their midst would have put more heart into these poor Muslims than the opening of the strings of your long purses. I am not criticising your actions for the sake of criticism but these are facts which common people see, feel and judge. Quaid-i-Azam is not on their lips only as a slogan but it comes from their hearts and one should deserve to be called a Quaid-i-Azam.

I have digressed. Critical times are ahead or rather facing us. You have been chosen by the Muslim nation as their leader as you gave them a right lead but at this time you are probing in the dark, rather floundering to see the goal. You have landed the Muslims into untold troubles and misfortunes of tremendous dimensions. The Muslims are facing disasters of the first magnitude, they shall be utterly ruined and ceased to exist as a living nation in a generation or two if the things are allowed to take their course.

An organisation, however great it may be, cannot remedy the evils by merely passing resolutions and issuing statements. Action and speedy action in the right direction is the need of the day. Other community is out to exterminate the people in your trust. [*Four lines omitted*]. You must retrace your steps if you have to save your nation and non-cooperate with the government that be, and build on surer foundations the life of the Muslim people. You and your workers in thousands should go out to every village and every town to induce the Muslims to organise and prepare for the last

show-down which is as inevitable as death. You cannot avoid coming to grips by shouting Pakistan. You shall have to realise Pakistan by action—such actions as the common people can understand. [*Two lines omitted*]. The people will honour you, trust you and love you.

Your policy up to this time has only been to bring the Musalmans at one platform. You have succeeded in that. Now you should build them into a prosperous nation, who can defend itself against every odd. You cannot do so by giving them messages on the *'Id* occasions but by going among them and by trying to meet their necessities and requirements. This is no time for arm-chair politicians. This is the time for persons who can move about among common people without any let or hindrance and who can guide them on to life of honour and prestige. Pakistan or no Pakistan, they have to live as an honoured nation, able to take well [*sic*] care of themselves even if they are in a minority. Leave the Council chamber or the hackneyed path of a constitutionalist. Be bold and strike out a path that is new to the present world but has not failed the Muslims at any time of their career [*sic*]. [*Eight lines omitted*].

Take the responsibility for decisions on your own shoulders and do not shift it to others. The people trusted your judgement and sincerity and not of your followers who are out to sell their lives and honour so that they may win positions of honour, rather dishonour. The love of office has created bad taste among good people of other nations. It is proving disastrous for the pauper Muslim nation. For success in any venture, sacrifice and organisation are the two essentials which can never be avoided.

I appeal to you in the name of God, in the name of Islam and in the name of poor Muslims of India to adopt a revolutionary policy in the sense that it may bring about a revolution in the life of the Muslims and let your Muslim League undertake to come to their help by showing them the way they should act and prepare. Make the nation realise the ideal of Pakistan or that of a Muslim kingdom in India by giving them a constructive programme of work based on non-violence that would eventually lead the nation to power and prestige.

Sincerely yours,
MUHAMMAD SAGHIR HUSSAIN

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Mohammad Habibul Rahman Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/143-4

NASIR MANZIL,
FARRASH KHANA,
DELHI,
20 November 1946

Sir,

I most respectfully beg to invite your kind and personal attention to my letter dated 25.10.1946,[1] under registered cover, in which I pointed out your mistake in accepting the distribution of portfolios in the Interim Government. I think you must have felt my words unpleasant and this was the reason that you did not reply to me on the subject.

I have been seeing up to this time what destruction and loss can be and is being sustained by the Indian Muslims in the recent Hindu-Muslim disturbances, which you too have observed. The Police Department and all others, which were under the Home Department, have given their full support and so many thousand Muslims have lost their lives for this reason alone.

Mr. Patel gave a brief statement that the Sikhs have only the right of keeping *kirpans* and not swords; notwithstanding this the Sikhs are openly keeping swords but no action is being taken against them. On the contrary, a general search of Muslim houses has been made and no Muslim, even an old man, can carry a stick with him.

I, therefore, humbly advise you to take immediate steps in taking the Home Department in the hands of the Muslim League, and if this cannot be done, it would be much better for you to advise the Government to end the Interim Government of India soon to avoid further bloodshed of the Muslims of India.[2]

I am also writing a letter on the subject to H.E. the Viceroy.

I have, etc.,
M. H. RAHMAN NIZAMI
General Secretary,
The Central Idara al-Habib

[1]No. 176.

[2]Jinnah wished he had the power and authority to put some of his suggestions into effect. See *SHC*, Delhi/145. Not printed.

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Mirza Ahmad Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/48

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 November 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram of the 20th instant, reading as follows:

> Your letter fifteenth November.[1] Thank you for all your help Bihar. Yes, Hasan [Ispahani] done well. Am doing my best for Bihar—Jinnah.

The relief work is continuing satisfactorily in Bihar. Directly Mr. Nazimuddin returns from Delhi, we intend asking him to go back to Patna so that necessary help that is needed may be rendered through him.

With regard to the repatriation of the refugees to the villages, this question does not arise as in most cases they have nowhere to go back to. Destruction of houses and properties has been most complete. Excepting those who have large plots of land in the interior, no one wants to go back, and I cannot blame them after hearing what has happened. There is no guarantee that it will not happen again.

People generally are talking of migrating to Bengal and work[ing] there as labourers if need be. This question will have to be seriously considered by the All India Muslim League. To force the refugees to go back and live in places surrounded by miles and miles of hostile population is to condemn them to a life of perpetual terror. This is also what is unfortunately happening in East Bengal. Most of the Hindus, who have left their homes, are in the same boat. Therefore, this [issue] can be solved only by all-India leaders.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1]Not traceable.

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Indian Muslim Association, Perak, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/83

INDIAN MUSLIM ASSOCIATION,
KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK, MALAYA,
28 November 1946

Pakistan Zindabad

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the Committee Members of Indian [Muslim] Association, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, Malaya, will be pleased to know of your welfare and pray [to] God for [your] long life and prosperous future.

We have read your statement in the local newspapers regarding the Bihar Muslims,[1] and we are aware of the present grave situation in Bihar where Muslims are forced, threatened, robbed and their houses burnt by the so-called majority.

We pay homage to the fallen heroes of Islam in Bihar and Calcutta and we have collected a small sum of money towards the Relief Fund that has been formed under your leadership. Yet our contribution to the relief fund is very small, which we are enclosing herewith (draft for Rs.1221-6-02). We earnestly hope that this small amount would be accepted and we humbly request your goodself to acknowledge [it].[2]

We beseech your honour for your well [*sic*] wishes to our Association and greetings.

Assalaamo 'Alaikum.

Yours faithfully,
[UNSIGNED]
Committee Members of Indian Muslim Association

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2447-8.
[2]Jinnah duly acknowledged the letter. See F. 156/84, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Sadiq Muhammad Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 232/1-2

SADIQGARH,
28 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

My very dear and respected friend,

I have just come to know that you will be proceeding to England in the very near future. May I wish you *Khuda Hafiz,* a safe journey and a safe and successful return—to us all here. You will have our *Dua* and will be always in our thoughts. *Allah* is merciful [*word illegible*] and kind. He will be your guide and protector. I am very delighted to see that you have taken up the challenge. *Insha Allah,* all will be well in the end—though hard times be ahead.

Allah's blessings be with you, most kind, generous and trusted friend.

I remain a very insignificant admirer and well-wisher of yours always in every way.[1]

S. M. ABBASI

[1]Jinnah thanked the Nawab of Bahawalpur for his good wishes and for sending him a copy of the holy *Qur'an*. See F. 232/3, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. Burhanulhaq to Pandit D. P. Misra

(Copy to M. A. Jinnah & Others)

F. 1107/336

JUBBULPORE,
29 November 1946

Dear Sir,

I refer you to my letter dated 23-10-1946 addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. R. K. Patil, Minister, against the Multi-purpose Society, Indrana, regarding the inducing of Muslims to write the words *Jai Hind* on all applications for supply of sugar and k[erosine] oil. One other

such complaint has been received from Katangi that Sobharam, ration-shopkeeper at Katangi, has told a Muslim that all persons should come to the shop with a *choti*[1] on their heads else [*sic* for and that] ration will not be supplied to those who come without *choti*. A report about this was made at the Police Station House, Katangi, on 22-11-1946 and the Police *Moharrir*, in the absence of S.H.O. Katangi, called Sobharam who admitted to have spoken the words. The Police *Moharrir* warned Sobharam and directed him to apologize which he (Sobharam) did. The Police *Moharrir* again warned him not to repeat the above words again. Such incidents aggrieve and hurt the religious feelings of the Musalmans—It is therefore requested that you will please direct the District Magistrate and D.S.P., to prosecute Sobharam either under D.I.R.[2] or any other law in force so that it may be an eye-opener to others.

Further please communicate the order passed by you to us.

Yours sincerely,
M. BURHANULHAQ
MLA

[1]Pigtail.
[2]Defence of India Rules.

331

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/79

[*Undated*] *November 1946*

Sir, those Muslims who are rendered homeless in Bihar and other minority provinces should be asked to settle down in Bengal and other Muslim provinces and every facility should be provided to them by M. L. None can check riots and occasional riots will exterminate the microscopic population of Muslims from minority provinces. The policy should be of gradual migration to safer zones.

It should be the official policy of Muslim League to nationalise industry and land and to equalise wealth amongst all the citizens of India. There should be very heavy death duties and the rate of income tax should be such that no industrialist or businessman should have an income of more than a lakh of rupees a year. Those who try to evade the law should be severely punished. We cannot befool the masses for very long in the name of religion alone. If we

want to keep a hold on masses, we will have to have a drastic economic policy very soon. Our Finance Member should introduce as early as possible a bill to kill parasites of the society. If Congress will dare to oppose it we will show it to the world that it is a body which is looking after the interest of a few alone. We will appeal to the masses of Hindus and Muslims to support and back us. We want the betterment of all the poor men. They may belong to any caste and creed. It is we alone who want independence so that we may be able to better the lot of humanity. Of course we want some safeguards for Musalmans and that can only be assured in a division of India. Thus there will be a balance of power.

[UNSIGNED]

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Iqbal Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 894/48-9

HAKIMAN STREET,
AGRA,
[*Undated*] *November 1946*

Quaid-i-Azam,

Most humbly and respectfully it is my humble suggestion for your honour's kind consideration regarding *Moharram*.

The general situation in the country is rather grievous and therefore it is not proper for us to celebrate [*sic*] *Moharram* but we should spend that money [on relief] in Bihar and Garhmuktesar.

I therefore request you to kindly give a statement[1] in the press at once that will help the poor sufferers of both these places.

The riot-affected cities should under no circumstances be allowed to celebrate [*sic*] *Moharram* as that will endanger the peace of those places.

Your honour's statement will save a great lot of people from great trouble which is all around at this moment.

This is only a humble suggestion for your honour's kind consideration.

Yours obediently,
IQBAL AHMAD

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2454-6 & 2462-3.

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Anonym to the Editor, Dawn
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Delhi/133

[*Undated*] *November 1946*

Dear Sir,

I request you most earnestly to read this letter through. I am sending copies of this letter to Mr. Jinnah and others.

I have read your editorial note, *We Accuse*, in the *Dawn* of 5th November, and I agree with every word you have written. Your accusation against the Punjab Muslims is quite true and correct. You might have used much stronger language.

But why is it so? It is because the present-day Muslims, whether in the Punjab or elsewhere, are not true Muslims. The spark of Islamic spirit is dead and gone. There is some political awakening among Muslims, but there is no real Islamic awakening yet.

The Indian Muslims of today, alas, have acquired extreme selfishness, petty jealousies and many other evils from the caste-ridden Hindu community, whereas the Hindus have learnt unity, organisation, fraternity and many other good things from Islam. They are even playing with equality through the Bhangi Colony stunt. Let me come back to the Muslims. The Bihar Muslims are being massacred and they are suffering terribly in every respect. But the Muslims of the Punjab and many other places are as silent as the grave. God says in the holy *Qur'an* that all Muslims are brothers. Are they showing any brotherly feeling towards their suffering brothers in Bihar?

The present death-like silence of Indian Muslims is most deplorable and reprehensible; it is criminal. But are you aware that it is going to be much worse in future? It is because a large factory for the mass Hinduisation of Muslims has been established here in Delhi under the very nose of all-India Muslim leaders. It was established in 1920, and it is going to celebrate its silver jubilee in this very month which will always be remembered for the general massacre of Bihar Muslims. I am referring to the so-called Jamia Millia. Dr. Zakir Hussain was selected by Gandhi and Co. for carrying out their plan for Hinduising Muslims in the spirit of the Wardha Scheme which was prepared by a Committee presided over by

Dr. Zakir Hussain, under the guidance and supervision of Gandhi, the most astute and cunning hypocrite of all time. The object of the Jamia Millia is to make Muslims as much Hindu in outlook and in every other respect as possible. With very young children it is done in a crude manner. For example, they are taught the slogan "The Muslim League is bad, the Congress is good." With grown-up Muslim boys, more subtle methods are used. The aim is to make their inside Hindu and let their outside remain Muslim.

Dr. Zakir Husain has succeeded in misleading Muslims to a considerable extent. He has made friends with the Muslim League leaders and is carrying on his nefarious activities in a subtle manner. If this factory for Hinduising Muslims is allowed to continue its evil work, real Islam will soon disappear from India. The great killings like the one in Bihar grieve us most profoundly, but they do not kill Islam, they rather revive it to some extent. But the slow and secret poison of the Jamia Millia will soon kill Islam, and will soon make every Muslim a mere "Show Boy" of the Hindus. This is the cleverest plot so far designed for the destruction of Islam in India.

This letter has not been written with any petty low object of mere slander. It has been written after deep thought with a sincere motive for serving Islam, and for giving Muslims a serious warning against danger. Muslims have always been simple-minded (*bhola*). A combination of *munafiqs* and *kafirs,* as in this case, has always succeeded in deceiving them.

If you feel doubtful about what I have written above, kindly make your own enquiries secretly. Also, please consult some experienced Muslim educationists, if you can. From the very birth of Islam the *Munafiqs* have tried to do harm to it. The holy *'Quran* devotes several chapters to them. They are always very clever, and their methods are very subtle. It is not easy to catch them.

It does not seem possible for anyone to reform the Jamia Millia. Dr. Zakir Husain has gone too far deep into the mire of Hindu friendship to listen to you or to anyone else. The same is the case with Abul Kalam Azad and Husain Ahmad Madani.

It is just possible that you may have a good opinion about the Jamia Millia. In that case this letter may even annoy you. For God's sake, do not be annoyed but study the Institution and its subtle methods, but do it secretly, please. I am sure that the more you study it, the more convinced you will be of the seriousness of this

great danger to Islam in India.

Yours sincerely,
MUSLIM

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Baboo Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/114

ABID ROAD,
HYDERABAD,
[*Undated*] *November 1946*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am much thankful to you for your esteemed letter dated 10th September.[1]

For the present, I consider that the Muslim nation, spread all over India, and particularly in Bombay, does badly require a daily paper in English.

I am convinced that, in a place like Bombay, the bulk of our people are sufficiently advanced, culturally and socially, to justify the launching of a scheme to provide them with a high-class daily paper (in English), so as to counteract the unholy propaganda of non-Muslims.

Moreover, I feel that Bombay, besides having other advantages, has the additional advantage of being the family seat of our Quaid-i-Azam; so in view of all this, I propose starting a daily paper there, if possible with the cooperation of the leading Muslim residents and businessmen.

A sum of rupees 2 or 3 lakh will be required for starting this venture. In case other Muslim people there do not care to take part in the scheme, this amount will be set apart by me.

I hope you will favour me with your reactions to my proposals.

With respectful regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
BABOO KHAN

[1]Not traceable.

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M. Burhanulhaq to R. S. Shukla
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1107/337

JUBBULPORE,
2 December 1946

Dear Sir,

On 30-11-1946 there was a great parade, just on the eve of *Moharram*, of Rashtriya [Swayam] Sevak Sangh in Gol Bazar, Jubbulpore. About 25 thousand people gathered there. About [a] thousand R.S.S. soldiers paraded with all sorts of weapons.

On 29-11-1946 there was promulgation and publication of the extension of the order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. in Jubbulpore Town. It is a well-known fact that R.S.S. is a Hindu political organisation with the sole object of crush[ing] the Muslims. The activities of this Sangh are well-known and admitted even by Hindu leaders of the part played by them in Muktesar Fair and other parts of U.P. It is a wonder how they were allowed to hold the parade at Jubbulpore at a time when the order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. is in existence. Does it mean whether [*sic*] the order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. is [only] for Muslim organisations and applicable even to a *Moharram* procession which is a religious one? The Government shall be responsible for any complication due to the impetus [*sic*] by the parade of R.S.S. on 30-11-1946. We have strong objection to such happenings at Jubbulpore.

It is further reported to us that Hindus from outside are [being] brought and imported. A check be kept with full vigilance at the entrances of the City. It is further reported that weapons are also being brought by Hindus for nefarious objects as also mentioned in *Alfarooq* of Kamptee, dated 25-11-1946, a weekly Urdu paper.

M. BURHANULHAQ
MLA
President, Dist. & City Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 21/64

CLARIDGE'S,
BROOKE STREET, [LONDON] W.1,
5 December 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a telegram that I have received from the Secretary, Bihar Muslim League, for your information and consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Pethick-Lawrence,
Secretary of State for India,
India Office, Whitehall,
[London]

Enclosure to No. 336

Telegram

CALCUTTA,
4 December 1946

M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, London
Bihar Muslims still in state of terror. Congress Ministry criminally indifferent and antipathetic. 9th and 10th December threatened as days of second mass attack on defenceless Muslims. Muslims fleeing from Bihar in consternation and fear. Please move His Majesty's Government for exchange of population.

SECRETARY, BIHAR MUSLIM RELIEF COMMITTEE

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Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/63

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL,
[LONDON,]
7 December 1946

My dear Jinnah,

The enclosure to your letter of the 5th December[1] is very grave reading. I have drawn the attention of the Government of India to your correspondent's fears.

I do not myself think that the proposal for exchange of population provides a solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem generally, though it might be practicable in some parts of India. It is clearly not a matter in which His Majesty's Government can compel Provincial Governments, and if you wish this suggestion to be explored in this individual case, it could, I think, only be done by a detailed proposition being made by the Government of Bengal to the Government of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]No. 336.

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Rahman Ali to Editors of the Dawn *& Other Newspapers (Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 1121/32-3

JUBBULPORE,
9 December 1946

EXCHANGE OF POPULATION: THE ONLY POLITICAL REMEDY

The fire-eater in the Congress camp, Hon'ble Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel,[1] the so-called Vice-President of the Interim Govt. by proxy, is blowing hot and cold in his whirlwind tour and is disturbing the communal atmosphere in the various Hindu majority provinces, inflaming Hindu sentiments and exhorting them to stage another

senseless holocaust, the bitter taste of which has been recently experienced by the helpless Muslims in Bihar. The Congress leaders, day in and day out, are vomiting explosive fire and crying from house-tops that they were forced to do so in self-defence. The Congress President, Mr. Kripalani, could not hold his peace on the unfortunate Noakhali episode, unless he saw reprisal brought about against the Muslims on a far larger scale in Bihar. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel, the strong man of the Congress and an ideal votary of non-violence, is out-Kripalaning Kripalani and is talking in chaste Gandhian non-violence language of curdling blood and meeting of sword with sword. His convocation address at the Nagpur University which was meant to be academic was not spared the party propaganda and he flung vituperative remarks against the Muslims and their accredited leader, although he knew full well that quite a large number of students receiving degrees were Muslims and believed in Muslim League political ideology.

In his Nagpur statement he described Mr. Jinnah's proposal for the exchange of population as an absurd one which can never materialise. But he forgets that the Muslims originally belonged to the nomadic tribes, who lived in the Kingdom of God and considered the whole world as their homeland. Unlike Hindus, their nationality is not bound by territorial limits. A Muslim does not feel out of ease to leave a tract of land and settle down on another. In movement he feels life and in stagnation death. It was this love of adventure and enterprise that prompted Mohammad Bin Qasim, a boy of 16, to knock at the gate-way of India and establish Muslim rule in this country which lasted for more than a thousand years. The Muslims have gone down today only because they have lost the taste of living dangerously. Again, it was this love of courageous dash to unknown and strange lands that prompted General Tariq [bin-Ziad] in the hey-day of Islamic invincible supremacy to burn his boats and conquer and settle down in Spain. Even Prophet Muhammed (peace be on him), when he found the land of Mecca a hot-bed for him, he made a sojourn for [*sic* for at] Medina only to return from the land of his exile to the land of his birth as a conqueror. The whole Hindustan is a hot-bed for the Muslims today and they must migrate post-haste to the already chalked out land of Pakistan.

It is no wonder that it looks strange to Hon'ble Mr. Patel to think of Muslims moving from the South to the North. He has tried to read the Islamic history from a purely Hindu point of view. The Hindu culture and civilisation, of course, is ingrained in the mountains and rivers of India and a Hindu, therefore, may not adventure [*sic*] out of his land of

gods and deities to the land of *malichhs* and demons. But a Muslim, wherever he places his feet, does so with the sole idea of ruling over that land.

The exchange of population suggested by Quaid-i-Azam is not merely a political stunt or a strategy in power politics. In fact it is a sane and judicious advice to the Muslims to concentrate their numerical strength on specific tracts of land and there establish overwhelmingly permanent Muslim majority. The Caste-Hindus, in their wishful fancy that the British were leaving India overnight, are asserting themselves to be the only claimant to the legacy of British rule in this vast [sub-] continent. But they forget that it is not a joke to keep a hundred million militant Muslims permanently under their yoke. The Muslims, as a separate nation in India, justly demand their share in this legacy. There cannot be permanent peace unless their demand for a separate sovereign Pakistan State is conceded.

RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

[1]Home Member in the Interim Government (September 1946 to July 1947).

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Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/71

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
LONDON,
10 December 1946

My dear Jinnah,

It is most kind of you to invite me to lunch next Thursday and it would have given me great pleasure to have enjoyed your friendly hospitality. I hope, however, you will not think me discourteous if I ask to be excused.

I think that it may be taken as certain that the luncheon party would attract considerable publicity and would be liable to be construed as a political rather than a social gathering. In view of the fact that the Congress and Sikh representatives have already gone back to India, this might easily lead to misrepresentation and injure the prospects of a settlement which you and I and all of us so much desire.

It will be a personal pleasure to me if we can have a short personal

talk together before you go back to India, and I will ask my Secretary to fix up a time mutually convenient when we could meet. Needless to say, if Liaquat Ali is able to be of the party, it would add to my pleasure.

I hope your visit to England has not been too strenuous and that you will have a comfortable journey home.

Sincerely yours,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

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Winston S. Churchill to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/75

PRIVATE

28 HYDE PARK GATE,
LONDON, S.W.7.,
11 December 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I should greatly like to accept your kind invitation to luncheon on December 12. I feel, however, that it would perhaps be wiser for us not to be associated publicly at this juncture.

I greatly valued our talk the other day, and I now enclose the address[1] to which any telegrams you may wish to send me can be sent without attracting attention in India. I will always sign myself "Gilliatt". Perhaps you will let me know to what address I should telegraph to you and how you will sign yourself.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

[1]See F. 21/76, *QAP*. Not printed.

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John Allsebrook Simon[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/72

CONFIDENTIAL

11 December 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry that I cannot come to your luncheon tomorrow: I shall be presiding over a House of Lords' Appeal, and cannot get

out of it—the interval is only half-an-hour and so I could not avail myself of your kind invitation.

Perhaps you would like to know which of the Members of the House of Lords would be specially interested in the subject on which we talked yesterday. I should say they would be Viscount Cranborne, who leads the Opposition Peers; his father, the old Marquis of Salisbury, who is our 'Nestor';[2] Lord Altringham, Lord Croft and Lord Cherwell. Another man who is deeply disturbed about the Indian situation is Lord Rankeillour.

We shall await Mr. Attlee's statement to-day, which I suppose will be made in both Houses. We are so close to Christmas that it is difficult to find a day for debate before it comes, but the urgency of ventilating the matter, and of conducting an exploration for the enlightenment of British opinion is well understood.

I am, of course, writing quite privately and only want to do what I can to throw light on this anxious situation. (I may tell you, for your own information, that I spoke to Lord Cranborne in this sense on Monday).

Yours sincerely,
SIMON

[1]Chairman of the Indian Satutory Commission, as Sir John Simon (1927-30); Lord Chancellor (1940-45), as Viscount Simon.
[2]Wise old man; name of character in Homer's epic poem, *Iliad*, describing the Trojan war.

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Rahman Ali to Governor of CP & Berar
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1107/341-2

JUBBULPORE,
12 December 1946

The Rashtriya [Swayam] Sewak Sangh held its rally at Jubbulpore on 20-11-1946, in spite of the promulgation of Section 144, Cr. P.C., in the Municipal Town Area.

The members of the Sangh in regular uniform swarmed in[to] Jubbulpore from various districts and no less than 4,000 strong gave a demonstration of the use of every kind of prohibited deadly weapon to the predominantly Hindu congregation of Jubbulpore, numbering about 25,000, giving them the enlivening impression of a

potential mighty military valour, behind this warlike Hindu organisation. It has been given out that no formal permission for the above rally was obtained from the District Magistrate. All sorts of lethal and deadly weapons were conveyed on the streets, by these members in uniform, in display of regular military march, under the very eyes of the Police force, ranging from the ordinary constable to the City Supdt. of Police. The awe-stricken pedestrians were simply amazed to see the Police force standing by, mute on the street, and even on the rally ground, while they knew full well that the carrying of lethal weapons and the unauthorised assembly of more than five persons were not permissible under the orders of the District Magistrate. The silence on the part of Police authorities and the executive officers led them to believe that law and order had taken a holiday on 30th November 1946 and consequently a very tense atmosphere prevailed in the Town.

In the United Provinces, in the Districts of Agra and Meerut, the members of R.S.S. have on many occasions disturbed public peace and tranquillity and in the Garhmuktesar tragedy, they took prominent part in the most organised way of killing, arson and looting of the unwary innocent citizens, to which even General Shah Nawaz and Miss Mridula Sarabhai remained aghast spectators.

The Punjab Government saw in R.S.S. organisation a menace to the public peace and it was very quick in banning the organisation. Recently twenty-seven of its members, who tried to defy the Punjab Public Safety Order, were put under arrest.

The Prime Minister of C.P. and Berar, Hon'ble Mr. R. S. Shukla, while placing before the House of the Assembly, in the last session, the C.P. and Berar Maintenance of Public Order Bill 1946, in the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" of this Bill stated, "the present state of unrest in the country owing to the communal and other reasons, is a matter of common knowledge. Though this province has been fortunately free from major disturbances, such as have occurred elsewhere in the country, the undercurrent of nervousness and tension, as a result of such extra-provincial disturbances, has been a constant source of anxiety to the Provincial Government". The primary duty of every civilised Government is to maintain public order, but experience, both in this province and elsewhere, has amply demonstrated the inadequacy of the provisions of the ordinary law of the land to deal promptly and effectively with public disorder on a large scale. Dangerous ills require drastic remedies and this Bill seeks to provide such a remedy. Section 8 of this Bill empowers the Government to ban the holding of camps or

performance of drill or parade by any class of persons or organisations, whose activities are, in the opinion of Provincial Govt., subversive of law and order. It is a known fact that the organisers of the rally of the R.S.S. at Jubbulpore organised it in defiance of Section 144 Cr.P.C. and chose very inopportune days of *Moharram*, which fortunately was not observed by the Muslims at this place, and the town was thus saved a major catastrophe. But this rally has given an unusual impetus to the local R.S.S. organisation, which is every day adopting an increasingly menacing attitude. The town has lost its faith in the sense of security and is passing its days in mischievous gossip and anxious restless nights. The members of both the communities have migrated from places where they were in minority to safer places and have created an acute housing problem. It is in the fitness of the situation that the Provincial Govt. should take an immediate bold action and ban the R.S.S. organisation in this Province. If the activities of the R.S.S. in holding a rally at Jubbulpore, in defiance of the promulgation of Section 144 Cr. P.C., and its daily military drills in public places are, in the opinion of the Provincial Govt., not subversive of law and order, and no action is taken, it will lead the Muslims to believe that the R.S.S. enjoys the patronage of the Congress Govt. and is in fact the Congress militia. This will naturally compel the Muslims also under the guidance of the Muslim League to organise its counter-part to defend their lives and properties. It is hoped that wiser counsel will prevail.

RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

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Ghulam Mohammed[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 664/8-9

BOMBAY HOUSE,
BRUCE STREET,
BOMBAY,
20 December 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write this letter with considerable regret and pain. I postponed

writing it, only because of your absence abroad.

Since seeing you in Delhi and fixing up matters, I returned to Bombay and had immediately to go to an eye specialist for some complaint. This started a series of consultations with other doctors. The purport of the unanimous advice given by all the doctors was that I should not, under any circumstances, take up work which is likely to lead to emotional upset, stress or strain. I mentioned to them the type of work I intended taking up and I am afraid their verdict was that I would be committing a rash act and that it would be suicidal to do so. Strong warning was given. Later I consulted two eminent physicians of all-India fame and they have come to the same conclusion.

I have, in the circumstances, to inform you with much regret that I shall be unable to keep my part of the arrangement. You will remember that it was my own suggestion, my own idea, my own scheme—Providence, in His wisdom, does not perhaps wish that I should be able to serve my people at this juncture. It would also not be fair to the work to be entrusted to me if, after taking it up, I am compelled to leave it after a brief effort. I am thoroughly upset and write these lines under considerable strain—in the hope that you will understand my position and will not feel that I have willingly or deliberately let you down. I should have consulted all these doctors before making my suggestion and request to you. But there is quite a lot which doctors have told me now, when faced with this situation. Their excuse is that it is not desirable that a patient in a case like mine should know fully the detailed condition of his health.

I intend going abroad to seek some cure. Chances are remote. If I get some relief and some assurance, I should be only too happy to dream again of giving shape to the plans I mentioned to you.

You have always treated me with kindness and consideration and I have always regarded it as a privilege to enjoy your confidence. It would almost be a blow to me if any misunderstanding were to arise over my inability to pursue the plans I had worked out. I need not assure you again how sad and depressed I am over this matter. I am allowed to do my normal set work and I should be only too happy to assist you while in Bombay.

In the end, may I say a word of admiration for the great work you have done in London. The Muslim nation rightly regards you as the greatest leader it has had for the last 250 years. May your untiring

efforts be crowned with success and glory!

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

[1]After a distinguished career as a bureaucrat, having retired as an Additional Secretary to the Government of India, he served as Finance Minister of Hyderabad State, and subsequently as Minister for Finance in Pakistan (1947-51) and as Governor-General (1951-55).

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Note by M. A. Khuhro

F. 852/29-30

20 December 1946

During the recent general elections of the Sind Legislative Assembly, I took a very prominent part in rendering help to those Muslim League candidates where there was keen contest. In fact the keen contest was in:

a. Three constituencies of the Karachi District, i.e. those of Haji Fazul Mohamad Laghari, Anwar Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Pir Alishah
b. Two constituencies in the Thar Parkar District—those of Rais Ghulam Mohamad Wasan and Mir Ahmadkhan Talpur
c. One constituency in the Nawabshah District—that of Sayed Mohamadalishah
d. Two constituencies in the Sukkur District—those of Sardar Kaisar Khan Bozdar and Mr. Rahimbux Soomro
e. Two constituencies in the U.S.F. [Upper Sind Frontier] District—those of Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and Suhrabkhan Sarki
f. Two constituencies in the Larkana District—those of Kazi Fazlullah and Mir Mohamad Khan Chandio; although 3 days before the polling day, the opponent of Mir Mohamad Khan withdrew
g. Two constituencies in the Dadu District—those of Mr. G. M. Sayed and Sayed Ali Akbar Shah
h. Three constituencies in the Hyderabad District—those of Makhdum Ghulam Hyder, Mir Ghulamali Khan Talpur and Mir Hussainbux Khan Talpur

Thus it will be seen that where the contest was keen, workers and

influential people who could assist considerably in securing votes and render moral and material help to the League candidates, were required very badly. Out of the above 17 constituencies, I personally went and canvassed in not less than 12 constituencies. I started electioneering propaganda work right from 23rd October and in my own constituency I worked, in all, for 5 days and the result was that my opponent withdrew unconditionally. Thereafter I was free and I worked for the Muslim League candidates. I had worked in all for 30 days, excluding the 5 days that I spent in my own constituency. Besides this, about 4 or 5 days were spent in travelling from one place to another. With the exception of 3 days that I had to stay in Karachi due to illness that I suffered owing to hard and strenuous work and travelling and consequential exhaustion, and 2 days owing to the arrival of Quaid-i-Azam at Karachi, I spent all the remaining days up to the 9th December—the polling day—in other Muslim League candidates' constituencies.

The figures would show that I spent:

Ten days in Kazi Fazlullah's constituency
Three days in Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali's
One day in Sardar Nur Mahomed Khan Bijarani's constituency
Four days in the Nawabshah District
Three days in the Thar Parkar District
Two days in Mir Mohamad Khan Chandio's constituency
Three days in Sardar Ali Gohar Khan and Sardar Kaisar Khan Bozdar constituencies
One day in Haji Ali Akbar Shah's constituency
Two days in Mr. Rahimbux's constituency
One day in Suhrabkhan Sarki's constituency
One day in Haji Fazul Mohamad Laghari's constituency.

I covered not less than 3600 miles by car during these six weeks and quite a large number of mileage I covered by train. Out of these 17 candidates who had to face serious opposition, not less than 10 or 12 will admit that I rendered them genuine help and contributed considerably towards their success.

As against this, no other Minister has worked in other constituencies. The Hon'ble Premier has worked for himself and in his son's constituency at Thatta. Mir Ghulamali Khan has worked for himself and Pir Ali Shah. Mr. Pirzada has worked for Mr. Rahimbux, very considerably, in addition to his own. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh has worked only in Mr. G. M. Sayed's constituency; but he had considerable advantage in doing so because he belongs to that constituency and possesses landed property there. His own village where he was born

and bred, and where he still lives, is situated in Sehwan *Taluka* which is in Mr. G. M. Sayed's constituency. He had direct contact with the people of Sehwan *Taluka* and therefore he was the only one among the Ministers who could render help in the constituency. On the whole, the strenuous work, the travelling and number of meetings addressed and the other help rendered to at least 12 out of 17 candidates, were all on my part. Thus, my record of the election work undoubtedly stands on the top.

M. A. KHUHRO

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M. Burhanulhaq to R. S. Shukla
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1107/352

JUBBULPORE,
21 December 1946

Dear Hon'ble Mr. Shukla,

I have been informed that arrangements are being made to hold a magnificent parade of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh soldiers with all sorts of weapons at Narsinghpur on 24 Dec. 46, similar to the one held at Jubbulpore on the 30th Nov. 1946.

It is a well-known fact that R.S.S. is a Hindu political and [para-] military organisation started with the sole object of suppressing the Muslims in minority provinces and keep[ing] them permanently under awe and terror. The Musalmans of Narsinghpur have raised serious objection to the holding of such a huge gathering at Narsinghpur where they are in abject minority. The Congress Govt. shall be held responsible for any disturbing complication which may arise owing to the untimely holding of the parade of R.S.S. It is further reported to me that Hindus from outside are brought and imported along with weapons for this terrorising show of Hindu might. It is not understood why the R.S.S. is not declared illegal under the C.P. and Berar Maintenance of Public Order Act of 1946. The sinister political motive under which exception is made to R.S.S. organisation whose activities are undoubtedly subversive of law and order is not understood. Section 8 of the Act empowers the local Govt. to ban the holding of camps or performance of drill or parade of such peace-disturbing organisation.

I hope you will take immediate action in the matter under the Public Order Act 1946, in the interest of peace and tranquillity in this Province.

If however you are not inclined to take action against R.S.S., the Muslims of the Province will naturally be compelled, under the guidance of Muslim League, to organise its counterpart to defend their lives and property.

Yours faithfully,
M. BURHANULHAQ
President, Jubbulpore Muslim League

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M. A. Khuhro to K. H. Khurshid

F. 365/120-1

VICTORIA HOUSE,
KARACHI,
22 December 1946

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

During my interview with Quaid-i-Azam this evening, I was asked by him to suggest names of persons whom he would interview to discuss the question of Ministry formation. I am therefore making the following suggestions and I hope Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to give me time for each one of the following groups.

1. On behalf of the 23 M.L.As. who have subscribed in writing to the proposal that I should be the Leader of the new Assembly Party.
   a. Kazi Fazlullah
   b. Kazi Mohamad Akbar
   c. Haji Mohamad Hashim Gazdar
   d. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali
   e. Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon, and
   f. Rais Haji Ali Mohamad Maree
2. *Election Committee Members*
   a. Mr. G. Allana
   b. Mr. Hassanali, Barrister
   c. Mr. A. M. Kureshi, and
   d. Mr. Mohamad Parial Tanwri, Advocate
3. Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, on behalf of the Muslim League organization

4. On behalf of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League.
   a. Sayed Saleh Mohamad Shah, Vice President, Sind Provincial Muslim League
   b. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, General Secretary, Sind Provincial Muslim League
   c. Mr. Naimatallah Qureshi, General Secretary, District Muslim League, Sukkur, and
   d. Mr. Fakir Mohamad Mangrio, General Secretary, District Muslim League, Thar Parkar

Please fix up time for each group separately and let me know either by letter or on telephone No. 5315 at my residence, so that I may inform them in time to come over for interview. Some of the batches might meet Quaid-i-Azam tomorrow and the remaining on the following day, if so desired, as Quaid-i-Azam might find it a strain to meet so many in one day.

I would also like to see him alone tomorrow or the day after as it suits him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

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Ali Mohamed Maree to M. A. Jinnah

F. 576/32-3

ROYAL HOTEL,
KARACHI,
23 December 1946

Dear *Hazrat* Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I hope the letter on which some of the Ministers have been obtaining signatures from the members has been delivered to you or would be delivered to you. The object of this is that the members should not be able to exercise their right of freely electing their leader. My signature too has been obtained on the said letter. I beg, therefore, [to] respectfully submit as under:

   i. I have full faith and confidence in Quaid-i-Azam. I am ever willing and prepared to carry out his commands.
   ii. I have no confidence in Honourable Ghulam Hussain. I feel

[that] to allow him to continue as leader would lead to serious discontentment among the Muslim masses in Sind Province.

iii. Therefore, I propose the name of the Honourable Khuhro for leadership.

Despite the above facts, I beg most respectfully to submit that it shall always [be] my duty and I shall endeavour to that end to obey all the orders of Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours in service,
ALI MOHAMED MAREE
MLA (Sind)

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Kazi Mahomed Mujtaba to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/336-7

CHOWDRI MANZIL,
GARDEN EAST,
KARACHI,
23 December 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must be knowing that I have been successful in defeating Mr. Naraindas Bechar from the labour constituency. For this I am grateful to the League organisation and other labour leaders. Although I am a two-*anna* member of the Muslim League and also a member of the Muslim League party in the Municipal Corporation, I have declared to my electorate which consists of all communities that I will remain an independent member in the Assembly, always trying for Congress-League unity and never allowing myself to make or break ministries. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had approved of this idea and as far as I know you were also pleased with this arrangement.

Some of my friends now feel that I should join the Muslim League Party in order to utilise my vote for having a stable and people-minded Ministry. I have said that I have no objection to it provided Quaid-i-Azam approves of this idea.

I would like to know your advice in the matter and in the light of it I will confirm or revoke my previous decision.

I wonder if I will be able to meet you, you being very busy and I

am [*sic* for being] on sick-bed. However, I feel that I should inform you of my views about the proposed ministry in Sind.

In the peculiar circumstances, I feel [that] in spite of all shortcomings Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is the only man who can safely guide the destinies of the Muslim League Ministry in Sind, but I am of the opinion that new blood must be introduced in the Ministry and a definite programme for mass upliftment [*sic*] chalked out.

I would request you to advise the Ministers whoever they may be to pay special attention to the labour problems. If the Sind Muslim League and the Muslim League Ministry do not help me, the Congress is bound to recapture the labour field for themselves and it will be very dangerous for the Muslim League Ministry if organised labour is under the command of Congress money and leadership. Hope you will give your careful consideration to these submissions.

I will try to call on you if I am all right. At present I am down with an attack of asthma.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
MUJTABA KAZI
MLA (Labour)

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Mahomed Akbar Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 576/34

23 December 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

My name has been given by Hon'ble Khuhro to see you on behalf of his group. As I do not belong to his group, I fully trust your judgement and am confident that you will guide us properly in the best interest of Muslims of Sind.

I wish to see you separately if you can spare some time tomorrow.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED AKBAR KAZI

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F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/353

THE *TIMES OF INDIA*,
BOMBAY,
23 December 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Pandit Nehru gave me an exclusive statement for the *News Chronicle* which you may perhaps have seen reproduced on the back page of Wednesday's *Bombay Chronicle*. The Congress viewpoint has received publicity in England, and if you care to make the League point heard, I shall be glad to cable your statement. If you agree, would you please ask your Secretary to ring me at the office (30971) before 5.30 or at my place between 1.30 and 2.30 (2805). Perhaps you could leave the statement for me before you go to Nagpur or I could come over any time that is convenient to you either this evening or tomorrow. As there is crowding over the cables just now, would you mind making the statement [of] some four hundred words?

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MORAES

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 85/27-8

CONFIDENTIAL

VICTORIA HOUSE,
KARACHI,
24 December 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

You would remember that in October and November 1945, when you were here, we were shortly to face general elections. I worked very hard during those elections and we were able to secure 27 seats despite the fact that Mr. Sayed had revolted just after the nomination

papers were filed and it was then too late to put up candidates in those constituencies where Sayed's friends had offered themselves.

2. After the elections were over, the question of formation of a new Ministry arose. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan came down to Karachi in February 1946 and according to his desire and your message conveyed to me through him, I withdrew from the contest and got Hon'ble Ghulam Hussain elected Leader of the Party and I was elected as Deputy Leader. In the formation of the Ministry too, I was assigned place next to the Premier. But later on, at the time of distribution of portfolios, I was not even consulted and the Premier, in consultation with his two favourite colleagues—Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and Mir Ghulamali Khan—, advised the Governor to distribute the [port]folios according to their desire and the first choice went to Mir Ghulamali and the second to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and mine remained the third choice. Constitutionally, this position was not correct. In fact, according to the seniority and rank that I hold in the Cabinet and my accepted popularity in the masses and my position in the League organisation, it was my constitutional right to have got the first choice in the selection of portfolios. In spite of my admitted ability and hard work, the most important [port]folios were given to Mir Ghulamali, i.e. Law and Order and Price Control and Civil Supplies. This is nowhere the case and in no other province a Premier would do that. But this was only due to the suspicious nature of the Premier and his personal desire to encourage and lend his ear to certain individuals whom he preferred.

3. During the budget session of March 1946, I worked very hard to keep the Party intact and with great difficulty we survived it. Mir Bundeh Ali Khan actually voted with the Opposition and came back the next day when he was made a Minister, and subsequently Pirzada was added.

4. Thereafter, in the working of the administrative machinery, I found that the Premier was not fair to me. In his absence, I should have deputized as has been the practice in every other province in India. But here in Sind I did not get my right and for that the Premier alone was responsible.

5. In the course of the last 9-10 months that the Muslim League Ministry has remained in power, nothing much has been done for the masses. In the course of my tour in the province in connection with the recent elections, wherever I went I received numerous complaints about Police *zulm* and their high-handedness, mismanagement

in the Judicial Department and inefficient administration of the Price Control and Civil Supplies Department. People all over Sind complain about the acute shortage of cloth, sugar and other control articles. The complaints were mostly genuine. On the legislative side too, we have not been able to show any work. The reason advanced by us was that the Government had no majority and we were unable to face the Assembly and carry through any legislative programme for the amelioration of the masses. This was to a great extent correct. At least in the matter of distribution of portfolios, seniority and efficiency of the Ministers should have been taken into consideration.

6. Owing to the complaints of the masses on a large scale and general discontent for reasons stated above, the feeling among their representatives in the Working Committee and Council of the Provincial Muslim League is that there should be a change in the leadership this time. People apprehend that if the present state of affairs continues and the same leadership is thrust upon them, there would be no progress and the promises given during the election campaign will never be fulfilled or acted upon. It is solely in the interests of the organization, therefore, that a change should be effected this time in the leadership of the Assembly Party and in the personnel of the Ministry and consequent change in the portfolios of the Government of this Province. It is very important from the point of view of the masses and their representatives in the organisation, that the [port]folios of Law and Order (Home Department), Land Revenue, Price Control and Civil Supplies, and Public Works Department should all be held in order of preference by the best of the Ministers who can properly handle them and no partiality be shown in this distribution. Then alone could some appreciable work be shown to the people within the period of next 6 or 12 months, and thereby redeem to a great extent the promises given to them at the time of elections. On personal grounds too, I think if the present state of affairs remains, i.e. the status quo in the matter of formation of Ministry is allowed to remain, I am afraid the selection of the [port]folios will again be done as was done on the last occasion and I shall be given no choice in the matter. In fact, constitutionally and in all fairness, the Premier should render advice to the Governor in consultation with me, myself being the Deputy Leader of the Party and next to him in seniority, and personally too I must have the first choice of selecting [port]folios for myself and should also

advise him in assigning [port]folios to other Ministers. But I am convinced that after the whole thing is finished, the Premier would forget everything and act in the same old way that he did last time. The work will not be properly conducted, nothing material will be done for the people, and we shall be within a year's time very unpopular within the Muslim League organization as well as with the public of the Province.

7. My humble suggestion, therefore, is that in the matter of leadership of the Assembly Party and the personnel of the Ministry, the organization of the League must also be consulted and they should have a full say in the matter. Apart from that, the members of the Assembly Party ought to be allowed their free right of vote in selecting the office-bearers including the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Party. They should also exercise their vote in the matter of selecting the remaining four Ministers. I would suggest that the Leader and Deputy Leader should be elected by ballot vote and the remaining four Ministers should be elected by single transferable vote which should also be by ballot. The other alternative is that for the six posts of Ministers which are to be filled including the Premier, each person should show his strength. If out of 35 Members, any one is able to show about 5 to 6 Members to back him, he should be given a place in the cabinet. But in case the Leader and Deputy Leader are to be excluded from this process, the remaining four Ministers should at least show their strength and whoever gets greater strength should get a place in the Cabinet. By this arrangement, each Minister will be responsible for contribut[ing] his might [*sic* for mite] and it will be the best way to keep [the] Party intact. In either case, whether by the process of single transferable vote or by each Minister showing his strength, if the Ministry is formed, it is sure that the Party will remain intact and majority shall be assured for all time. If this is not done, I am afraid there will be unnecessary discontent and disruption in the Party and we may not be able to enjoy for long the distinct majority that we have obtained in the recent elections. If, however, Leader and Deputy Leader are selected by you, then they, that is myself and Hon'ble Ghulam Hussain, should have the choice to nominate two Ministers each at our discretion.

8. I trust you will kindly consider my suggestions mentioned above carefully before reaching the final decision.

9. May God give you strength to guide the destiny of this Province rightly and properly.

With proferred [*sic*] respects,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

N.B. I would like to have an interview tomorrow in case you are meeting President of the Provincial Muslim League and other deputations today.

M. A. KHUHRO

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 627/1-2

VICTORIA HOUSE,
KARACHI,
25 December 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I am sending herewith 20 signatures of the Muslim League Members of the Sind Assembly, proposing me as Leader of the Party. These were lying with me for the last 3-4 days. I should have sent them earlier to you.

2. There is one additional member named Rais Haji Fazul Mohamad Khan Laghari, who was unable to come to Karachi but wrote to me a letter that I should be elected Leader of the Party. I am unable to lay hands on it but I can send it to you if you so desire.

3. Now since you are deciding the whole question of formation of Ministry for this Province, you may kindly take views of these Members also into consideration.

With kindest regards,

I am,

Sincerely yours,
M. A. KHUHRO

Enclosure to No. 352

KARACHI,
20 December 1946

We, the following members of the Muslim League Assembly Party, propose that Mr. M. A. Khuhro be elected the Leader of the Party:

1. M. H. Gazdar
2. Mrs. Allana
3. Sardar Noor Mahomed Bijarani
4. Kazi Fazlullah
5. Kazi Mujtaba
6. Mahmood Abdoola Haroon
7. Ghulam Nabi Dehraj
8. Ghulam Mahomed Wassan
9. Arbab Togachi
10. Sayed Ali Akbar Shah
11. N. M. Sayyed
12. Sardar Ali Gohar
13. Sardar Kaisar Khan
14. Mir Mohammad Khan Chandio
15. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali
16. Ghulam Rasool Jatoi
17. Mohammad Akbar Kazi
18. Makhdoom Ghulam Hyder
19. Mir Haji Hussain (Proposer)
20. Ali Mohammad (Seconder)

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M. A. Khuhro to K. H. Khurshid

F. 365/124-5

VICTORIA HOUSE,
KARACHI,
26 December 1946

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

I am sending herewith a letter of authority,[1] signed by 9 MLAs, in favour of Quaid-i-Azam. I believe you have already got signatures of 24 MLAs, of whom the following 10 members are against the leadership of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and have proposed me, among

the other 21 signatories, for the leadership of the Party.

1. Rais Ali Mohamad Maree
2. Rais Ghulam Rasul Jatoi
3. Rais Ghulam Nabi Dahraj
4. Mir Mohamad Khan Chandio
5. Sardar Nur Mohamad Khan Bijarani
6. Haji Aliakbar Shah
7. Makhdum Ghulam Hyder
8. Kazi Mohamad Akbar
9. Kazi Mujtaba
10. Rais Haji Fazul Mohamad Laghari

The 9 MLAs, whose signatures are being sent herewith, have also proposed me for the leadership. Only two of my supporters remain, i.e. Rais Ghulam Mohamad Wasan and Arbab Togachi, who have already left for their respective destinations and I am unable to secure their signatures. They live very far away from Karachi and it will take not less than 4-5 days to obtain their signatures. Now that there are 33 signatures in your possession, Quaid-i-Azam can announce his award as early as is convenient for him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO
Minister, Govt. of Sind

[1]Not traceable.

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President, Primary Muslim League, Kadiri, to Collector, Anantapur
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1107/362-3

KADIRI,
DISTRICT ANANTAPUR,
27 December 1946

Respected Sir,

I beg to represent that on 25th December 1946, the Muslims of Kadiri celebrated the 71st birthday of *Janab* Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League.

2. According to the programme, a Muslim procession started from the Muslim League office at about 9 a.m. and passing along the bazaar and Car Street came to the corner and wished to enter the Temple Street according to the usual practice.

3. Just at this time a pre-prepared crowd of Hindus poured out on the road from the Vysya Choweltry [Street] and collected on the road with a challenging attitude, ready to attack the Muslim processionists. What would have been a major Hindu-Muslim clash, resulting in a terrible loss of life to Muslims who were quite unprepared, was fortunately averted by the efforts of the Sub-Magistrate, Inspector of Police, the Sub-Inspector of Police and the police force. The officers prevented the Hindu crowd from attacking the processionists. They advised the processionists to avoid entering the Temple Street and take a different route. We did accordingly. In order to avoid the clash the procession proceeded along the Choweltry Street. Again the same crowd of Hindus collected at the Hindu Board School and attempted to attack the procession. For the third time again the similar thing occurred at the crossing of the main bazaar at Appanachari Street. But for the efforts of the Magistrate and the police, you may imagine what terrible loss would have resulted to the Muslims on that day. Your honour may be pleased to enquire of the Magistrate and police as to the happenings of that day.

4. I humbly beg to submit that the threatening attitude of the Hindus is growing day by day and they are making preparations for wanton attacks on Muslims. The Muslims of Kadiri are in general very poor and helpless against the aggressors. Hindus are both influential and wealthy.

5. Under these circumstances I humbly and respectfully beg on behalf of the Muslims of Kadiri to make thorough [and] adequate arrangements to safeguard the life and property of Muslims of Kadiri against the lawless behaviour of Hindus.

For this act of kindness I shall ever remain thankful,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

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Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 34/18

MAIDEN'S HOTEL, DELHI,
31 December 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I congratulate you on your very successful trip to England. I have been perturbed to hear that you are keeping indifferent health. I pray for your speedy recovery.

2. I am sending Qazi Isa to Karachi to meet you and discuss with you the future of the Kalat State in the present changed condition of the country. I am meeting His Excellency the Crown Representative on the 4th of January; and your advice would help me a lot in my talks with the Crown Representative.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/276-9

GUL-I-RAANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
31 December 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you are feeling rested and have had a little peace. I am herewith sending copies of certain papers[1] with regard to rotary printing machine which is immediately available in America. The make of the machine is one of the most famous ones and from all accounts it seems to be a good proposition. The price is higher by a few thousand dollars than [that] of the one for which we have placed the order. I am told that the order that we have placed can be cancelled without any loss of deposit that we have made. The advantage if [we] get this machine is that it is available immediately whereas the other machine we are not likely to get before two years.

Four linotypes out of the six that we had ordered from America have already arrived in Calcutta, the other two will be arriving shortly. If we get this rotary machine we can start our own press within about three months. In any case we have got to make our own arrangements for printing the *Dawn* by next March as Latifi Press, where the paper is being printed at present, has given us notice that it will not print the *Dawn* after March 1947. We are likely to get a plot of land in New Delhi for putting up a building for the *Dawn* before the end of January. All the newspapers are being given land by Government. The premium fixed for each plot of land is about sixty thousand rupees.

If we can get the rotary machine and are able to set up our own press there will be quite good saving in printing charges and we will make good the extra cost of the rotary which is offered to us in two years and also some savings. If we decide to get this machine we will have to find rupees four lakh immediately. I should like to have immediately your orders about it as the firm wants a reply in a couple of days. There are a number of offers for the machine, I am told.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See F. 335/276-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Hajee Saleh Mahomed & A. A. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 952/9

9 BARKLEY ARCADE,
JOHANNESBURG,
SOUTH AFRICA,
Undated [*December 1946*]

Mr. Fazlul Huq, the former Prime Minister of Bengal, on completing a tour of the affected areas in Bihar, issued a statement putting the number of Muslims killed in Bihar at about 40,000.

Relief work for the wounded and for those Muslims who have had to flee from their homes is being done by Muslim volunteers. The Punjab Muslim League medical mission is still in Bihar, and has been able to render great service to the wounded.

Hundreds of Muslim volunteers from Peshawar went to Patna,

Bihar, to undertake relief work. The whole of Muslim India has been shocked by the news of the atrocities perpetrated in Bihar. Speaking at the mammoth meeting in Peshawar Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan warned the Hindus not to sow seeds of vengeance.

We are glad to learn that the President of the Servants of All India Muslim League, Dr. M.A. Munshi, and his colleagues are in action in the Transvaal to raise funds for Muslim victims and several centres have already responded to the appeal.

Again we most earnestly appeal to all Muslims to donate generously. The happenings in Bihar and Malabar Coast have clearly demonstrated that in Pakistan alone lies the safety of Musalmans.

As pioneer propagators in South Africa of the idea of Pakistan and as founders of the Transvaal Muslim League which alas has changed colour since 1945, we feel more than satisfied with the fruits of our humble labour in that the idea has taken root in the heart of every true Muslim in the Union as is shown by the several meetings annually held all over the Union supporting whole-heartedly the All India Muslim League, which has so gallantly fought the battle of Pakistan against the intrigue, machination, dishonesty and duplicity of the anti-Pakistanis.

With the aid of God, Pakistan will be established in good time and the crescent will be flying over there in all its grandeur, thanking *Allah* for the achievement.

Pakistan Zindabad *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*

Your humble servants,
HAJEE SALEH MAHOMED
A. A. MIRZA
Islamic League of South Africa

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Note on Bihar by Anonym

F- 965/180-7

Undated [*December 1946*]

In spite of my best efforts to be optimistic regarding the rehabilitation of the Muslims in Bihar, I feel that there is little to justify any great hope in that direction. I fear that the [Bihar] Ministry is not taking adequate steps to reassure the Muslims of the province that their lives and properties will be safe at the hands of their Hindu neighbours or that the Muslims will receive adequate protection. I do not think that the Ministers have realised the extent to which the

confidence of the Muslims has been shaken in the ability, if not the desire, of the Government to protect them and to take offensive action against Hindu aggressors. The view generally held not only by the non-officials but also by the officials is that more than 5,000 persons were killed in the riots. Their minimum estimate is 8,000 but it could well be up to 15,000. It is further admitted that most of the persons killed were women and children. It is also admitted that the atrocities perpetrated have no parallel in history. It is pure brutal and brutish savagery. Even primitive people would not have stooped to those brutalities performed by the Hindus of Bihar. Butchering of little children and babies in arms became a normal course of events. The account of how the head of a suckling child was cut off while it was feeding from the mother's breast and how a mother's breast was cut off while the child was suckling is disquieting: accounts, which Mr. Gandhi refuses to believe and which have been falsely denied by some of his informants. It is regrettable that Mr. Gandhi himself has either refused to credit any of these stories or deliberately made up his mind that he will not under any circumstances do so. One can quite understand why Dr. Rajendra Prasad has tried to assure Mr. Gandhi that everything is all right in Bihar and that he need not go there.

2. As I have said above, the Ministry does not realise to what extent the Muslims have lost confidence in the Ministry and in the Hindus. Over and over again, the Premier stated that the reason why the people had left Bihar was propaganda by members of the Muslim League who had been entrusted with the task of supervising the relief camps and who, according to him, had betrayed their trust by calling upon the people to leave Bihar in order to make the tragedy appear worse than it actually was and to get some political advantage. To my mind, such an attitude only shows his incapacity or unwillingness to realise the extent of the tragedy and the repercussions on the Muslim mind. It also shows a complete want of imagination and a desire to find scapegoats for his own failures. He gave some stray cases of how refugees ran away from the Digha Camp when it was in charge of the Muslim League, of how the Muslims left unaffected localities long after the incidents had ceased. For instance, he gave the example of the town of Barh from which there has been a general exodus. Within the town itself, there were a few incidents but round about nearly all the villages have been decimated. This the Premier refuses to realise. I pointed out to him over and over again that he should realise that persons are not likely to leave their hearths, their homes, their lands, and their property and everything dear to them merely on account of

political propaganda. He had, however, made up his mind to blame the Muslim League. It is difficult with such an attitude of mind that the Ministry can take adequate steps to reassure the Muslim population.

3. I placed certain suggestions before the Premier, most of which he could not accept because he still thinks that life can proceed in the normal way. In my view the steps that he is taking are wholly insufficient to get the Muslims back and there seems to be no alternative left to the Government of Bengal but to take steps to settle the Muslim Bihar refugees as soon as possible and take them out of relief camps.

4. Up till now the Bihar Ministry had done nothing except talk. I believe it is only recently that they have accepted the view that the Muslims, who lived in villages where there were only a few Muslim houses and where the vast majority [of them] have been wiped out, cannot be expected to go back to those villages. It is only recently that they have agreed to houses being built in villages where the Muslims still exist so that persons from these outlying villages may find some shelter. I was informed that Muslims round about Lakhanpur were prepared to come, live in Khanpur, keep their wives and children there and put up their huts for themselves in the fields and live there at the risk of their lives. No houses have yet been erected. I have requested that these houses should be erected before the rains set in. It is doubtful, however, if this will cater for the refugees of those villages which have been destroyed. It may help the Muslims of those areas round about who are still on the soil but who feel unsafe in the event of an uprising. This is about the most that I could [say] of the constructive work being done by the Ministry. Nobody is taking advantage of the offer of Rs.250 for erecting houses. It may be noted here that the houses demolished in Bihar were far more substantial than those demolished in Noakhali and Tippera. I just cannot see what the Ministry have done which can induce the Muslims to go back. I understand that collective fines are now being imposed for the incidents now taking place. Up-till now, not more than ten times the Punchayat rent or Chowkidari tax has been imposed although I am told that recently up to forty times has been recommended. There is also a move to get hold of the bad characters and make them responsible for looking after the property of the Muslims in the affected areas. This, as we can see, will not carry anybody far because when their houses were abandoned, whatever was left behind was looted. These are all the measures.

5. The Ministry has turned down the suggestion for the creation of pockets of defence. But it seems that it will not stand in the way of

the Muslims finding a habitation in the areas where they still exist. They are not, however, prepared to find land for them to put up a habitation. I suggested that they should purchase land in order to enable these Muslims to put up household. The Premier made it a condition that it will be applicable to those Muslims whose houses have been destroyed in villages where Muslims' houses were few.

6. The Premier was not agreeable to consolidation of holdings or exchange of lands. It is not possible for the Muslims to go to their lands and cultivate them and it is no use the Premier expecting them to do so. There are stories of persons who had returned, who have been assaulted and killed, and there is a general story of boycott and of hatred and oppression and also taunts which make it impossible for the Muslims to return to their previous homes. I think the Premier should be asked to set up an organisation that would act as an intermediary so that the lands of the Muslims who want to sell them may be purchased by the Government at proper rates and compensation given to the Muslims accordingly. These lands would subsequently be sold to neighbouring Hindus. If this is not done, then I think the Muslims will have to sell their lands for a paltry price or abandon their lands which ultimately will be encroached upon. As a matter of fact, many lands given out in *batwaras* are now being claimed by the local Hindus as having been given to them on rent and, therefore, they are claiming permanent rights therein. There are also *bakasht* lands which are now passing out of control of Muslim zamindars. Some sort of a final Arbitration Board has been set up. The Hindus claim these *bakasht* lands of the Muslims and the Muslims are not there to contest. In spite of what the Premier said I have very definite information that the Hindus of the various areas are by no means repentant or are desirous of taking the Muslims back. It is greatly to be regretted that the Ministry is not carrying on any propaganda in that area to induce them to do so. The Premier agreed that bail had largely been given to persons who had been arrested, and he said that orders have been passed to examine each case and to cancel bail where necessary. He further stated that he had ordered an increased police force of 2,000 and had agreed to 25 per cent of them being Muslims either from Bihar or from U.P. and Balia but that he was not getting any Muslims. Also, that the remuneration of *chowkidars* is being increased so that they may guard Muslim properties. I got the following somewhat miscellaneous information, which I put down on record for what it is worth:

(1) Muslims of Nagarnausa kept [up] a fight for a long while. They were ultimately relieved by the military. About 150

were saved.

(2) In Talhoura, fourteen wells were filled to the brim with corpses of women and children. There are many such wells filled with corpses, scattered throughout Bihar. One D.M. said that instead of fourteen wells there were four wells.

(3) Three-fourths of the Patna Division on the southern area was affected, all within ten miles of Patna. Little was done to relieve the Muslims in those areas.

(4) In Patna, the main exodus started in the third week of November but there certainly was large-scale exodus before that time.

(5) There are two relief camps in the District of Monghyr for 8,000 refugees; two in Patna with 2,000; five in Bihar Sharif with 3,000. Then dry rations are also being given in the villages. As many as 10,000 are being supplied in Bihar Sharif and Nawada. There are 5,000 in Gaya, 500 in Chappra and some in village camps total[ling] about 30,000.

(6) In Barh, hardly any Muslims are left there. From that sub-division about 25,000 people have fled.

(7) The Muslims fought in Karaiparsarai, which is 16 miles from Patna. All *bustees* found about were destroyed. After the fight the Muslims had evacuated this village also.

(8) 743 villages have been affected but in Ghazipur, Kharagpur, the Muslims still continue to live. Three sub-divisions of Patna have been affected; one sub-division of Monghyr. In all, 13 sub-divisions have been affected.

(9) In Patna, out of 1890 villages, incidents occurred in 375 villages.

7. The Premier agreed to build houses in adjacent Muslim localities and to rebuild houses where partially damaged and where Muslims still exist. He was not prepared either to acquire land or to exchange land to build homesteads for the Muslims. I do not think he will be prepared to give money to enable them to purchase lands. In any event, if he did put up houses for them on the lands in Muslim localities, he would do so only for those villages where there are few Muslim houses. He was not prepared to do anything to exchange the lands of widows, of persons who have been killed, or of those who cultivated with their own labour and who cannot go back to their land, or who cultivated by *butwara*. I wonder if the Ministry would be agreeable to realis[ing] the rents for the benefit of the landlords in *nij jot ryots* and *bakasht* lands.

8. The Premier was not prepared to bring in Punjabi Muslims or

Afridis as Police. He said that the Hindus would resent it in view of what took place in 1942. It was clear that he was more anxious for Hindu sentiment than to reassure the Muslims. He was not prepared to give arms to Muslims for their protection.As regards future assurances it appeared that he was hoping that the Muslims would begin to return with the passage of time. How could they stay away leaving their properties behind?He was agreeable to carrying out necessary propaganda amongst the Hindus. It however, still remains to be seen whether he will do so or not.He was not prepared to engage the Muslims in rehabilitation work. He is practically trying to give some relief through Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and carrying on anti-Muslim League propaganda through him. According to him, it is the Muslim League which must be held responsible for Hindus attacking the Muslims. Why did the Muslim League raise slogans of Pakistan? Through Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan he is carrying on propaganda that the Muslims must desert the Muslim League as Muslim League is responsible for what is taking place.It appears that the proposal of orphanages and widow homes has not yet struck him. He will probably put up orphanages and widow homes. He said that about 6,000 persons have been arrested and 3,000 are in *hajat*. This is not the report of the local people.

9. Although our conversation was fairly cordial, as I had no desire to pick up a quarrel with the Premier and I had not gone there with the intention either of accusing him or teaching him his business or anything of the kind, I must confess that I was deeply disappointed at the general attitude of the Premier and the Ministry. I see little hope of the Government of Bihar taking any big steps which may induce the Muslims to go back to Bihar. Something spectacular was necessary, [but] that the Premier would never do. On the other hand, there is every fear that the European elements will leave the Bihar service *en masse*. The Muslim officers are all apprehensive. The Bihar services would be manned almost wholly by the Hindus and this is not likely to create any great confidence in the future. I was surprised to find that the Premier and the Muslim League there had no contact with each other at all. The Muslim League had written to him for further discussions. He had replied to the effect that he would meet them in the beginning of February but up till now he has not met them. He has agreed to take them into confidence. This was my last request.

SUGGESTIONS MADE TO THE PREMIER

1. Villages where there were few Muslim houses (some are wholly destroyed): Inhabitants cannot be expected to go back. What can we do about them and their lands?
   a. Build houses for them in adjacent Muslim localities.
   b. Arrange (through the Relief and Rehabilitation Deptt.) for exchange of land.
2. Rebuild houses (partially damaged) where Muslims still exist.
   1.(a) and 2. --- before the rains.
3. In order to build houses for the Muslims, we need homestead lands for them:
   a. Acquire?
   b. Exchange?
   c. Pay money to [Muslims to] enable [them] to purchase lands (and put up houses).

[for 2 categories—according to H.P.M.]

   a. Those whose villages have been wholly or almost wholly wiped out.
   b. Where there are a few Muslim houses in a village.
4. Lands of:
   a. Widows,
   b. of all killed,
   c. of those who cultivated by their own labour,
   d. of those who cultivated by *bhagidars*.

Is exchange possible?

5. Police: For some time at least, get Punjabi Muslims or Afridis.
6. Arms for the Muslims.
7. Muslims—their future—what assurances.
8. Necessary propaganda against Hindus—that they must accept Muslims.
9. Engage more Muslims in rehabilitation work.
10. Orphanages
11. Widows' Homes.
12. Cases: hardly any arrest (accused bailed out).
13. Special constables and responsibility.

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I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 251/38-9

NEW DELHI,
4 January 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have by now completely recovered from the effects of the severe strain of your visit to London and Cairo.[1]

Maungdaw is a part of the District of Arakan in Burma and it adjoins the District of Chittagong in Bengal. About the middle of December 1946, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, visited Chittagong when the Muslim Chamber of Commerce there presented him with an address of welcome. This Chamber demanded the annexation of Maungdaw to the Chittagong District. Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy in his reply stated that it was a matter between the Government of India and the Government of Burma. However, he did not stop there but added that there should be a public opinion [poll] before the matter could be taken up and said that he would take up the matter with proper quarters.[2]

The demand of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Chittagong, and the reply of Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, have created deep resentment among Burmese against Muslims doing business in Burma, and they are likely to suffer considerably unless the Burmese apprehensions are removed.

Mr. U. Saw, Member of the Governor's Executive Council of Burma and former Premier of Burma, issued a statement to the press from Calcutta on Friday the 20th December, taking strong exception to the statement of Mr. Suhrawardy. I enclose herewith a copy of the press cutting from the *Dawn* of 22nd December 1946,[3] reproducing the statement in full. I also enclose herewith a cutting from the *Statesman* of 27th December 1946,[4] which shows that the Burma press have denounced this move, and a cutting from the *Hindustan Times* of the 26th December,[5] on the same subject.

The President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Burma, who is a Muslim, and Mr. Dawoodji Dadabhoy, another prominent Muslim of Bombay who has business connections in Burma, saw me recently and apprised me of the very strong feeling among Burmese against Muslims in Burma as a result of this demand. They believe that they will have to face a severe boycott in Burma unless the Burmese

apprehensions are removed. They feel that it will benefit nobody to make a demand for the annexation of Maungdaw at this stage, and the matter may, if at all, be considered after an independent sovereign State of Pakistan is established. This demand at this stage will not do us any good and will on the contrary cause immense harm to the Muslims in Burma. They reminded me of the Muslim Burmese who are immensely emotional and impulsive people [and] may not only boycott them in business but also re-enact the Muslim Burmese riots causing immense loss of life and property to the Musalmans.

The Burma Muslim Conference, consisting of Indian Muslims in Burma, has passed a resolution on 27.12.46 protesting against Chittagong Muslims' proposal that Maungdaw be annexed to Chittagong District. Apparently they seem to have done this to avoid the immediate repercussions of the said demand (cutting enclosed).[6]

It is possible that Gen. U. Aung San[7] may refer to this subject in his interview with you, and I am writing this merely to give you a hint that we should say nothing which may create any immediate apprehension in the mind of the Burmese, especially as the Muslim League has not considered this question and has made no demand in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL IBRAHIM CHUNDRIGAR

[1]Jinnah and Liaquat had flown to London with the Viceroy, along with Nehru and Baldev Singh, for talks in December 1946 with the British Government to seek a new formula for constitutional settlement. The talks failed to make any headway, as the British Government said in a statement issued on 6 December. Jinnah stopped over in Cairo *en route* to India for talks with the Egyptian Premier Nokrashy Pasha and other leaders over matters of mutual interest.

[2 to 6]See F. 251/40, *QAP*. Not printed.

[7]Prime Minister of Burma.

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American Consulate, Karachi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 142/1

KARACHI,
6 January 1947

MEMORANDUM

The attention of Mr. M. A. Jinnah is invited to the following points:

1. The United States Government is deeply concerned over the present serious deterioration of the Indian political situation.

2. It is our impression that the United States public will be puzzled if in view of the Congress effort to accommodate itself to His Majesty's Government's and the Muslim League's interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Muslim League now declines to enter the Constitutional [Constituent] Assembly.

3. The United States Department of State believes that widespread chaos similar to that existing in China with worldwide repercussions may be caused, should there be any halt in the current constitutional progress in India.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

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Abdus Samad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1063/6

DELHI,
7 January 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*Para 1 omitted*][1]

2. I am addressing you now because I must, on what it seems to me is a subject requiring your immediate attention in spite of your pre-occupation with momentous constitutional questions. I regret that the perusal of this note will not bring you any cheer, and God knows you need it so badly. The note enclosed herewith[2] is entitled "Observations on the relief work being done in Bihar and suggestions for a better organisation of the work." I am forwarding copies of this note to Mr. Noon and Khwaja Nazimuddin also. But I would most earnestly urge upon you to study it and see if you are called upon to intervene.

[*Para 3 omitted*][3]

4. I went to Bihar on my own for relief work with a personal letter for Khwaja Nazimuddin from Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan who happens to know me well enough. My services would be at the disposal of the Central Relief Committee for some time more, if they are required.

Praying that God should [*sic* for may] ever guide you aright in the most difficult time ahead.

Yours devotedly,
ABDUS SAMAD
Vice-Principal,
Anglo-Arabic College

[1]It contained some unsavoury remarks.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]It contained unnecessary details.

Enclosure to No. 361

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIEF WORK BEING DONE IN BIHAR AND SUGGESTIONS FOR A BETTER ORGANISATION OF THE WORK

F. 1063/7-23

[*Extracts*]

I went to Bihar for relief work during December last and was there for about three weeks, and had an opportunity to go into the affected areas too. I would be failing in my duty if I did not communicate .... impressions of the shortcomings of the work being done and my suggestions for remedying them.

I find that there is no deliberate and comprehensive planning and organization in the relief work being done there, which to me is very alarming and thought-provoking as a symptom of one aspect of our present national weaknesses. The inadequacy and inefficiency of the organization, if it can be called an organization, is astounding and considering the great and vital political issues involved, unpardonable. Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr. Firoz Khan Noon have been towers of strength to the now helpless and despairing Muslims of Bihar. Their presence in Patna is very heartening, and the ordinarily quiet and deserted halls of the Grand Hotel hum with activity when they are there. But they have been there for short intervals only and have not been able to devote themselves exclusively to the problem of the Muslims in Bihar as Mr. Gandhi has been able to do to that of the Hindus in East Bengal. Mr. Yunus is doing his best but he is keeping indifferent health. Besides, political leaders can only lay down general policies, give guidance and advice, and cannot actually do the planning and organization, though they can be expected to see that this is done.

AUTHENTIC HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVENT

There has been so far no arrangement for compiling an authentic historical account of the diabolical crimes committed by the Hindu

nation in alliance with their Government. It is an event unique in history eclipsing all the baleful crimes committed by any barbarian in the history of the world, and if recorded scientifically but vividly, will once for all reveal to the modern world and to posterity the innate cruelty and intolerance of the Hindu nation which made possible the caste system, untouchability, and the wiping off [of] the teeming millions of Buddhists who once inhabited this country. It would reveal the truth about the Hindu nation and their unfitness to govern other people. Its political importance would be great, for a comprehensive scientific survey can indisputably prove what part the Congress Government played in this attempt at exterminating the Muslims in the Province. What authentic historical account of this are we going to leave to posterity except the Hindu versions of these "communal disturbances" following in the wake of "similar" disturbances in Bengal?

For compiling an authentic historical account of the event it is essential to secure the services of a historian of the first order, experienced in methods of research. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Professor and Chairman of the Department of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Delhi University, may be persuaded to do this work. Failing [that], a well-known historian, a research scholar with mature judgement, whose work should command respect, should be employed. He should, in consultation with outstanding scholars in the subject, chalk out the lines of work. Hard-working third-year and fifth-year students, or even research students from universities, should be recruited in consultation with their professors, for doing field work. These students should be provided board and lodging and perhaps given some sort of stipends. This research scholar will work under the directions of the committee of scholars mentioned above and will guide and supervise the work of the student field-workers. The history section will have its office at the centre which will work under the direction of the research scholar in charge, and will regulate and keep record of the movements of the field-workers, and look into their requirements and carry on the necessary correspondence. The Director should be able to find out what is happening in the Department by reference to this Office. No expense should be considered too great for the satisfactory completion of this project.

REHABILITATION

THE BIHAR GOVERNMENT, SECURITY MEASURES AND REHABILITATION POLICY

The Bihar Government, as I have said above, is riding roughshod

over the Bihar Muslims and all their organizations, and does not seem to care tuppence for their claims or demands. The Muslim demands for concentrated population centres, higher percentage in the police service, arms and ammunition, etc., have been summarily rejected, and persecution of all sorts is rampant. We cannot force the hands of the Government because:

i. We have no statistics to back our vague and indefinite charges of massacre, loot and arson, etc.
ii. No concrete instances to back our charge of persecution of the Muslims by the Hindus and the Government.
iii. We have no publicity which naturally gathers momentum when the evidence of facts and figures is overwhelming. The mind of Muslim India is no longer focused on Bihar.
iv. Our relief work is an extremely poor show. The Hindus have got a measure of our strength.
v. No high-ranking Muslim leader is devoting himself exclusively to the problem of Bihar.
vi. Due to lack of organization the Muslim League leaders in Bihar lack the confidence and strength to launch or even to propose direct action of any kind.

In the absence of any security measures or concrete and active rehabilitation policy by the Government, the Muslims are evacuating Bihar *en masse* without any plan or forethought for the future. The economic loss to the community is incalculable. It is a colossal disaster. It seems to me that there is at present no real solution to the problem of rehabilitation except a revolutionary reorganization and immeasurable strengthening of the relief work being done here, a publicity campaign based on facts and figures, and then forcing the hands of the Government to do their duty. The discipline, organisation, and confidence created by successful relief work and publicity can pave the way for direct action also. Diplomatic pressure on the Viceroy or the Governor may or may not be effective, depending upon the political conditions in the country and the way the interests of the British lie. It is our inherent strength only that will force the hands of the Hindu Government.

These are my humble suggestions. I am sure they are very inadequate, but they will indicate that a lot of serious thinking and planning and determined action is necessary if the organization is to solve effectively the manifold and momentous problems arising out of the Bihar holocaust. We must draw upon imagination, experience and study. We must cast wider nets for men [*sic*]. We must make bold experiments and risk even failures. The nation has responded

gallantly to appeals for men, money and material. It is moved deeply by the tragedy. It would be in despair if it knew the extent of the failure of the relief organization in the face of this overwhelming catastrophe. We are losing a great political battle too. The enemy has got a measure of our weakness. Far from making any show of regret it is pressing its advantage and persecuting the survivors of the tragedy in every way possible. The whole of the Muslim India is at the back of the relief organization and far from fighting the persecutors it cannot even expose them to the world. Emboldened by their barbaric success, they are talking of wiping the Muslims off the face not only of Bihar but the whole of India. They are making a show of actually planning such operations. Their activity is incessant, while we are failing to plan and organize our relief even. This, as I have said, in the beginning of my note, is very alarming and thought-provoking as a symptom of our national weakness. We have a great national duty to perform. At the same time we have a great opportunity. We have funds at our disposal, and the nation is willing to make sacrifices. It is an opportunity for mobilizing new resources of the community in men and material, and gaining experience in planning and organizing vast projects and carrying them into effect. Let us not fail to grasp this opportunity and do our duty.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/304-5

AIR MAIL

LONDON, E.C.3,
7 January 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm my cable of today, reading as under:

Rented suitable office Regent Street with furniture telephones fittings. Occupying ninth after formal opening. Altaf myself flying twelfth. Altaf completed pamphlets–Hassan.

The office is situated at the Oxford Circus end of Regent Street. It is on the 6th floor and has an elevator. The premises are centrally heated. The accommodation comprises three interconnected fair-sized rooms. I have purchased the furniture along with the fittings which

will cost today at least £ 200. Two telephones are installed and we shall, therefore, not have any trouble about getting a telephone connection. The annual rent will average £ 350. I have taken over the balance of the lease running to the next 42 months. I have had to pay £ 700 to get possession of the rooms. This amount includes the cost of furniture, telephones, fittings, etc. Today, such an accommodation unfurnished will not be available for less than £ 550 per year. Had we reached the place five minutes later than we did yesterday, we would have missed it, as a minute after we had closed the deal others came round and offered to take the premises on the terms of the present occupant. We propose to occupy the rooms the day after tomorrow and after formally opening the Information Centre, Altaf and myself will leave for India.

Messrs R.E.B. Willcox & Company have been requested to make all the disbursements on your behalf and to send you their statement of accounts in due course.

I must say that we have been extremely fortunate in securing so suitable a place for our office. The locality is A 1 and is extremely accessible and reasonably near Fleet Street. I cabled New York yesterday, asking my representatives there to expedite the setting up of our Information Centre in that city. I have no doubt that before the end of this week I shall hear favourably from that quarter. The last two weeks have been very bad for any sort of business due to the Christmas and New Year holidays; hence the unavoidable delay.

The Congress have accepted the declaration of the British Cabinet of 6th December [1946] but have again used language that cannot but be considered to be far from conciliatory. Further, with all the trimmings attached to the acceptance, I do not know whether it can be deemed as an unequivocal and total acceptance. Furthermore, they have not made clear their intention regarding reference to the Federal Court for interpreting certain clauses of the recommendations of May 16th.

Europe is very cold these days and I am truly glad that you are not here at present.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

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M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/50

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 January 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I read from the papers that you are indisposed; I pray and trust that you will recover soon.

I have received a telegram from Hassan that he will be flying back to India on the 12th from London.

The Orient Airways' subscriptions are coming to an end. We are enclosing for ready reference a copy of the Prospectus and the Articles of Association together with a few forms in case you would like to make some contribution in this concern.

Sind has made no contribution towards this national concern, even Khuhro has not yet sent his Rs. 50,000 which I have put on his behalf for his qualification share as a Director.

By the grace of God, Rs. 90,00,000 has been promised and subscribed. There is only now Rs. 10,00,000 left which, I think, gradually will be contributed.

The next will be the Muslim Bank with an authorised capital of Rs. 40,00,00,000, issued Rs. 20,00,00,000 and paid up Rs. 10,00,00,000. I will be sending you the Prospectus and the Articles of Association directly [when] they are ready. Every effort must be made on the economic side of Muslim advancement. Even here, the Muslim nation looks up to you for guidance and advice.

This can only be achieved if Musalmans work hard under discipline. He [*sic*] should definitely work harder than the Hindus with more stamina; unless he [*sic*] does so it is impossible for him to make up the leeway.

With best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

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Mohammad Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 677/5-6

SHARJAH, PERSIAN GULF,
9 January 1947

Dear Sir,

Kindly find enclosed a list of the names of the donors who subscribed to the Bihar Relief Fund for which you made an appeal.

The amount was sent by an Air Mail money order [for] Rs. 235.

The receipt of the money order may kindly be acknowledged in a letter addressed to the following in support of our having made the remittance to you:

LIST OF DONORS

Name		Rupees
Mr. Mohammad Hussain	A.M.W.D.	25
Mr. Miran Bakhsh	"	15
Mr. F. M. Bhatti	"	25
Mr. Fazal Karim	"	20
Mr. Juma Khan	"	15
Mr. Abdulla Aziz	"	13
Mr. Fazal Din	"	10
Mr. K. B. Butt	"	30
Mr. Mohammad Bakhsh	"	15
Mr. Mohammad Adam	"	10
Mr. Youseph Ibrahim	"	5
Mr. Abdulla H. K.	"	5
Mr. Darwish Adam	"	10
Mr. Abdul Aziz	B.O.A.C.	10
Mr. Mohammad Ali	"	20
Mr. Mohammad Hussain	R.A.F.	10
	Total	238

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD HUSSAIN
Stores Supervisor

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Mohammad Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/89

MONGHYR, BIHAR,
11 January 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Absence of the sense of security from the minds of the Muslims of Bihar has made them panicky, and the majority of those who have little or nothing at stake have already left the Province. Those persons whose interests are vested in this Province are in a great fix, and they are waiting for the direction of the high command of the Muslim League. I beg to attach herewith for your kind perusal a copy of the issues regarding the 'Problems of Muslim Bihar', the immediate determination of which appears to me to be necessary.

I may be pardoned for this encroachment upon your precious time.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM
Vice-President,
District Muslim League Relief Committee

Enclosure 1 to No. 365

SHC, Bihar II/90

THE PROBLEMS OF BIHAR MUSLIMS

Migration of Muslims from Bihar is the burning topic of the day. It is a complex problem. It appears incredulous [*sic*] that the Muslims of Bihar, who settled in the Province much before the memorable conquest of it by Bakhtiar Khilji, and enriched this part of India with culture, art and science, will really wish it good-bye leaving behind their vested interests worth crores of rupees as a protest against the hostile attitude of the Congress Government. The huge exodus of Muslims from various districts and the recent resolutions of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League set at rest the incredible aspect of this problem [*sic*]. Now the phantom of yesterday is going to be a factum of tomorrow. The prospect of such a contingency raises the following issues and they must be determined at once:

i. Whether the emigrants will settle *en bloc* at one place or they

will be scattered in different districts or provinces?
ii. How they will rehabilitate themselves in a new sphere of life without much inconvenience to themselves and to their hosts?
iii. Will the lawyers, medical practitioners and men of other professions have facilities to pursue their life-long professions in Bengal, the Punjab and Sind?
iv. Will the Government employees be provided with service?
v. Will the tradesmen have facilities for rehabilitating themselves?
vi. What will happen to the moveable and immoveable properties of the emigrants?
vii. Will the Government of Bihar take the responsibility for protection of mosques, tombs, graveyards and residential buildings which will be left behind [by] the emigrants?

The above are the problems which must be tackled immediately by the Provincial as well as the All-India Muslim League. The lives and properties of forty-seven lakhs of such Muslims can be a great asset, if properly organised and immediately revitalised, for the purpose of achieving Pakistan. The Muslim League is now faced with practical politics, and the bewildered Muslims of Bihar are anxiously waiting for the direction of the high command of the Muslim League. They are yet demoralised by the various methods of Government officials who derive inspiration from local Congress leaders. Those who have escaped the cruel hands of the Hindus are being prosecuted [*sic*] morally, socially, legally, physically and also economically.

MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM
Vice-President,
District Muslim League Relief Committee

Enclosure 2 to No. 365

SHC, Bihar II/91

CATASTROPHE OF BIHAR

Statement by Mrs. H. A. Hakam, M.L.A., Member, Bihar Delegation from Bengal:

During my stay at Patna, from the 7th to 12th November 1946, I have visited all the hospitals and most of the relief centres (there were 72 centres) where the refugees had been housed.

I have been immensely shocked to see the appalling destruction and the terrible desecration of the life and property of the Muslim inhabitants of Bihar. This carnage of Bihar far exceeds the outrage of Calcutta.

The injured victims who were being brought to Patna from the surrounding villages and [*sic*] their conditions are indescribable beyond words and imagination.

Men, women and children, mostly babies in arms, of the ages of five and six months, have been brutally butchered, the majority of whom have fractured skulls, jaws, hands and feet. Many have been pierced in the abdomen and thighs by *bhalas* and *bhujalis*. They have been battered beyond description. Hands of men have been cut off. Women and children have been pierced by spears. Even the babies in arms have not been spared.

I have seen cases of burnt victims in the hospital, who were thrown into the fire. A woman (her head broken) was beaten until she fainted. Cotton-wool was put on her lap, on the top of which her baby of five months was placed and set on fire. The child is lying in the hospital in a precarious condition.

It seems a miracle that these victims are still alive. Have the Hindus of Bihar become totally bereft of all sense of humanity to have committed such stark barbarism and wholesale massacre of human beings, unprecedented in the history of mankind? The so-called tyranny of Germany and Japan pales into insignificance before this man-killing campaign of Bihar.

This is a strong proof of the well-organised, before-hand [*sic*] plan for the total extermination of the Muslim population of Bihar. The crimes of notorious criminals fade before this terrible carnage. How men can become ferocious beasts is evident at Patna where the remnants of human beings that could be saved from the surrounding villages are segregated.

Chapra, Monghyr, Bhagalpore and many other places are still inaccessible. Only Providence knows in what forms [*sic*] are those who may be still alive.

Women [who] jumped into the wells to save their honour were buried alive by the barbarians, who broke the side-walls of the wells, thereby throwing the debris into the wells, making sure that their victims should not escape alive.

Thousands of women and children have been burnt alive. Their houses have been set on fire, with the inmates thrown inside the flames, making sure that the doors were locked from outside.

I can give proofs of hundreds of blood-curdling atrocities committed by those who are called men. To crown it all, young girls between the ages of 9 and 16 are being kidnapped. Reports of such cases are pouring in great numbers.

The situation has not eased up to now. I wonder what the casualties

will amount to when the actual statistics are obtained.

This black stain on the name of Bihar can never be wiped away. It will go down to posterity as the "Venom of Hate" and beastly vengeance on defenceless men, innocent women and children, who were taken unawares and crushed to death.

I am glad to see that the public of Patna have risen to the occasion in rendering assistance to their brothers and sisters in every possible manner for rescuing the victims. The students, especially the medical students, have done and are doing invaluable service. The ladies too have taken up the relief work, for which I have formed the Patna Muslim Womens' Relief Committee, and I hope that much systematic work will be done for the widows and orphans.

It is most imperative that the Government must give special attention to the serious situation that has arisen, with thousands of Muslim inhabitants, children of the land, whose forefathers had settled for hundreds of years on the soil, and who today are homeless, at the mercy of others, some of whom have been maimed for life, with widowed women and orphaned children, prey to communal fanaticism.

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Qazi Mohammad Fareed to M.A.Jinnah

F. 886/5-16

REGISTERED

5 ABDUL KARIM ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 January 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Pakistan Zindabad

May I first of all introduce myself. I had the privilege of meeting you in Jullundur as Principal of Islamia College which you had honoured by performing its opening ceremony in November 1942, when you visited that city and presided at the annual session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. Of course, I had also had the earlier pleasure of your acquaintance in Cambridge where you had addressed the Indian Majlis, and later taken tea with the Muslim Association at St. John's College in 1933.

Having been a lecturer in Economics, I have been giving my

deepest thoughts to the economic problems of Muslim India. My opinion that the root cause of our backwardness in political and social spheres is economic had long convinced me that we must hasten to improve our economic position in order to fight the British and the *Bania*. With this end in view, I had sent you and all the members of the All India Muslim League Working Committee in 1940 a circular enumerating the causes of our economic backwardness, and suggesting ways in which, in my opinion, it could be removed. In order to determine a common programme of action, I had proposed that an All India Muslim Planning Committee be set up, first to conduct an inquiry into our economic position and then to recommend practical measures for its betterment. Unfortunately there was but little response. The very few replies that were received were unsatisfactory. Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, had, however, promised to move the Working Committee to set up the proposed committee, which, it was later revealed, he did not do. He had also promised to institute the inquiry I wanted, at least in his own Province. I, therefore, later sent him a sufficiently exhaustive Questionnaire which, he informed me, in reply, he had circulated among Muslim Heads of Department. He had promised to forward the replies to me but when I went to Calcutta in 1941 to do some work in this connection, I was told by him that he had forgotten to circulate the Questionnaire. And there the matter ended, though I vainly tried to persuade him to undertake it afresh. That was the time when he had defied and betrayed the League regarding the [National] Defence Committee [*sic* for Council]. One could, therefore, understand his indifference to such an important problem. I was, however, so much interested in this matter that I even contemplated to resign [*sic* for resigning] the post of Professor of Economics at M.A.O. College, Amritsar, and devote myself exclusively to this work. But I was dissuaded by friends from this idea. Some time afterwards, I was appointed Principal of Islamia College, Jullundur, and welcoming this opportunity of pursuing that idea better, I worked there with undivided attention for about two and a half years. This was a great strain on my health. Then I took up another post without administrative responsibility as Professor of History at Islamia College, Peshawar, in Oct. 1943. Soon, however, my health began rapidly to decline and I had to give up my job. Now for the last one and a half years I am on sick-bed where I write this letter. During the Bihar massacre I was in Patna, which is my home-town, but I have now permanently migrated to Lahore.

I am very happy to note that the Muslim League has lately attended to the economic problems of Muslims and set up a Planning Committee, whose report is soon expected. I am sorry that owing to ill-health since late 1943, I could not participate in the Committee's work in any way, howsoever slight. I hope its recommendations, when published, will be implemented before long. I fear we have already lost a great deal of time. We should have attended to this matter long before. Now that Hindu-Muslim relations have taken a horrible turn after the massacre in Bihar and other places, and Hindus are everywhere boycotting Muslims in many ways, we feel greatly handicapped for want of economic stability. There are many articles of daily necessity which Muslims do not sell, much less produce. More acute than this is the question of foodstuffs, most of the supply of which is controlled, particularly in Muslim minority provinces, by Hindus. In Bihar and in other such provinces, Hindus are withholding such supplies from the Muslims, no doubt with a view to starving or otherwise inflicting great hardships on them. Things are only slightly better in Muslim majority provinces. Under such a state of affairs, the absence of production of grains and of manufactures is telling very adversely on Muslims. Then there are many professions not practised by the Muslims. Hindus are boycotting them here also. Whether it is production, sale, transport, banking or insurance, everywhere they feel their life throttled.

It is, therefore, imperative that under the direction of the Muslim League and, if possible with League-collected finance, active steps be taken immediately under a regional plan for Pakistan areas on a permanent basis and for non-Pakistan areas on a temporary basis, to start producing units, banks, insurance companies, transport concerns, etc. The rich among the Muslims should be asked to invest some part of their capital in non-Pakistan areas, and by far the major part in Pakistan areas. The middle-class Muslims should invest only in Pakistan areas. But it is not enough to exhort them to do all this. The League must do for Muslims of India what the European benevolent despots of the 18th century did for some European countries like Austria, Russia, etc., because their people slumbered and could not do anything themselves. In spite of the fact that I have been ill and strictly confined to bed, I tried to persuade Bihar Muslims to wake up and do something. Some months before the massacre, I had published a number of articles in the Patna Urdu press giving out small schemes for setting up producing, retail and wholesale establishments and banking, insurance and other concerns for the

immediate relief and succour of Muslims. But no one cared to do anything. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League which, with Mr. Hossain Imam as President and Mr. Badruddin Ahmad as Secretary, has only helped to increase and intensify the Muslim massacre of the Province, and besides tall speeches and complete unpreparedness and lethargy as well as complete indifference to the safety and welfare of Muslims, did not do anything. I believe things are only slightly better in the Punjab. When such is the indifference of provincial leaders, who is to undertake this gigantic task? You! For you alone can do it. No one else can. If you send out schemes and order their implementation, then I am sure Muslims will stir up and set about execution of your orders.

With the above as background for my suggestion for undertaking the task of economic improvement of Muslims, I propose the formation of a Department of Economic Rehabilitation under the League. I have now to make a number of other suggestions concerning the political, social and educational life of Muslims.

The cause of Muslim India is more or less the same as that of the political minorities like Scheduled-Castes, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsees, etc., that is freedom from the domination of the British and the Caste-Hindus. Since All India Muslim League is an organization of Muslims only, such minorities [as] differ from, and are opposed to, the Indian National Congress, cannot join it. Moreover, the League suffers greatly as a political party in the forum of world opinion, because it is looked upon as an organization having a religious appeal. Because of its exclusively Muslim character, it loses much of its political prestige in the eyes of people abroad. The so-called Indian National Congress, because of its at least nominally national character, is given in other countries, particularly England, America and Russia, the prestige of a political party for the whole of India, irrespective of caste, creed or race. It has the added advantage that adherents of any religion, even Muslims, can join it as indeed a handful of them have done.

In view of the above, I strongly suggest that the name of the League be now changed to All India Muslim and Minorities League. The word 'Muslim' cannot be eliminated, because Muslim India will not like it. But by incorporating the word 'and Minorities' the door is at once opened to political minorities in India to join the organization of the Muslim nation. This is the only way in which the League can further strengthen itself at home and raise its prestige as a political party abroad. I am sure the minorities will welcome this change of name and join the League as the only champion of minority interests

in India. The Scheduled Castes, already in line with the League's political stand vis-a-vis the Congress, will come over unhesitatingly, and maybe later adopt Islam also.

Muslim League should, without further delay, open branches in the capitals of all Muslim countries, including those where Muslims are found in large numbers such as China, as well as in those of other important countries concentrating more on England, America, Russia, France, Italy and Spain. The Congress has stolen a march on the Muslim League, and gains considerably as a result of world opinion which it knows how to mould in its favour by false propaganda in which Nehru's so-called 'internationalism' also plays an important part. I do not advocate false propaganda, but the League by starting branches should make its point of view known to the peoples of the world through speeches and writings in important foreign countries. May I also suggest, if I am allowed to, that you express your views on world events from time to time which should be given wide publicity. This will help the Muslim cause considerably since the world will readily listen to you on the Indian Muslim issue, used as it would be to listening to you on world issues. Your international outlook will be an asset to the world as well as to the problem of Muslim India. Moreover, Pakistan will have its foreign policy too, some aspects of which had better be revealed to the world even at this stage.

PAKISTAN RADIO

The way in which [Sardar] Patel[1] has been exploiting the All India Radio for Congress and Hindu purposes and ignoring the League and Muslim news and views is daily becoming more clear. On many a day one finds no reference, howsoever slight, to the League and its leaders' activities. This is a very dangerous move which must be counteracted. Under the Govt. of India Act [1935], provinces can set up their own transmitters. It is most essential that the League Governments in Bengal and Sind set up their own radio stations immediately and later on, when League Governments are established in the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab, in these two provinces also. Pakistan Radio will enable Muslim voice to reach not only all parts of India but the world also.

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

The League should set up a Publicity Department that will publish books and pamphlets on Muslim problems for the purpose of distribution on a wide scale in India as well as in important foreign

countries in their respective languages.

More English dailies should be started where few exist, and new ones where none are published. Our cause suffers greatly on account of inadequate English press which influences the intellectual class more than the Urdu press. Money must be found at once for starting a number of English dailies.

NEWS AGENCY

The League should at once either reorganize and expand the Orient Press of India or start an altogether fresh news agency to supply the news to Muslim papers in India and to important papers in Muslim and foreign countries. The Hindu news agencies like the A.P.I. etc. are yet another [*sic*] Hindu propaganda machinery which deliberately suppresses Muslim news and views. Money, howsoever large, must be found to right this wrong.

ISLAMIC SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

These should be started where they do not exist. Special emphasis must be laid on technical [and] scientific institutions which we need even more than arts colleges. Sind must expedite the University Bill, and efforts should be made to change the charters of the Calcutta and Punjab Universities. The N.W.F.P. is also going to have a university of its own. It should be seen that its charter is not made by the Congress Ministry prejudicial to Muslim interests. In Pakistan areas, text-books on History and other subjects should be denuded of present pro-Hindu bias in them, and true facts and views alone should be included.

Public utility concerns such as corporations, municipalities, district boards and port trusts should, by changing their charters or rules, be brought under Muslim control in Pakistan areas. Muslim interests suffer greatly under the present Hindu domination.

Since almost all the learned and scientific associations of India are Hindu-dominated, Muslim interests suffer here also as much as they do elsewhere. Undue publicity is given to Congress leaders who see to it that they are invited to preside over their annual sessions, to say nothing of the suppression of Muslim scholars and scientists. I, therefore, suggest that Muslim India Science Congress, Economics Association, Political Science Congress, Philosophical Society, etc., should be started. An All India Muslim History Conference exists already. It should be further developed. Such organizations, when set up and got going, will greatly stimulate scientific and cultural activity among the Muslims. Moreover, they will not be made the tool of Congress propaganda as the present Hindu-dominated

organizations have been.

In Central Services, Muslims do not enjoy the percentage allocated for them because both the British and Hindu Heads of Department, and some pro-Hindu Muslim Heads also, have deliberately kept the Muslims under [*sic*]. Even in recent diplomatic appointments, Nehru has followed the same tradition by appointing either Hindus, pro-Congress or Congress Muslims to high posts. Mr. Asaf Ali's appointment as Ambassador to America being particularly meant to clear up recent misunderstandings (according to the Congress) in the U.S.A. to the effect that the Congress does not represent Muslims. Muslim League members of Interim Government should insist on the Viceroy to refuse approval to such diplomatic appointments being made by Nehru for the political purposes of the Congress. As for the central services, they should hasten to complete Muslim quota laid down for them and bring pressure to bear on non-League members of the Government to do the same in their respective departments. Should the latter refuse to do it or procrastinate, then League Members should recruit more Muslims in their own departments than their quota allows. Thus alone can they be taught a lesson, and may perhaps redress Muslim grievances in their own departments.

Quite against the military traditions of India, Hindus have successfully planned to set up the Indian Military Academy in Poona, whereas by right it should have been set up somewhere in the north-west of India. This move is very dangerous and obviously aims at depriving Muslims of military strength in future. To keep up their military tradition, Pakistan should have its own Military Academy.

The recent Bihar Muslim massacre and Muslim killings in the U.P., Bombay, C.P. and Calcutta as well as elsewhere leave no option with Muslims in their minority provinces but to migrate to Pakistan areas. No compromise on this vital issue should be tolerated or even considered. Hindu opposition to this idea worked up by Gandhi in Bengal so far as Hindus are concerned in East Bengal, and by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Bihar regarding Muslims inspired by political objectives [*sic*]. One is convinced of their plans to persuade Muslims to stay in *Akhand* Hindustan and then try to exterminate them. Migration alone can save these Muslims. And they must be saved. A well-considered scheme for such a large-scale migration must be put into effect without loss of time, otherwise it may be too late.

Most of the above suggestions can be hampered as much as is being done at present by Congress Ministries in the Punjab [*sic*] and the N.W.F.P. These must, no matter how, be replaced by League Ministries at once.

THE PUNJAB

The present high command of the Provincial Muslim League is largely responsible for Khizar Hayat's attitude. That he himself is mischievous and selfish and dotes on power cannot be denied. I have the greatest contempt for his shameful betrayal of Muslims. But equally do I hold in contempt the high command which by its attitude and incompetence helps to maintain the Khizar Ministry. It fought the general elections well, and achieved remarkable success, for which Muslims are grateful. I am not an inhabitant of the Punjab but have lived here long enough through serving in colleges since 1937 to watch those men that constitute the high command. Having no personal prejudices nor any personal ambition to replace any one of them, I am convinced that they have failed after the elections in their duty to sacrifice themselves in the interest of the *millat's* cause. Khizar wishes to retain premiership. Well, I say let him do so even as a Muslim Leaguer. I have no doubt that now he wishes to return to the League. What there [*sic*] is the obstacle? The high command which cannot bear to see anyone else in power? As you know, between Khizar on the one hand and Mumtaz Daultana and Shaukat Hyat on the other, there is no love lost. To public reasons are added private ones, too, which makes matters worse. Khizar is in power today. It may not be for long, but the period of his continued virtually Congress Ministry can do untold harm to Muslims. It has already done much. It has encouraged Hindus to perpetrate the tragic massacre of Muslims in so many places in India. Had the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab had League Ministries and the Sind League Ministry not been on the see-saw of instability, it is obvious to the meanest intelligence that the Congress would not have dared to commit these horrible crimes. The Congress Ministries in the NWFP and the Punjab have already brought about the massacre of almost a hundred thousand Muslims all over India. They may, and one fears will, do much worse things, if they are allowed to continue. In the Punjab, rightly or wrongly, the League high command is making it possible for the Khizar Ministry to continue. If Khizar insists on the elimination of Mamdot, Daultana and Shaukat Hyat from any future League Ministry he may lead, why cannot these three gentlemen, young as they are and having many many years of political career before them as they do, stand down and sacrifice themselves in the interest of the Muslim cause, which demands that League Ministry should be set up in the Punjab without loss even of a day? Khuhro in Sind has sacrificed himself at your behest, although as it is understood, 24 out of 35 League members of the Sind Assembly wanted him to be Premier. The whole of Muslim

India admires him for this sacrifice. Let these three gentlemen also show the same spirit of sacrifice. Their deliberate policy of keeping Khizar out at any price has now outlived its purpose. It may have been good in its own place once. But not now. Besides, it is an open secret that it is not on principle alone that they have been adhering to this policy now, but to realize their own personal ambitions. They have succeeded in keeping Khizar out. But Muslim India has paid a heavy toll of innocent but precious Muslim lives by the thousand. Being a Bihari and having suffered considerable loss of property etc. through the Bihar tragedy, though happily God Almighty saved me and my relatives, I know the feelings of Bihar Muslims who charge Mamdot and others with the massacre of thousands of their kith and kin and the untold damage to their property by indirectly helping the Khizar Ministry to continue. Mamdot and Co., for so they are called by a great many Muslims who understand the present Punjab politics, must stand down and let Khizar form a League Ministry as he wishes. It is obvious Khizar will sooner or later retire from politics, as I understand from reliable sources. Just at present, however, he is being most obstinate. But after getting what he wants, namely premiership in a League Ministry minus Mamdot and Co., he will retire. If in view of this possibility verging on certainty, Mamdot does not further the League's interest by standing down, Muslim Punjab will make him do so. He can do so gracefully today. I request you to kindly persuade him to sacrifice himself even as Khuhro did. Should he do so, Muslim India will be grateful to him, and remember it for ever. Should he, however, be unwilling to be persuaded, then you should kindly order him to let Khizar come. You are our Quaid-i-Azam. He must obey your orders.

NWFP

Here the problem is different. The Khan Brothers are opposed to Pakistan, and still remain inveterate enemies of the League. But the nature of task of having a Muslim League Ministry is easier here. It needs money. Money has bought the Khan Brothers. They may prove difficult to buy since the League cannot overbid the Congress. But their supporters, who are ignorant and poor, can be enlightened on the stand of the League and their economic problems can be judiciously solved by the League. The British and the Hindus spend crores of rupees each year to enlist the support of the settled districts and Tribal Areas to their cause. Let the League do the same, as it has to. It need not, however, spend as much. Bihar and Nehru's visit to the Frontier have opened the eyes of Muslims. They are willing to be

schooled in the League ideology. The right type of men, carefully selected and backed by reasonable financial resources, can break the neck of the Red Shirts-cum-Congress hold which is already on the decline. I am convinced that a body of clever and sincere men, specially trained in and deputed for the task, and a sum of money not exceeding Rs.25 lakh used with care and judgement can bring down the Khan Ministry within no more than three months. This task must be undertaken. Men and money must be found. Kindly find both.

The latest decision of the All India Congress Committee on the British Government's Statement of December 6[2] is nothing more than a trap in order to bring the League to the Constituent Assembly. It is dishonest, insincere and criminal. In short, it is a fraud. It accepts no more than the procedure to be followed in the Sections,[3] the procedure that is to say, regarding rules of meetings and committees, powers of Chairman and right of members, etc. But not Grouping itself. The subsequent clauses of the Resolution reveal the intentions of the Congress to continue to oppose Grouping. When Hindus cannot trust a small Hindu population in Assam to the care of Group C, and can advise the Sikhs to repudiate the authority of Group B, why should 100 million Muslims place their destiny in the hands of a Hindu-dominated Union Centre? Muslim India no longer concedes the Union Centre and will accept nothing less than sovereign independent N.W. and N.E. States of its own. I, therefore, suggest that strictly in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan, Constituent Assemblies of Sections B and C should be called immediately to form Groups. This done, elected Muslim members of Section A should meet, as a Muslim Constituent Assembly, Muslim members of Sections B and C in order to implement the migration of Muslims to Pakistan areas, and also to consider what may be done to protect Muslims of Section A, until such time as they can migrate, from Hindu aggression. This, I think, must be done at once, for the longer it is delayed, the greater will be the damage to Muslim lives and properties in Section A. I request you to kindly convene these Muslim Constituent Assemblies at once.

I have made these 15 suggestions as a humble contribution to the Muslim Indian problems in the hope that all or some of them at least will find favour with you. I wish I were not ill so that I could do more for the *millat* than just make suggestions. I regret I have not the facilities to get this long letter typed, and my writing is so bad but it could

hardly be better, since I have written it lying in bed.

With all respects,

Yours fraternally,
QAZI MOHAMMAD FAREED

[3]Member of Interim Government in charge of Information and Broadcasting.
[2]Appendix III. 2, Vol. I, Part II, 43-44.
[3]For table of representation under Sections, see Appendix III. 1, ibid., 39.

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M. A. Jinnah to Ahmed Khan

F. 677/11

KARACHI,
16 January 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 25 December,[1] and I have noted that you have sent your contribution of Rs. 166 to the Bihar Relief Fund to the Agent, Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, and I hope that you have received acknowledgment and due receipt from them. Please convey my thanks to the Indian Muslim employees of the Arabian-American Oil Company, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, for their sympathy and support so generously given.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmed Khan, Esq.,
Dhahran Store,
Bahrain Island,
Persian Gulf

[1]Not traceable.

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A. M. Abdul Wahab to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/14-5

DHARAPURAM,
COIMBATORE DISTRICT,
18 January 1947

Most beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a petty merchant here in bamboos. For the cause of Muslim League, I am the Secretary, Muslim League, Dharapuram, and the founder of Muslim League, Alangiam, my native village. As a founder of Alangiam Muslim League, I have already sent to Habib Bank, Delhi, Rs. 150 in response to your appeal for the Bihar Relief Fund. As Secretary of Dharapuram Muslim League, I am still collecting funds and, *Insha Allah*, I will remit those soon. Here I want to bring to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam that I am the same person who some few months ago sent to you a silver-covered holy *Qur'an*.

Most respected *Hazrat*, I wanted to send my one month's earning (including my family expenses) as my personal contribution towards the Bihar Relief Fund directly to you. In the month of December last, I was able to save Rs. 25; so, I am remitting this humble contribution to you this day. Please accept this and acknowledge the receipt. I don't want to write a lengthy letter at a time when you are busy with heavy work. We know, Quaid-i-Azam, that the destiny of hundred million Muslims of India is in your hands. We are safe under your proper guidance and lead.

Once again a heavy responsibility has been created and has fallen on your shoulders by the insincere [and] tricky-worded Resolution of the Congress, passed by A.I.C.C. in Delhi. I raise my both hands up and pray to *Allah*, The Great, to give you strength and presence of mind to come to a proper and best decision. *Aameen*.

Quaid-i-Azam, I assure you on behalf of ten thousand Muslims of Dharapuram that we are prepared to lay down our lives at any time at your command.

With my prayers for your long, long life, to serve the Muslims of India, which cause God has bestowed on you, I finish this letter.

Yours ever in service,
A. M. ABDUL WAHAB

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M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ghulam Mujaddid Sarhandi

SHC (1204)

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
19 January 1947

Dear Pir Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter,[1] inviting me to participate in the forthcoming All-India Jami'at-i- 'Ulama Conference to be held at Hyderabad, Sind, on the 24th, 25th and 26th instant. I thank you for the honour you have done me by your invitation, and I regret very much that I shall not be able to attend your Conference as I am not keeping well just now and I am ordered by my doctors to have rest. So I shall not be able to bear the strain of going to Hyderabad and participating in your Conference, but you have my best wishes for the success of your Conference, and I hope that your Conference will put a new life into the Musalmans of Sind, who as you all know are backward and left behind in every department of life. It, therefore, needs rigorous drive and special extra efforts to mould them and revolutionize their character and their activities in all the departments of national life politically, educationally, socially and economically. We have to make up leeway, and unless we create a real solidarity amongst the Musalmans, unity and discipline, and redouble our efforts, we shall not be able to face the great struggle that is going on for the achievement of Pakistan, wherein lies the salvation of Muslim India and preservation of all that Islam stands for.

Wishing you whole-hearted success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC* (1203). Not printed.

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S. M. John to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/18

RANGOON,
20 January 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to enclose herewith a bank draft for Rs. 6,795-8-0 drawn in favour of Habib Bank Ltd., account Bihar Relief Fund.

This amount is contributed to the Bihar Relief Fund by the Cholia Muslims of Rangoon through the Cholia Muslim Association, Rangoon, of which I am the President. The Cholia Muslims of Rangoon pray that the amount may be spent for the relief of Bihar Muslims who have suffered at the hands of the Hindus.

I request you to kindly acknowledge receipt of the draft.

Yours fraternally,
S. M. JOHN
President,
Cholia Muslim Association

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President, Penang Indian Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

F. 949/9-16
[Extract]

PENANG,
21 January 1947

SUBJECT: PAN-MALAYAN-INDIAN MUSLIM CONFERENCE

I have the pleasure to write to you as under:

That the Penang Indian Muslim League, Penang, representative body of the Indian Muslims of Penang and Province Wellesley, has been recognized as the parent organization and entrusted with the laborious task of convening the above conference by the various Indian Muslim political organizations, numbering hundreds throughout Malaya.

[Three pages omitted][1]

The recent visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the early part of 1946 to Malaya laid the foundation for the formation of the Malayan Indian Congress in Malaya, having its headquarter[s] in Kuala Lumpur, establishing its branches throughout Malaya. His visit has infused a spirit of nationalism and increased manifold hatred towards the Indian Muslims. Consequently Malayan Indian Relief Organization are [*sic*] set up, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself is the President; and other Malayan Indian Hindus of some importance were appointed as co-workers. Also centres for the relief of the personnel of the defunct Indian National Army, Azad Hind Fauj and Jhansi Rani Regiment are established, in addition to already existing innumerable Hindu Sabhas and institutions, etc. all over Malaya.

During the Japanese occupation, the Indian Muslims suffered in an unimaginable manner at the hands of the Hindus particularly, and the Japanese in general. They were exploited at the point of sword and fire-arms. They were made to part with their hard earnings. They were looted. They lost their precious lives for no reason whatsoever. For all these nefarious acts and brutal treatment, the Indian Independence League was at the bottom and was instrumental. As such, it is justifiable that some sort of compensation should be forthcoming from those who were responsible for same. It is also to be stressed that million[s] of dollars collected from the Indian Muslims in Malaya, by the said Independence League, on the false pretence of aiding the then Japanese Government, should be accounted for, and the amount seized by the British on re-occupation, should be refunded or made use of [for] the welfare and relief of the Indian Muslims in Malaya, or elsewhere. It is said that considerable amount of such collection by the Independence League fell into the hands of the military authorities and the said amount were [*sic* for was] handed over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during his recent Malaya tour. It is with this amount [that] financial aid and support is being given to the aforesaid welfare and relief centres. It is learnt that the Government of India has been pleased to donate or contribute lakhs of rupees to Malaya for the purpose of welfare and relief for Indians in general, through its Indian representative in Malaya. So far, it is not known whether Indian Muslims were given any adequate relief hitherto.

Under the circumstances, the position of the Indian Muslims in Malaya is lamentable and their rights and interests are jeopardized, unless proper guidance and valuable assistance are bestowed in order to uphold the integrity and dignity of Islam. It is with the sole object

and aim of putting forward the united opinion and views of the Indian Muslims in Malaya, conference is fixed for 14th, 15th and 16th February 1947. It is expected that delegates and visitors numbering thousands would be attending the conference, as elaborate arrangements are afoot.

I, therefore, pray that you would be pleased to grace the occasion by accepting the presidential chair of the conference, in order to guide the Indian Muslims in Malaya, to enable them to solve [*sic*] their destiny and pave the way for their uplift in political, social, economical [*sic*] and cultural theatre.

For this act of magnanimity, I shall ever be grateful and pray for your longevity and prosperity.

In devotion of the steadfast loyalty,

I remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
President,
Penang Indian Muslim League

[1]These pages purely related to issues of local nature.

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/114

PESHAWAR
22 January 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The [Muslim] League campaign in the by-election in the Kamalzai is in full swing. The Kamalzai League has unanimously nominated Ishaq Khan, a middle class zamindar. His papers have been accepted, and we have a straight fight with the Congress. I have been to the constituency several times for organising our election campaign. God willing, we will win the seat.

In Hazara, the conditions are very much disturbed. I have visited Hazara twice and am going there again today. Great resentment prevails in the Province over the ultimatum by the Central Government to Nandihar independent tribes on the Hazara border. The tribes are

threatened with a military expedition unless they pay a fine of Rs. 15,000, surrender 75 rifles and 40 hostages. This is a strange contrast to Bihar, where the Hindus, who massacred thousands of Muslims, still remain unpunished. It should, somehow, be made clear that our League members of the Interim Government disapproved of this step.

The Provincial Government has not announced the date for the Abbottabad East by-election, where they are in search of a candidate and face a sure defeat.

I hope to be in Kamalzai (Mardan) from 1.2.47 to 13.2.47 till the polling is over.

Press reports indicate that you are not quite well. I pray to *Allah* for your speedy recovery. *Aameen*

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN

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M. H. Hasham Premji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/25-6

HASHAM PREMJI HOUSE,
5 GHOGA STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
23 January 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received from the Imperial Bank a letter enclosing the draft for Rs. 3,000 sent by my wife to Miss Jinnah for Bihar Relief. Unfortunately, due to an oversight, the draft was made out in the name of the Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee. I have already sent the draft duly endorsed to the Imperial Bank. I am enclosing herewith a further cheque for Rs. 2,000, in all making a total of Rs. 5,000, in your name for relief in Bengal to the Muslims who have suffered there.

My wife and I were in Karachi last week, but as you had left for Malir to take rest, my wife did not wish to come and worry you, particularly when you were resting after such a strenuous time.

I have accepted the chairmanship of the Aga Khan's Diamond Jubilee Trust amounting to Rs. 65 lakh and was in Karachi in connection with this Trust to organise a number of schemes of

relief in Karachi and Sind. Amongst the schemes are three or four co-operative societies in Karachi, a large plot of 2,000 acres in Sultanabad near Hyderabad, Sind, where Khojas have already established a large colony of about 1,200 or 1,400 acres, but we wish to extend the same by the purchase of the above land and further lands and make a full-fledged large and prosperous agricultural colony on model lines with tractors, sanitary arrangements and other modern methods of agriculture. For this purpose we have appointed a special officer, named Dr. H.G. Balooch, who was the Deputy Director of Agriculture in Bombay Government and who has had to retire for some reasons from this Government's service.

All in all, our plan is to create conditions for the emigration of Ismailis from Kathiawar and Bombay to Karachi and Sind, and for that purpose we are also organising a number of health measures and educational schemes in Karachi and other parts of Sind, and also co-operative societies to aid small traders in business. These societies will be partly financed by the Trust and the agricultural land at present purchased by the Trust will be leased out to farmers in units of 25 acres on the basis of purchase by instalments on the payment of a very low rate of interest. I had a talk about this with Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the [Sind] Prime Minister, who was kind enough to give his approval to the scheme.

I am sure if we are successful in the above scheme, it will be to the benefit of our Khojas to go and settle in the Pakistan areas.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. HASHAM PREMJI

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M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Amb

SHC (1205)

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
24 January 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have received your letter and I thank you for your kind thought in sending me a Chitrali *chugha* and *patti.*

I have already written to you in reply to your previous letter

enquiring about my programme. As far as I can judge at present, I hope to be in Delhi by the end of February and of course I shall be very pleased to meet you if you happen to come to Delhi.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. H. the Nawab of Amb State,
Darband,
(District Hazara)
NWFP

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Mrs. K.L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/48

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 January 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

All top League leaders have been arrested by the Congress-controlled coalition Govt. of the Punjab, for resisting a search of the National Guard office this noon. They say they have given enough long rope to the Leaguers. I do hope the Muslim nation will come out victorious after its struggle for self-determination. Here are some more cuttings.[1] The editorial is worth reading. It is a scandalous attack on your irreproachable personality. You must read it to see how the momentum of hatred for the Muslims is daily rising in the mind of the Hindus. The Muslims have to gird up their loins to prove to the world that they mean business this time.

Wishing you good health,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

PS. I am sending you an article[2] on Subhas [Chandra] Bose which proves the Congress to be a fascist body. It is under a separate cover.

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Syed Budruddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 832/1-7

CONFIDENTIAL

ANJUMAN ISLAMIA HALL,
BANKIPORE,
PATNA,
25 January 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Please pardon me for writing this letter when I should have come personally to pay my respects to you.

It is on account of my bad health firstly that I at the last moment very reluctantly had to change my mind about a long journey to Karachi. A fortnight after the Bihar carnage, I had an attack of the gall-bladder trouble. I am still not in a position to undertake a long and tedious journey though, of course, I am much better now. Secondly, I admit I find myself financially embarrassed just now when my income from zamindari is stopped on account of the disturbances. My income from legal practice is no longer coming as I do not practise now.

I am sending this letter through a special messenger, Syed Sultan Ahmad, an active member of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and the Deputy Provincial leader of the Muslim National Guards, just to apprise you of the prevailing conditions in Bihar and for instructions from you to shape our future policy. The terrible experience which the Muslims of Bihar had to undergo should have left much more disastrous impressions upon them if you had not given them timely help and sent outside leaders to tone them up and to sympathise with them in their great miseries. It is undoubtedly because of the great organisation to which we belong that the sorrows and agonies of the Muslims of Bihar are today shared by all the Muslims all over India and the after-effects of the great catastrophe have thus [been] lightened. The relief work, so far, is being rendered by the Relief Committee as efficiently as is expected under the prevailing circumstances. Though, of course, the problem of the refugees and other riot-stricken people has been taken up in right earnest both in Bihar and Bengal, there are still greater number of people in greater [*sic*] unaffected ten districts of the province whose future safety is much more important. So far, the Relief Committee is doing useful work, rendering possible help to the sufferers, yet

the problem of the other people in Bihar remains unsolved. I am strongly of the opinion that [although] those who fell victim to the carnage and also those [who] escaped have become destitutes, their problem has become much easier by their migration to outside the Province and by their shifting to stronger pockets, the process of which is being followed. But the most important task which confronts us now is to organise and bring together those people who are at present unaffected to strong pockets and prepare them against any Hindu aggression so that their fate may not be like [that of] those who have suffered in the affected six districts. The lull which has come after the storm should have been utilised in organising these people before it breaks up. My misfortune is that after the last Assembly elections I have no funds at my disposal and though I had repeatedly drawn the attention of the President, Mr. Hossain Imam, he never cared to pay any heed to it and manoeuvred to steer clear of from [*sic*] this problem. Moreover, his continuous absence from the Province and the frictions and his party politics have rendered ineffective all my attempts to give a lead in the matter of reorganisation. The climax is reached at present when the provincial Muslim League is about to be closed down on account of lack of funds. I have already incurred liabilities which have to be met at present by my poor self.

The scheme of approaching the people and organising them at this trying moment is, thus, being frustrated. When I see that the eyes of the Musalmans are turned upon the Muslim League for succour and support, my heart begins to bleed and I curse myself not to be able to render them any service because of the lack of funds. The scheme which is required to be taken in hand entails the employment of some paid workers to go about and tour the non-affected areas, organise the Musalmans, infuse in them the spirit of self-confidence, prepare them against the Hindu aggression and warn them of those deficiencies which were responsible to some extent for the disaster that befell their brethren in the riot-affected districts. The problem of transport in all the districts for emergency purposes is also to be solved. There are some districts which can afford to have one or two transports [*sic*] if they are made to realise the necessity while others will have to be provided with transport by the Provincial Muslim League. These are the things which require immediate attention. We cannot run the organisation unless you give us some grant-in-aid as we are totally bankrupt. The relief money is being spent on the relief work. It has other scope of work while the Provincial Muslim League

has to meet all the emergencies.

Another thing which seems important to me is to start at once an underground organisation, the activities of which must be entrusted to very responsible persons, and it must be kept secret even from the prominent workers of the Muslim League and selection to carry on this work should be made with great caution.

I hope the copy of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, which I sent to you, should [*sic* for will] have reached you. I am, however, sending you, another copy.[1] The demands embodied in the Resolutions are very modest and the minimum which could be made. The Bihar Government was requested to accept these demands by 30th January, 1947. So far, the Government has not given us any indication of its attitude towards the demands except a letter which I received from the Prime Minister of Bihar on Thursday night, 23rd January 1947, in which he says that he would discuss with us our proposals in the first week of February, 1947. A copy of the same is hereto [*sic*] enclosed[2] for your perusal. I have called a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League on [*sic* for for] 9th January, 1947, to consider the situation and the attitude of the Government with regard to our demands. I am not hopeful of the acceptance of these demands by the Bihar Government because we know very well, to our cost, the complacency of the Bihar Government itself throughout the Bihar carnage. They have employed Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the Frontier Province to dupe the Musalmans and stop the rush of migration to Bengal and other such places. The result of his tour to the affected areas is nil and this machination of the Bihar Congress Government has miserably failed. But, after all, our problem has not [been] solved. The Musalmans all over the Province are looking to the Muslim League for a bold and definite lead. They are very nervous and expect from us something to know exactly what they should do when the Government rejects our demands. They are not prepared to go back to their homes. The past memory of the terrible happenings coupled with the present day-to-day small conflagrations at some places, cases of individual murders and assaults on Musalmans, and their social and economic boycott by the Hindus is strengthening them in their belief that their future in this Province is very dark. I also hold the same view that no future prospects are left for the Musalmans of Bihar. There is no guarantee against the re-occurrence [*sic* for recurrence] of aggression at any time. [On the one hand,] the migration of 48 lakh people to other provinces, entailing huge loss of properties and belongings, seems, at first sight,

not practicable, while on the other hand their living in this Province without any future safeguards and in imminent danger of the re-outbreak [*sic*] of atrocities on them is also a disquieting factor. Our people here also hold the same view that migration is the only alternative left to us if safeguards demanded by us are not granted by the Bihar Government. There are some people who have some vested interest and who do not favour this view but their reasons are obvious. I want to make a bold declaration of our policy on 9th February, 1947, in the meeting of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Council. It is in this respect that I stand in need of an indication of some instructions from you.

The Bihar Government is going to appoint a commission of enquiry for the Bihar carnage. The matter is quite important and I would request you to nominate some very eminent persons to constitute a committee to conduct the work on behalf of the Provincial Muslim League. If persons from outside the Province are taken, it will enhance the prestige [of the committee] and will also do very well. There are people here who want to run all shows to their advantage on party lines.

Before closing my letter I would once again request you to solve our two problems, i.e. giving grant-in-aid immediately to the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and secondly to indicate [*sic*] any instruction with regard to our migration problem.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
SYED BUDRUDDIN AHMED
General Secretary,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/47

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
25 January 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are some more cuttings[1] from today's press that reveal what

is happening here. Arrests, *lathi*-charge, tear-gas and other repressive measures are going on. You must be in touch with everything.

Hope you have gathered enough strength to cope with the tense situation, getting worse daily. God give you strength and light. Here is a cutting[2] about the U.P. Muslims. I wonder if it is true. The need of the hour is unity in the Muslim nation. Why do U.P. Muslims talk in this fashion?

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156/27-31

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 January 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim League movement has landed Muslim India, particularly Bihar and Eastern India, in a state of civil war, but the League has done almost nothing to prepare the Muslim nation to face the conditions of civil war or to win the war of Pakistan. The first and foremost things, in my opinion, for the defence organization are five in number, viz:

i. Leadership of action
ii. Arms and ammunition
iii. Transport
iv. Red Crescent organization with ambulance brigades
v. Secret intelligence branch

For all these we require funds—(1) funds [*sic*] of men of born leadership of action and (2) funds of money.

LEADERSHIP OF ACTION MEANS MILITARY LEADERSHIP

By leadership of action, I mean men with born capacity for military leadership and courage for action at right moment under League orders or as the situation demands in case of emergencies. The League organization at present is dominated by *vakeels*, zamindars and merchants who have won war of elections but failed in war of

arms and ammunition. The enemy is arming to the teeth.

QURANIC INJUNCTIONS FOR TRANSPORT PROVISION

Transport is of the highest importance. The *Qur'an* in *Sura Anfal* says:

Wa Idu Lahum Mastatum Min Quwatin Wa Min Rabatil-Khail (And mobilize and organize as much as you can by way of force and by way of trained horses).

It is needless to say that *Rabatul-Khail* (trained horses) in modern age means jeeps and motor trucks and that had the Muslims of Calcutta and Bihar a few dozens of jeeps and trucks, 90 per cent of the Muslims who have been killed would have been saved.

For the Muslims in Bihar Muslim pockets, and for the Bihar refugees in Bengal we need urgently:

1. For defence organization: One lakh
2. For arms and ammunition: One lakh
3. For rehabilitation grants to start refugees in small business, etc: One lakh
4. For jeeps and trucks: One lakh
5. For education grants (fees, books, food, lodg[ing] and clothes, etc. of refugee students) : One lakh

Kindly give this five lakh grant to Mirza Ahmad Ispahani and form a committee of the following to administer it:

Khwaja Nazimuddin	Chairman
Mirza Ahmad Ispahani	Treasurer
Haji Mohammad Yusuf	MLC (Bengal)
Mr. S. M. Taufique	MLC (Bengal)
Mr. S. A. Latif, Merchant	Director, the *Daylight* (Lahore)
Haji Mumtazuddin	Ispahani Chemicals
Mr. S. A. Hamid	Merchant
Mr. S. M. Usman	Mayor of Calcutta
Raghib Ahsan M. A.	Secretary

The nature of work demands that the committee must be very small and [composed] of men who are doing this work and have confidence in each other and can work as a team.

The work of defence organization has been started with Calcutta as centre. We are short of funds. Whatever relief and defence work has been done in Bihar has been by our Bengal organization. We hope you will very soon sanction this money. Our funds collected locally are now almost exhausted.

REHABILITATION OF TEN LAKH REFUGEES IN BENGAL

Khwaja Nazimuddin reported to the Bengal League Working

Committee that you desire that at least one and a half lakh Bihar refugees should be settled in Bengal.

It should be known that already there are at least three and a half lakh Bihar refugees in Bengal, mostly in greater Calcutta and Asansol zones.

Daily, our own organization, the Bihar Muslim Relief Committee, Bengal, is receiving about one thousand refugees at Howrah and Sealdah Stations.

Calcutta is the city of jute. Calcutta is the port of jute. Calcutta has been built by jute trade and industry and jute is 100 per cent a Muslim monopoly product. But it is 100 per cent exploited by Marwari-British capital through Bihar Hindu labour. The moment jute industry is nationalized, Calcutta will be Islamized, Bihar refugees will be employed, and Bengal capital will be free from the Marwari pest.

I am enclosing herewith resolutions[1] of the Calcutta League and the Rehabilitation Committee which all aim at Muslimizing Calcutta and increasing and improving Muslim population strength.

HOUSING BOARD OF GREATER CALCUTTA

Very easily Calcutta can absorb another five lakh Muslim refugees provided the Bengal Ministry acquires vacant Corporation and Improvement [Trust] lands and the Khas Mahal lands of Calcutta and forms a housing board for settling the Muslims and refugees in Greater Calcutta Zone.

ISLAMIZE ASANSOL WHERE MUSLIMS ARE NOW 60 PER CENT

After Calcutta comes Asansol as the second most important and strategic town in Bengal. Asansol is the city of coal and steel, the city of railway centre, the headquarters of the richest coal-field of Raniganj.

In 1947 Muslims in Asansol are 60 per cent. So Asansol should be made the second important centre of Muslim colonization. In Greater Calcutta Zone and Asansol, there is not only sufficient land for housing and settlement but there is also big scope for employment. Their advantages are:

i. There are already big colonies of Bihar Muslims in Calcutta, Howrah, Matiaburj and 24-Parganas mill areas and Asansol. Almost all the dockers of Calcutta port are Bihari Muslims and almost all the weavers of the jute mills are Bihari Muslims.
ii. The dominant language and culture of the Muslims of Calcutta and Asansol is Urdu based.
iii. The climate is congenial to Biharis.
iv. The scope for expansion is very great.

Calcutta is entirely dependent upon Asansol for its coal supply. Asansol is vital to the very existence of the water-works, port and mills of Calcutta. And Calcutta and Asansol must be made Muslim towns by settling and rehabilitating Bihar refugees in Calcutta and Asansol.

THE CENTRE EMPLOYS MORE MEN IN CALCUTTA THAN THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT

The Central Government has over 200 offices and establishments in Greater Calcutta Zone. But they are manned and officered by up-country Hindus who increase Hindu population. The League members of the Central Government should enforce the 50 per cent Muslim communal ratio rule in all Central Government offices in Bengal. The Collector of Customs must be a Muslim, the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust must be a Muslim, and 50 per cent of the Railway coolies at Howrah, Sealdah, Kanchrapara, Asansol and Kharagpur must be Muslims.

Please issue directive to the Bengal Premier for the following:

a. To settle and rehabilitate at least 5 lakh Bihar refugees in Greater Calcutta Zone.
b. To settle and rehabilitate at least 5 lakh Bihar refugees in Asansol Zone.
c. To organize a Bihar Refugees Rehabilitation Department.
d. To pass Land and Property Acquisition Act for settling refugees.
e. To reserve vacant Corporation land, C.I. Trust vacant land, and the Khas Mahal Government land in Calcutta and the open Zamindari land for settling Bihar refugees in Muslim *mohallas* in Greater Calcutta.
f. To form Greater Calcutta Housing Board under Government.
g. To form Bengal Transport Board to nationalize Calcutta tramways, taxis, buses and steamers.
h. To issue directives to all companies, mills, factories and firms to enforce 50 per cent Muslim communal ratio and employ Bengali Muslims and Bihari refugees.
i. To demand 50 crore [rupees] from the Centre as Bihar refugees and emigrants rehabilitation grant.
j. To appoint Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani as Minister in charge of Post-War Reconstruction of Greater Calcutta and to [give] Calcutta and industrial areas their closest consideration.
k. To nationalize [*sic*] Congress move to set Santhals and Adibasis in W.Bengal against Muslims by starting Adibasi Welfare Centres under Ben[gal] Govt.

SERVICES OF THE BENGAL COMMITTEE

It is most disappointing that while our Bengal Committee collected and spent over two lakhs of rupees in cash and cloth, blankets, drugs, grains, etc., of about 2 lakh rupees on Bihar refugees, [it] has not received a pie from your Central Committee. I do not know why you have appointed Mr. Yunus as one of its members. He was not a Leaguer. He demanded Rs. 1,020 daily from the Bengal League as daily [*sic*] fee for his appearance before the [Patrick] Spens Commission. He preferred a bill of about Rs. 2,000 for our Bengal Relief Office which he had himself located and housed in his [own] house. His only qualification was that he is a banker, a usurer and a self-seeker.

May I hope that you will sanction the subventions detailed above for our Calcutta Committee, over which the burden of reception of refugees and organization of refugee camps has fallen, besides doing relief work in all districts of Bihar.

Mr. Latifur Rahman will tell you something about our work in Bihar and Bengal.

In brief, our Committee was the first to reach Bihar under the leadership of Khwaja Nazimuddin and management of myself. For months I was in the field and I am still working night and day. Our trucks, jeeps and volunteers are still working in Bihar. Our workers were the first to reach every affected *thana*, village and town and we are still sending men, money, and material to them in Bihar.

Our Committee singly organized all refugee camps in Calcutta, Howrah and Asansol and spent thousands over them.

Our Committee [is] singly doing the entire work of the reception and management of refugees at Howrah, Sealdah and Asansol Stations.

We are daily spending one thousand rupees on average.

Our income is dwindling down [*sic*] and expenses and items of expense expanding beyond our financial capacity.

The Centre must come to our help.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Bihar Muslim Relief Committee, Bengal

PS. It may be noted that Bihar refugees have named your Central Relief Committee as Bihar Muslim Blood Bank [with a] capital [of] Rs. 30 lakh and Mr. Yunus of Orient Bank as Managing Director. Is it not most reprehensible that Bihar Sharif, the worst affected but

largest Muslim area in Bihar, has received over Rs.50,000 in cloth, grains, drugs, fruits, etc., and five trucks and motor cars from the Calcutta organization but they have received only Rs.2,500 from your Blood Bank.

FRANTIC CALLS FROM CHAPRA AND BIHAR SHARIF

We are receiving frantic calls from Bihar Sharif and Tarapore (Monghyr), Chapra and Gaya for more help in men, money, motor [vehicles] and materials. Even Moulvi Abdul Ghani, M.L.A., Secretary, Bihar Assembly League Party of Chapra (where Shud[d]hi is raging), and Syed Mehdi Hassan, M.L.A., President, Bihar Sharif League, are pressing us for help from Gaya as they see the Patna Body as a big iceberg or a fossilized stone.

RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Not traceable.

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M. M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/148

LODHI ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
27 January 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope my previous letters have reached you. My interference at this very busy and critical time may be undesirable but in the hope of some consolation for my uneasiness I hope you will excuse me for such writings. I know so many letters of this type daily trouble you unnecessarily, and all cannot be replied [to] but if I can just get a concession I shall deem myself very fortunate.

Punjab's recent serious turn is a turning towards the right path and it is now up to the Quaid-i-Azam to get it to success. Punjab affairs, whatever be the reasons and difficulties, require Mr. Noon as the Leader in the Assembly and when the present crisis is skilfully come over [*sic* for overcome], I hope the urgent need of a stable Ministry in the Punjab will soon find Mr. Noon at the helm of affairs. We may not like one but under the circumstances we must act wisely.

Secondly, Aligarh affairs, to which I know you have little time to devote, require your most active attention. Dr. Zia Uddin, although reported to have resigned, is busy in manoeuvreing the field in his

favour. It will be a blunder, if he gets in again, of the worst magnitude. Kindly give your best consideration to this very vital problem of the nation. May I, please, offer a humble suggestion—Dr. Zakir Husain Khan; if you care to speak to him for the good of the nation, he won't refuse; if unfortunately not, then Mr. Azizul Haque, and no[ne] other in the present circumstances will be a better choice. Please put Aligarh before you in your priority list.

Thirdly, the All India Muslim League office requires immediate overhaul. Mr. Nazimuddin, I think, will not only prove a good selection but will have the confidence of your poor brethren who are very much disappointed with the present trend of affairs.

Finally, the Frontier Province is looking up to you to change it to the League ideology and have a very stable League Government as early as possible.

A few words for the League Cabinet in the Centre will not be out of place. They have not done, nor they are likely to do, anything for the betterment of the Musalmans. Their colleagues, on the other hand, daily try to open their eyes by their bold and nation-building actions, but they have no time to divert their attention from their persons and prestige to their "trust and duty".

Long live Quaid-i-Azam!

Yours sincerely,
CH. M. M. A. KHAN

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Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/130

KARACHI,
28 January 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I generally discussed the proposal of ship-building at Karachi with Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and others. I have tried my best to convey to them the present and future importance of the industry, demanding that the Sind Government giving [*sic* for give] special priority and consideration to the project and [consider] financial participation in the undertaking. I however feel that unless the importance of the scheme is impressed upon these gentlemen

from you, they will not appreciate it fully. There are such issues that can only be solved by the Sind Government if they give very active and determined attention, and for this a direct lead from your goodself appears to me unavoidable.

Another point, which I intend to submit for your favourable consideration, is in regard to Moin Nawaz Jung (the Reforms Member of Hyderabad). You probably will recollect your conversations with him in Hyderabad, and you had also told me that you had gained a very favourable impression of him [*words illegible*] and Sir Mirza [Ismail] have disagreed on more than one occasion in a serious manner over the issue of reforms in Hyderabad and question of safeguards for the Muslims. The final result is that Moin Nawaz Jung has to leave the Council. He has made up his mind to resign and wishes to place his services at your disposal. He is a finance man and has had almost 26 years' experience in finance and administration. I shall be grateful if you will kindly keep him in view.

With respectful regards, and may *Allah* look after you and guide you,

I remain,

Very sincerely,

M. LAIK ALI

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Hasanally P. Ebrahim to I. I. Chundrigar

F. 1128/153-4

BOMBAY,
28 January 1947

My dear Mr. Chundrigar,

It pains me to address you this letter to specially let you know, and through you the League high command, that the Muslims of Bombay have reached their limit of patience because the riot has been going on for an unprecedented length of time, and had such situation existed in the Muslim provinces, the Hindus would have moved heaven and earth to oust the Muslim Ministry. The continuation of the riot in Bombay is absolutely due to the inability of the Hindu Congress Govt. to successfully deal with the situation, and as such the Govt. should go as it has no control over Hindus even or the ability

to govern. From my daily reports which I send to the Quaid-i-Azam and yourself, you know what efforts we have been making to restore peace and what injustices are done to Muslims and the callous disregard of the present Hindu Congress Govt. to do anything to mitigate our sufferings. It is proved beyond doubt that the Hindu Govt. does not want to help Muslims, the fact being that even small things which could be done without [any] difficulty whatsoever are not done in spite of the unanimous recommendations of the Central Peace Committee, namely sanction of coupons of a few gallons of petrol, although we have told them several times that petrol is required for transport, which is a life-line for Muslims who are in the north of the City surrounded on all sides by hostile and aggressive Hindus, and that Muslims cannot move without motor transport. This is a very small matter but it shows what regard the Govt. have for the safety of the lives of Muslims.

It is hard to believe that the Bombay Govt. have no power or influence and that they cannot make the Managing Agents (Krishnaraj Thackeray) open a gate on the Ripon Road from where the Muslims can come and go with safety from Hindustan Mills.

There are several instances which are daily recorded in my reports and they were also compiled separately on 19.10.1946, when you interviewed H.E. the Viceroy in Bombay, and on 4.1.47, which have been handed over to the Prime Minister on 8.1.47, but uptil now nothing has been done. Copies of both these compilations have been sent with my report to you and Quaid-i-Azam. A careful study of these two compilations in your hands will give you some idea of the situation but the real idea of the situation can only be got if you or anyone or more persons from the League high command come to Bombay and see for themselves our miseries and plight and do something for us and guide us how best we can serve Muslims and pacify them to bear all these injustices, which it seems the Muslims are not in a position to bear any longer as they have been bearing for the last 5 months and it does not seem that the riot is going to stop for a few months more as is evident from the aggressive behaviour of Hindus which goes on unchecked by the Police and Govt.

Bombay has been neglected by the Central Govt. to the extent that the riot has gone on to give Bombay an international notoriety (General Smuts[1] has recently exemplified Bombay). Four Members of the Interim Govt. went to Bengal and Bihar. Of course Bihar Muslims have suffered much but Bombay Muslims' protracted sufferings are not such which [*sic* for as] do not deserve any attention whatsoever or that attention would be paid when Bihar is enacted in

Bombay Presidency to its full extent, although Chhota Bihar had already been enacted in Kolaba District and full Bihar is threatened.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that at least two Members of the Interim Govt. should visit Bombay Presidency and redress our grievances; failing this a few members of our high command should visit us in your company and give us guidance.

This letter is sent as [an] S.O.S. signal.

With *salaams*

Yours sincerely,
HASANALLY P. EBRAHIM
MLA, J.P.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar
C/o Mr. M. H. Gazdar
Karachi

[1]Jan Christiaan Smuts, South African military leader and statesman; Prime Minister, 1939-48.

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Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 142/2

LAHORE,
28 January 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would have come over personally to thank you on my behalf and on behalf of my Board of Directors for your very kind favour in consenting to associate your name with the *Pakistan Times*.

I am enclosing herewith[1] just one sheet of the *Pakistan Times* our staff brought out on the day we all were arrested. Please do not judge from this the standard of the regular issue.

We are starting publication on February 4, 1947, that is on *'Id Milad-un-Nabi,* and I would have presented myself to receive your blessings and your message but conditions in the Punjab today do not permit me to do so. Will you be kind enough to send your message to the *Pakistan Times,* to reach us by the 2nd of February.

Should you be coming this way (and there is a rumour of this sort in the air here) on or about the 3rd, we shall appreciate it very much if you could perform the opening ceremony. This no doubt is a small matter for you and we know that you are otherwise occupied with

things far more important, but your presence shall be a great boon to the future of the paper. I hope you will consent.

Please accept our thanks once again for your patronage and kindness.

IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN
Managing Director,
Progressive Papers Ltd.

[1]Not traceable.

383

Ithna Ashari Volunteer Corps, Lindi to Habib Bank, Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 156/33

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY,
B.E.AFRICA,
28 January 1947

The Manager,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Delhi,
Dear Sir,

We enclose herewith a draft for Rs. 2500 being collected here in response to Quaid-i-Azam's appeal for Relief Fund for the Muslims of Bihar. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

A like sum, being the remainder of the collection, will be remitted to you in a few days' time.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

384

M. Yunus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 142/3

KHUHRO HOUSE,
CAMP KARACHI,
29 January 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I arrived here this afternoon as desired by the President and Secretary of the Bihar refugees, Karachi, and by some of the Ministers of Sindh who desired me to come here about this time to discuss the question of settlement of Bihar refugees. I shall discuss all these matters with the Ministers whenever they are free, and I hope to have a scheme evolved before I leave Karachi by the 1st or 2nd February.

I am enclosing a note which I wrote on the aircraft this morning and got the same typed, which I hope may be of some use.

If I am granted an interview during my stay here any time convenient to you, I may be able to make some representation to you.

Yours fraternally,
M. YUNUS

Enclosure to No. 384
Note by M. Yunus

F. 142/4-5

FARCE OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Congress, since assuming office at the Centre, created an atmosphere through its papers and propagandists that the Government at the Centre was a Cabinet, of which Mr. Nehru was the Premier, though everyone knows that the constitution under which the present Central Government is working is under [*sic*] the [Government of India] Act of 1919, and all the members of the Government are not even elected members of the Legislature. They are appointed by the Viceroy and have taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The bubble was pricked when the League accepted office and burst and vanished in[to] thin air.

Now they call the present constitution-making body a Constituent Assembly which really speaking it is not. In the first place, its members are not elected members of any Constituent Assembly but are members

elected under an antiquated, out-of-date Act as members of an out-of-date Legislature without the electors being even told, before or even at the time of election, that they are going to be utilised for the purpose of framing any constitution for the governance of India. Long after election, the British have utilised the members for this purpose of framing an agreed Constitution. Under these circumstances, persons or rather some persons out of the legislatures, and some who are not members of any legislature, who have no sanction of the electorate behind them to frame a constitution, and who cannot by any force of reason constitute themselves into a body that could honestly be called a Constituent Assembly simply because they stand up and pretend to take a solemn oath to frame a constitution for the people after having taken oath of allegiance to the King of England, become a Constituent Assembly. It is a greater farce to call this Assembly a sovereign body when it is well-known that any constitution framed by this body requires the sanction of the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government. It is no good shutting our eyes to realities and camouflaging the main issue by mere reference to other countries whose constitutions were framed by Assemblies that came into being as a result of revolutions. We must not therefore refer to the French Revolution as the Pandit has done; rather we should contrast it more with the U.S.A. constitution-making body[1] and realise our limitations and specially the fact that unless the constitution is an agreed constitution by the major political parties it cannot be accepted by the British Parliament. The so-called Union which according to the resolution recently passed by this Assembly is supposed to possess much more power than it can claim and claims even all sovereign power under the pretension of inherent and implied power for which there is no justification and which rightly creates an alarm for the people of Sections B & C.

Mr. Liaquat Ali put a set of straight questions to the Congress which have not been replied by the Congress but an apologia has been offered by Maulana Azad. I suggest that the Working Committee of the League should demand straight answers to those questions from the Congress and await a reply.

[1]The U. S. Constitution was framed and adopted at a convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 and came into force on 4 March 1789.

385

President, Bihar Relief Fund, Mandalay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/75

MANDALAY,
BURMA,
30 January 1947

Dear Sir,

The Muslims of Mandalay (Burma) appreciated your scheme for the poor people of Bihar and organised the Bihar Relief Fund for them, wherein we have remitted a trifle [*sic* for trifling] amount of Rs. 1,275 to the Habib Bank Ltd. of Delhi, and still continue the subscription for the same.

We are ever ready with your description [*sic*] in respect of country, communal and religious matters to assist you with our whole-hearted [*sic*].

May God help you in your goodwill [*sic*] for the scheme of Pakistan.

With best *salaams*

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURES ILLEGIBLE]
President, Bihar Relief Fund
I. M. RAWAT
Secretary, Bihar Relief Fund

386

Message from Soetan Sjahrir[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 677/1

DJAKARTA, INDONESIA,
[*Undated*] *January 1947*

On behalf of 60 million Muslims living in Indonesia, I send you and through you to all the Muslim brothers in India our best wishes and greetings.

In our fight for the freedom of our country, we Muslims of Indonesia have been supported with the sympathy of all the Muslims of the world, also by the Muslims of India. This has strengthened us greatly in our conviction that the fight for liberty is

a duty to every Muslim.

We are convinced that our Muslim brothers in India will be able to act as true and good Muslims in their country's fight for freedom.

May God give you light and lead you through all difficulties for the benefit of India and of the entire Muslim world.

Wassalaam

SJAHRIR

[1]First Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia.

387

Nazir Yar Jung & Askar Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/112

MANZIL-E-ADLE,
HYDER GUDA,
HYDERABAD-DECCAN,
[Undated] January 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the undersigned, are constrained to bring to your kind notice that from the reports that we have received about the Muslim University and the personal knowledge which some of us possess after making investigations on the spot, it is high time that a new Vice-Chancellor be nominated forthwith, and his proper appointment made as soon the term of the present incumbent, Dr. Zia Uddin ends in March next.

In view of the agonies through which the University is passing and its connection with Hyderabad, due to H. E. H. the Nizam being the Chancellor, we propose that an educationist of great integrity be made the next Vice-Chancellor; in this connection we suggest Dr. Zakir Husain Khan of Jamia Millia, Delhi. Our information is that he would be reluctant to accept it, but, we are sure, if you kindly make the offer to him, he would accede to it. Failing him [*sic* for that] you may nominate another suitable person, who will have our support.

In conclusion, we beg to reiterate that the nomination of a new Vice-Chancellor is absolutely necessary in the interest of Aligarh in particular and Muslims in general. We appeal to you to save Aligarh and we are sure Aligarh can only be saved now by a change of the Vice-Chancellor.

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR YAR JUNG
ASKAR YAR JUNG
Members, Muslim University Court

388

S. Khanna to M. A. Jinnah

F. 757/11

REGISTERED

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
5 February 1947

In exercise of the powers conferred on the O. C. Station, *vide* clause 6 of your lease agreement, the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, directs me to serve upon you this by way of notice, that your bungalow No. 157 bearing survey No. 53 situate[d] in the Cantonment of Lahore, has, under the provisions of the said clause, been appropriated for use by the Army.

2. You will, therefore, intimate to me without delay every change of ownership in respect of the whole or any part of the aforesaid property, furnishing full particulars of:

a. the new owner;

b. the extent of his interest, and

c. the date of change of ownership,

and will be responsible that [*sic*] the new owner does not get possession of the said premises without my prior concurrence.

S. KHANNA
Major, R. I. E.
Garrison Engineer

389

M. A. Jinnah to Tarek G. Yaffi

F. 678/40

KARACHI,
6 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 23rd January,[1] enclosing a cheque for Rs. 6, 651-1-9, along with a written message from the Grand Mufti of Palestine. Please convey my grateful thanks to the Mufti.

The official receipt will be sent to you in due course.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Tarek G. Yaffi, Esq.,
Churchgate House,
Churchgate Street, Fort,
Bombay

[1]Not traceable.

390

Circular from Begum Aizaz Rasool

F. 832/25-6

[*Original in Urdu*]

9 QAISER BAGH,
LUCKNOW,
8 February 1947

Esteemed lady,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am sure you would be well aware of the fact that the Muslims of India are passing through critical and troubled times. The gory and tragic incidents of Bihar and Garhmuktesar were still fresh when another crucible has begun in the Punjab, where the Government, in order to curb civil liberties and scupper the growing power and influence of the Muslim League, has unleashed repression and violence. The most lurid and distressful aspect of the situation is that women in Bihar and Garhmuktesar were molested and subjected to bestial violence; they were forcibly converted to Hinduism. You know, from the newspapers, of the shocking treatment being meted out to women in the Punjab. Thank God, sisters in the Punjab have stood the test resolutely and defied the brutal regime. You should know, though, that this is but the first test of our faith and resolve. Who knows how many more trying situations you may have to confront and cope with before attaining the goal of Pakistan. Today, the honour and dignity of the *millat* demand of you to waste no time at all in lethargy and inertia but to actively devote yourself to organisation and reform. For this, there has to be a female volunteers' organisation in your city and province with committees. I have drawn

your attention to this desideratum several times through my circulars. I feel this has become all the more essential in the foregoing circumstances. Our President, Lady Haroon, has arranged for the necessary training in Karachi and asked me to request you to depute two ladies from your province to Karachi for training in April next. They will come back to you after training and be able to work in a regular capacity. She has further asked that the subscription towards the Muslim Women's National Guard be sent directly to her. She will spend the money where required.

I want to hold an early meeting of the Women's Sub-Committee to discuss these matters. But I await the Punjab situation getting better.

Please remit the subscription for 1947 towards the Women's Sub-Committee to Begum Abdul Aziz, 4 Birdwood, Lahore. Those who have yet to pay the subscription for 1946 may please remit it along with the subscription for 1947.

Yours obediently,
BEGUM AIZAZ RASOOL
(QUDSIA BEGUM)
Secretary,
Women's Sub-Committee of AIML

391

Sulthan Syed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/158-60

THILAGARPURAM STREET,
AMBASAMUDRAM,
DISTRICT TINNEVELLY,
MADRAS,
10 February 1947

Mr. President,

We beg to bring to your kind consideration the following resolution unanimously passed by our Federation at its meeting held at Ambasamudram on 10th February 1947.

We, Muslim students, are very much afraid and have been terribly shocked by Mr. Gandhi's false propaganda and hypocritical activities to cheat the Muslims of Bengal and pull them into his trap by tricks and jugglery of words and to collapse [*sic*] the Muslim Government in Bengal. In many places he has destroyed the sacred principles and ideals of Islam by gathering Hindus and Muslims in his prayer meetings, for

which we are fighting today with courage, discipline and unity under the banner of the Muslim League.

Everyday the Congress press is trumpeting that Mr. Gandhi is working very hard in Bengal for Hindu-Muslim unity and that there will be no necessity for the demand of Pakistan, and consequently the public in India and abroad have got misunderstandings and misconceptions of the Muslim League and its demands.

In short Mr. Gandhi is working very, very hard to establish his theory of one nation in this subcontinent of India.

So, we humbly request you to save our Muslim brothers from the camouflage of the Hindu Congress and Mr. Gandhi by adopting timely and suitable plans and actions.

We show our sympathy to the heroic Muslims of the Punjab for their historical [*sic*] sacrifices to put an end to the Hitlerian terror tactics of Mr. Khizar.

We, Muslim students, are always waiting [for] your call to sacrifice anything for achieving our cherished goal—Pakistan.

We have sent a similar resolution to the Prime Minister of Bengal also.

Yours sincerely,
SULTHAN SYED IBRAHIM
President,
Muslim Students' Federation,
Ambasamudram

392

S.A.K. Jeelany to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/161

3 UMDAHA BAGH,
MADRAS,
10 February 1947

Sir,

The conference of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation passed the following resolution:

This conference of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation fully endorse the Karachi resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League rejecting the Congress resolution of January 6, 1947, which does not reveal any change of attitude on the part of the Congress towards the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16, 1946, and which on the contrary only constitutes a diabolical attempt at

misleading public opinion in India and abroad, and demanding the immediate dissolution of the so-called Constituent Assembly which is nothing short of a political fraud, whose very existence is bound to make this sub-continent's present confusion worse confounded, and is fraught with the most serious consequences for the best interest of the masses, and which if allowed to function on the lines it has chosen, will only postpone the day of India's freedom, peace and progress.

Yours sincerely,
S.A.K. JEELANY
General Secretary,
Madras Muslim Students' Federation

393

M. A. Jinnah to S. Khanna

F. 757/14

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
10 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th January 1947,[1] and I am really surprised to hear from you the arbitrary attitude adopted and based on the ground that as this bungalow is being used as a Mess it is not possible to find an alternative accommodation to house the same conveniently!

It seems that the only factor to be considered is what is convenient to you, and on that ground, I have either got to continue the lease to the military authorities on the expiry of the period of requisition, or I have no voice with regard to my property but to submit to such terms as you consider desirable and convenient to you. This is an extraordinary position taken up by you and I cannot accept it. It means that you can continue as long as you desire and as long as it is convenient to you. This virtually means expropriation of my property, not to use a strong word—confiscation.

I have already made it clear that I am not willing to continue the lease of my bungalow to the military authorities after the expiry of the period of requisition of my property. I would, therefore, request you please to hand over the possession of this property to me as soon as possible. I need this bungalow for my own personal use, as I have made it clear to you in my letter of 7th November 1946,[2] and I do not propose to enter into any negotiation and call upon you, in fairness and justice, to hand over this property. You cannot continue

forced possession merely on the ground that it is convenient to you. There is plenty of room in the cantonment and you must find accommodation for your requirements elsewhere.

I do hope that you will appreciate my point of view and not take merely what suits you as the only course to be adopted, viz. that I must be forced to grant a lease to you. Please let me have your reply as early as possible and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Maj. S. Khanna, R.I.E.,
Garrison Engineer,
Lahore Cantt.

[1]See F. 757/1, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See F. 756/112, *QAP*. Not printed.

394

M. Mumtaz Hasan[1] to K. H. Khurshid

F. 783/13

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
11 February 1947

My dear Khurshid,

With reference to our telephone conversation, I enclose a copy of a telegram[2] sent to the Right Hon'ble Harold Macmillan together with a copy of the communication[3] to which it is a reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. MUMTAZ HASAN

[1]Private Secretary to the Member for Finance of the Interim Government, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan.
[2&3]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 394
Liaquat Ali Khan to Harold Macmillan[1]

Telegram, F. 783/14

11 February 1947

Mr. Jinnah will be glad if you come to tea with him at 5.30 p.m. on 17th February at Bahawalpur House, Malir, Karachi. His telephone number is 9202.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Ten years later, British Conservative Prime Minister, 1957-63.

Enclosure 2 to No. 394
Military Secretary, Bengal to G. E. B. Abell
(Copy to Liaquat Ali Khan)

Telegram, F. 783/15

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL *7 February 1947*

Please pass following message to Liaquat Ali Khan from Harold Macmillan. *Begins*. I shall arrive at Karachi by air from Bombay on 17th February and if Mr. Jinnah wishes to see me I could call on him that afternoon. I leave for England early next day. Please telegraph reply to me care Macmillan & Co., Publishers, Bombay [*Ends*].

395

Mrs. K.L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/49

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
13 February 1947

Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you on the 5th of this month[1] asking you whether you are receiving my letters or not, for I had read that the Punjab Govt. is withholding or interrupting correspondence. I have not received any reply uptil now and then I have read that you were again indisposed. I am very anxious to know how you are keeping now. I do hope you will ask your secretary to let me know these two things.

I am collecting a number of cuttings from the Punjab press that should not go unnoticed by you. There are, particularly, two very

important articles; one on the question for interpretation by Brij Narain and the other, *A Strong Centre,* by some Mahajan. Brij Narain clearly brings out all the points that relate to Congress' non-acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16, [1946], and the statement of December 6 [1946] and the other article by Vidya Dhar Mahajan explains what a Union Centre [under] the Cabinet Mission Scheme means to the Congressmen. These are the points that need to be brought to the notice of British Government who think that the Congress has accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan in its entirety. I am forwarding these two articles to you today.[2]

This is Mr. Gandhi's latest interpretation. The Congress people want to fool the world by saying that they accept the Scheme.

The Congress rules everywhere by Ordinance rule [*sic*]. But even the Hindu press blacks out all oppression and repression of the mass of people.

Look what they are doing to the Muslims in Kashmir. The treatment meted out to them by the Brahman and Dogra rule outstrips the Nazi barbarities. The cutting discloses the blood-curdling treatment of Muslims by the Hindus who are out to turn Muslim population of 98 per cent into galley-slaves and serfs. The example of Kashmir could be made into a lesson for those Muslims who still think that Hindus will ever give them due rights. In Kashmir the plight of Muslims is indescribable and intolerable. I will also send you a pamphlet which will show how Pandit Nehru during his last visit to Kashmir tried to set aside the Quit Kashmir Movement.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience how you are feeling now.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam!

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

396

M. A. Jinnah to S. Khanna

F. 757/16

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
13 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your communication dated 5th February 1947.[1] I have already been in correspondence with you with regard to this property since the 28th of October 1946, ending with my letter of 10th February 1947,[2] so far; and now I have received this communication from you informing me that "in exercise of the powers conferred on the O.C. Station, *vide* clause 6 of your lease agreement, the Commander, Lahore Sub-Area, directs me to serve upon you this by way of notice that your bungalow No. 157, bearing survey No.53, situated in the Cantonment of Lahore, has, under the provisions of the said clause, been appropriated for use by the army".

Before I can deal with this notice, it is necessary to know:

a. what is the "lease agreement" and clause 6 that you refer to;
b. the date of the agreement; and
c. the date of the expiry of the period of requisition of my property.

Please let me have these particulars without delay and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Maj. S. Khanna, RIE,
G. E. Lahore Division,
Lahore Cantt.

[1]No. 388.
[2]No. 393.

397

Durga Das B. Advani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 787/10-13

20 LAXMI INSURANCE BUILDING,
KARACHI,
13 February 1947

Sir,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Citizens' Committee appointed at a public meeting to consider the Sind University Bill which is before the Sind Legislative Assembly, to address you on the subject of the bill. The minority community feel that the bill, if passed into law in its present form, will prove very harmful to their educational and cultural interests and my Committee, therefore, express the hope that, in view of your public declaration to the effect that the interests of minorities will be safeguarded under a Muslim League Government, you will use your good offices in having the bill suitably amended, so as to make it acceptable to all the communities.

I do not desire to dwell at length on the defects of the bill, but will confine myself to a few, very brief observations on two of the important features of the bill. One of these is that the bill introduces a predominantly political atmosphere in the field of education by giving about seventy-five per cent of the seats on the Senate to Members of the Legislative Assembly, officials and members of the District Local Board, etc. the Premier being the chairman of the Senate. Only 23 members out of over 80 will be principals, professors and headmasters, i.e. members of the teaching profession. The result will be that we will have an officialised, bureaucratic and non-academic body which cannot rightly be styled a university at all. We will thus have an examining body, which the bill proposed to set up, which will be the handmaid of politics and in which the standard of education will be greatly lowered and the degree conferred by it will not be respected in other parts of the country. From this point of view the bill has been condemned in an unqualified manner by educational experts, Europeans, Hindus and Muslims alike.

The Citizens' Committee is, however, more vitally concerned with the other, viz. the communal provisions in the bill which stipulate that seventy per cent of the fellows or members of the Senate shall be Muslims and maintain this ratio in the professors' and headmasters'

constituencies as well. Out of about 90 high schools in Sind, only eleven have Muslims as headmasters, but while the 10% or so Muslim professors will have seven fellows on the Senate, the 90% professors, mostly Hindus, will send only 2 Hindus on the Senate and one who will be neither a Hindu nor a Muslim.

The educational institutions in Sind have been mainly started and maintained by the efforts and sacrifice of the minority community, the Muslims having to their credit only one college which, too, has come into being within the last four or five years. It is the non-Muslim institutions which have educated the Muslims of Sind and treated them not only with fairness but with broad-mindedness. The Sind University Bill disturbs this happy fellowship, introduces communalism in the sacred sphere of education and compels non-Muslim schools and colleges to submit to the decisions of a university which will be the plaything of communally-minded politicians. This must be prevented at all costs and my Committee earnestly appeals to you to be so good as to do so.

It you desire to discuss the matter with us, I and some other friends nominated by the Citizens' Committee will be glad to meet you for the purpose,[1] at any time convenient to you, and in that case we can forward to you in advance a statement of our views on the bill.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
D. DAS B. ADVANI
Chairman of the Citizens' Committee

[1]They met Jinnah on 19 February 1947. See No. 11, Vol. I, Part I, 33-5.

398

Abdus Sattar Pirzada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 643/1-2

VICTORIA ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 February 1947

Sir,

I am very sorry I have not been able to send you the minutes[1] of our last conference [on 3 January] with you at Malir. I had not been out on tour at all this winter and as Revenue Minister I thought it necessary to get out and see the Upper Sind districts before the Assembly

session. I got back only on the 12th instant and got your letter. I apologize for the delay.

I am sending the minutes in advance[2] as I thought you might like to see them before the party meeting tomorrow.

So far as points 2 and 3 are concerned, the party is meeting tomorrow and the necessary elections would be held. About points 5, 6 and 7, I have written my own minutes and sent them on to the respective Ministers for taking action. Points 1 and 8 are matters of policy for us all to note. Point number 4 concerns the Sind Provincial Muslim League and I shall write a letter to the President after you approve of the minutes.

I would again regret the delay.

Yours obediently,
ABDUS SATTAR PIRZADA

PS. We have added point number 7A and if you approve of it, it may be allowed to stand.

[1]Enslosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 398

F. 643/5

1. A meeting of the Sind Assembly Muslim League Party was held at the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. He informed the Party that he had seen all sections of the people and classes during the last eight or ten days and the general desire of all was that there should be complete solidarity, harmony and co-operation amongst ourselves; and that he was glad to inform them, after exchange of views and discussions he had [had], that there was no contest for the leadership of the Muslim League Party in the Sind Assembly. The only course open to the Party, therefore, was to elect Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to be the Leader and Mr. Khuhro to be the Deputy Leader. Upon that statement of Mr. Jinnah it was resolved unanimously that Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah should be the Leader of the Party and Mr. Khuhro the Deputy Leader.

2. The Party also expressed the desire that the Leader, Sh. Ghulam Hussain, should continue with the *status quo* in the personnel of the present Ministry.

3. Resolved that the following programme should be carried out without any undue delay.

a. To make an immediate drive in the direction of introducing

all over the province free and compulsory primary education. Eight *talukas* to be taken up at once.

b. The Sind University Bill already introduced should be passed during the coming session.

c. Immediate steps should be taken to examine the acute grievances of the *haris* and measures adopted to effectively redress all their grievances and give them necessary protection from the unfair treatment of the zamindars, if any.

d. Immediate steps should be taken to completely and speedily put an end to corruption and black market and for that purpose a strong and independent machinery should be set up without delay and the authority or authorities set up and concerned should take ruthless measures irrespective of personality or position of an individual or individuals.

e. To take early steps to examine labour conditions and adopt measures for immediate welfare and betterment of their conditions.

f. Peasant-proprietorship to be encouraged systematically.

g. The Land Alienation Bill should be taken up in the next session and passed.

h. Effective control of money-lending under the existing laws should be exercised and, if necessary, by modifying the present laws on the subject.

4. Resolved that a Standing Consultative Committee of 5 members from amongst the members of the Party should be set up. No person holding an office shall be eligible for this committee unless he resigns such office as he may be holding and gives due intimation in time before nominations are made and elections take place.

This Committee shall meet at least once a month and the Prime Minister and a member or members in charge of the department concerned with the agenda for the meeting must be present at such meetings.

The proceedings of this Committee must be recorded and must remain in the file of the Minister or Ministers concerned and the Prime Minister and that of the Committee.

The Committee will be elected by the method of single transferable vote (preferential).

5. It was decided that a proper, well-considered manifesto should be prepared laying down the policy and programme with regard to other matters as may be necessary, over and above the foregoing programme, as soon as possible.

6. It was resolved that Syed Miran Mohammad Shah should be

supported by the Muslim League Party for Speakership in the forthcoming election.

7. Mr. M. H. Gazdar was elected the Secretary of the Party.

Enclosure 2 to No. 398

F. 643/3-4

1. No favouritism or nepotism to be shown to any individual or individuals and all decisions to be made in the best interests of the province.

2. The standing advisory committee of MLAs to be elected by the Muslim League Assembly Party forthwith. Whips and other office-bearers of the Party also should be elected.

3. An Executive Emergency Committee of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party to be formed, which will be consulted in all those matters in which it would be necessary to consult the Party, but if not found possible to convene the whole Party for the purpose.

4. A committee consisting of the President, Secretary, and one other member of the Sind Provincial Muslim League to be formed to establish liason between the League organisation and the Ministry.

This committee should contact the Ministers only in matters of League policy and not in connection with any individual request. All the office-bearers in the organisation should act through this committee and not directly.

5. Daily stream of visitors to Hon'ble Ministers to be controlled; days and hours of visits to be fixed and any visitor outside that period to see H.Ms. only by appointment through P.As. to H.Ms. A Deputy S.P. with adequate staff to be appointed to control the visitors.

6. Any attack or false propaganda against the Ministry must be met with and replied to forthwith and a publicity and propaganda machinery to be set up for keeping the public informed of the acts of the Ministry and correct position of affairs. Necessary press conferences etc. to be held for the purpose.

7. Communal ratio in services to be on population basis.

7A. Award of business facilities to public in [price] control and other matters to be made on population basis so as to let Muslims have their due share in the trade and business.

8. Help should be given to those Bihar refugees to establish themselves, who are at present under the care of Muslim League Relief Organisation, and other residents of Bihar not to be invited or

encouraged to leave until those in hand are established.

ABDUS SATTAR PIRZADA

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/50

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 February 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are today's cuttings from the Hindu press. I am just sending the headlines to show to you how the Hindu press presents it. The Congress lion, [Sardar Vallabhbhai] Patel, has again come out of his den to roar and fume against the [Muslim] League. He had been silent since the December 6th statement of the Cabinet Mission [*sic*]. This time the tone is again that of a fascist dictator. He orders the League to enter the Constituent Assembly or quit the Interim Government. One would think that he has already been given a free hand to order about in this manner.

Look how the Hindu press treats the League victory in the Kamalzai election,[1] the result of which was declared on the eve of the 13th. Had there been a Congress victory, it would have been announced on the radio the very day. But the radio has become a propaganda machine of the Hindu Congress only; no news of the Muslims is ever given. Today it is the 16th, and the result was announced today. What can the Muslims expect if full powers are given to the Hindus at the Centre and it is surprising that the Muslims of the Congress raised no voice of protest; no wonder they are called quislings.

Look what the External Affairs Department is doing?[2] Goodwill missions are going out irrespective of the fact that the League has no voice in it. They are proving to the world that the League represents nobody. Near and Middle East countries are all Muslim. What sympathy can the Hindus have for the outside Muslims when they are so antagonistic to the Indian Muslims? This shows they have some designs on the backward Muslim countries. I hope you read the articles on the Hindu imperialist designs in these countries written in the *Pakistan Times* by one Tahir, where he quotes one Mahratta

economist, [K.M.] Panikkar, who has been secretly planning to buy off all British concerns in these countries in order to strangle the Muslim lands. If you have not read, please let me know. I shall send the cuttings to you.

Look what Dr. Kitchlew says of the League? I am surprised why these Muslims do not see the Hindu game.

The other cutting[3] is from the *Pakistan Times,* in which Abdul Qaiyum [Khan] throws a challenge to the Khan Brothers [Dr Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan].

Hope you are feeling stronger.

Long may you live,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.
[3]Not traceable.

Enclosure 1 to No. 399

LEAGUE CANDIDATE ELECTED TO FRONTIER ASSEMBLY

PESHAWAR, February 14: Mr. Mohammad Ishaq Khan (Muslim League) was declared elected to the Frontier Assembly, defeating his rival, Mian Shakirullah Khan (Congress), by a majority of 588 votes in the by-election to the Frontier Assembly from the Kamalzai Mohammedan urban constituency.

Enclosure 2 to No. 399

GOODWILL MISSION TO NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

NEW DELHI, February 15: United Press of India learns that the External Affairs Department has decided to send out a goodwill mission of five or six members to the Near and Middle East countries.

This mission will, it is learnt, be headed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Member, Interim Government.

The proposed mission is likely to leave India shortly after the budget session of the Central Legislature and will return to India in six weeks' time—United Press.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/306-7

BY AIR MAIL

17 February 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copies of letters[1] received from Mr. Shamsee, one of the two young men I had selected for running the Muslim India Information Centre in New York. These letters speak for themselves. Mr. Shamsee is studying for a Doctorate at the Columbia University (New York). During the war, he enlisted in the U. S. Army and was posted to the Indian Section of the United States Office of War Information. He came to India in that capacity and remained here for six months. He knows the American mind and can, therefore, be relied upon to give information which will suit the American palate.

I have been constantly in touch with our business friends, Messrs Hayes Shimp, 230 Park Ave., New York, in connection with the hiring of suitable office accommodation. Uptill now, due to the difficulty of obtaining suitable space, much to my regret, no headway has been made. Efforts, however, continue unabatedly [*sic*] in that direction. I can very well appreciate Mr. Shimp's difficulties although he has not directly advised me of them. As I advised you on my return from the U. S. A., the opening of a foreign publicity department in the U. S. A. is not as easy as in the U. K. Washington is most careful; it does not want foreign money to come in through the back-door for propaganda purposes. I think Washington is afraid of Soviet Russia. Any citizen of the U. S. A. who participates in foreign propaganda has to answer too many questions and produce, if required, his books of account. You will agree that no businessman wants or has the time to reply to all kinds of enquiries that may be made from time to time by Washington. In the circumstances, we have to see if arrangements cannot be made whereby the monthly expenses incurred by our Centre for its maintenance and publicity cannot be remitted to the persons directly in charge of the Centre. Liaquat Ali, our Finance Minister, is in a better position to guide us in the matter than anyone else. I shall be obliged if you will let me know what I should do. I shall be leaving for Delhi on the 19th of this month and shall make it a point to discuss this matter with Liaquat Ali.

We all agree that the organization should be set in motion as soon

as possible. It has become all the more necessary as Asaf Ali[2] will soon be in Washington and will do everything possible to deceive not only the U. S. A. but the rest of the world that comes in contact with the U. S. A. into the belief that he actually represents the whole of India and what he says in his official capacity is the truth and nothing but the truth. I have read in the newspapers that you have postponed your return to Bombay by a fortnight or more, because you are still not too fit. Please take complete rest and do not exert yourself until you are fully recovered and strong enough to bear the strain of political activity. I shall be returning to Calcutta on the 22nd instant. It is proposed that the Delegation to the Middle East should leave India in the first week of March. Newspapers today announced that Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is to lead a goodwill mission to the Middle East countries and he is expected to tour the cities and countries that are on our itinerary.

Amir came to Calcutta five days ago and expects to go to Delhi from here within a week. He is well. Nabboo,[3] I am pleased to inform you, is in normal health again. He is contemplating to [*sic*] go outside India at the end of next month. I am sure such a trip will do him good.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Enclosure and Annexure.
[2]The Indian ambassador designate to the US.
[3]Mohammad Amir Haider Khan.

Enclosure to No. 400
M. A. Shamsee to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 309/310-12

500 RIVERSIDE DRIVE,
[NEW YORK,]
3 February 1947

My dear Ispahani Sahib,

Let me congratulate you upon the wise and vital decision of the Working Committee.[1] In view of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's statement,[2] it was the only course left open to us. It is a shame that this statement did not get into the press here. It only proves how urgently we need an Information Centre here.

You are fully aware, I am sure, that the recent developments in India will lead to consequence of international interest. We have already lost a great deal of useful time. Our working will be very well-timed if we utilize this re-awakening of American interest in India to coincide with the establishment of a Muslim Information Centre.

Thus far, it seemed, the only hitch was finding office space. Later explorations into the matter have given an entirely different picture. Mr. Shimp has not been able to find an office yet. However, we can use some temporary address to start with and move into an office as soon as we find one. So we maintain that lack of space is not the most important impediment in starting our work. The problems are financial and legal.

Shimp seems to be apprehensive and reluctant to associate with our work. In all fairness to him, let me mention that soon after your departure from the U. S., American Government was after him, as he puts it. They were eager to find out the nature of his interest and what assistance he gave you and your publication. His lawyer, whose letter is enclosed,[3] has advised him to avoid scrupulously any involvement in political matters. As Mr. Shimp told me during a long conversation, he is in business with India as a country and cannot afford to promote any sectional politics. In fact, he seemed to be worried that the Government could discover, if they wanted to, through inspection of his books and a bank account, a financial relationship. Hence, he suggested that you had better incorporate the Centre through a minimum of three American citizens, preferably Muslim Indians. That, he said, will limit the liability of the person as involved. It is of interest to note that in his letter of January 31, 1947, he says, "failing to find space, cannot you arrange temporary quarters at the home of one of your interested parties? Mr. Ispahani is fretting out the delay and makes it uncomfortable for me." Again, in his letter of February 3, 1947, he states, "our activities have been so numerous and diversified recently, there has been no time available to permit the writer to offer assistance. It seems the location of space, incorporation of Centre, etc., etc., must entirely fall upon you."

In view of the above, I am not quite sure if Mr. Shimp has clearly in mind what you expect of him. It would not be a bad idea if you would call him over the phone and settle the matter once and for all.

Not having received any specific instructions from you, we are still not clear whether the proposed Centre will be publicized as an office of the League or a body set up in the U. S. which "happens" to have a pro-League point of view. This issue has become more

pronounced since Mr. Shimp suggested the incorporation of the Centre. We are waiting for your decision.

If the Centre will belong directly to the League, it will be necessary for you to grant me official authority to establish and direct it. Then, on the basis of that authority, I can register with the American Government.

On the other hand, if the Centre is to be incorporated, its charter can be so drawn, we hope, that the parties to it will, after indicating their desire to inform the American public of the events in India, etc., provide for the appointment of a Director, who will be responsible for the policy and the function of the Centre. This, if legally possible, will serve the dual purpose of (1) protecting the incorporating parties from the consequences of the policies of the Centre and save them the trouble of registering with the Government, and at the same time (2) free[ing] us from any possible interference from the signatories of the Charter. The parties mentioned should not mind it because we do not expect them to invest a penny in this venture. They will only provide us a legal avenue for our work. The Muslim League of India will deal directly with the Director. The League, or any other person in India, can make contributions to the Centre as a token of appreciation of its work. This procedure, I hope, will not cast any unfavourable reflection upon the persons incorporating the Centre. However, we will see a lawyer to clarify these issues.

In connection with the proposed incorporation, we have seen Mr. Kazim who is willing to take part in it and find two other persons for the purpose.

It is necessary to consider carefully the advantages and disadvantages of incorporating the Centre. This method will absolve the League from direct responsibility for the work of the Centre. It will also reduce the personnel [*sic* for personal] liability of those who will actively pursue the policies of the Centre. The League will still have the hold on it through the funds it will grant, and the choice of the person who will direct it.

The disadvantages are equally obvious. We will have to trust the signatories whom we do not know very well. (Do you have any names to suggest? I think if some West Coast names are added to the East Coast names, it will increase the margin of safety. Would you like to write to any of the West Coast Muslims?)

We are eagerly waiting for your quick reply. May again emphasize the need for ascertaining the proper arrangements for the transfer of funds. I hope this will find you in the best of health and spirit. My

salaams to Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui.

Yours sincerely,
MUDDASSIR ALI SHAMSEE

PS. We are in receipt of the pamphlets you have sent for publication here. Thank you. Please let us not have any misunderstanding about Mr. Shimp. I know he is an exceptionally fine fellow. I am on very good terms with him for the last two years and hope to remain so. I am also aware of your relations with him. But I felt duty-bound, in view of the stakes involved, to give you a full account of matters as they stand to enable you to have a complete picture. We, of course, have to make the best of it, but you can help [in] the matter a great deal by touching him on the issues involved. I think long-distance telephone may be a better medium of communication for this purpose than, say, writing. I am sure you will expedite the matter of issuing an authority to us to enable us to function legally.

[1]See Appendix IV. 31.
[2]Appendix IV. 30.
[3]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 400
William M. Pollack to Hayes G. Shimp

F. 309/308-09

22 January 1947

Dear Mr. Shimp,

Over the weeks since brought to my attention, I have given some thought to the matter of Muslim Bureau of Information and would like you to likewise give some thought to the sentiments hereinafter expressed.

Evidently, the Muslim Bureau of Information will be composed of a number of people in this country of recognized financial standing. That being so, it would probably be in order for them to incorporate under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. Otherwise the time might come when the individual members might be called upon to be personally liable for obligations which the organization might incur. By incorporating, no members of the organization would be personally liable and only the corporation itself can be held accountable for any liabilities of the organization.

In view of the fact that the purpose of the organization appears to be that of the dissemination of the "Muslim cause in India and accordingly by its very nature will have to take a factional stand

with respect to political, if not both political and religious problems in that country, it may very well be that the time will come, perhaps not in the immediate future, but nevertheless at some time in the future, when an association, either past, present or future, may become, if not embarrassing, at least undesirable to Americans, other than those of Muslim faith. While I realize that at this time these thoughts may be far-fetched and perhaps never come to pass, nevertheless I feel that they should be presented to you so that you may give the same such consideration as you may deem advisable. I realize and appreciate the fact that Mr. Ispahani, who will probably be a guiding factor in the Muslim Bureau of Information, is a respected and honoured friend and business associate of yours, for whose motives you would gladly vouch. Nevertheless, there undoubtedly will be other members associated with the Bureau whom you may not have met before and whose motives might differ with that [*sic* for those] of Mr. Ispahani and whose actions might cause more scrutinizing inquiry as to the motives of the organization and any of its members. Should such a condition come to pass, it may be that you might at such time prefer not to have been a sponsoring factor for the organization.

I am well aware of the fact that the phrase, "Yours is not to wonder why, yours is but to do or die" equally applies to attorneys who are requested to perform services on behalf of the clients when those services are purely legal and proper. Yet, in view of the sincere relationship that has so long existed between us, I think it incumbent upon me to voice these sentiments so that we might discuss the matter with considerable reflection as to the problems involved.

We can discuss this matter further when I see you tomorrow at lunch.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM. M. POLLACK
Counsellor-at-Law

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/51

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 February 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are some cuttings from the Hindu press.[1] Look how the so-called high-principled Hindu Congress is climbing down in order to get political power in its hands. Gandhi and Nehru who have always condemned the Princes have now quietly consented to come to terms with them. But this is disgraceful wooing, as the *People's Age* puts it. This is all being done to spite the Muslim League. By fair means and [*sic* for or] foul, the Congress people want to prove to the world that they are willing to come to terms with everybody even at the risk of losing its past principles. The Hindu press seems to gloat over the fact that obstacles have been removed!

Here is a cutting on the proposed Sindh University.[2] This gentleman, Ruchi Ram Sahni, is an inveterate enemy of the Muslims. He has been writing articles in the Hindu press on progressive Kashmir. He says that the Hindu Maharaja has raised the status of the Muslim population to a very high level. I have got the cuttings of the articles he wrote. One could only laugh at what he wrote. I had heard that he was paid heavily by the Maharaja for writing those articles. He seems to run down every effort of the Muslims to stand on their own legs. The Hindus are longing to keep the Muslims under their heels and for this reason the Congress is trying to keep the quislings in its fold to cheat the world. It wants to hide the fact that it is a purely Hindu organization.

Look what Gandhi says about Pakistan! How these *Congresswallas* hate the idea of Muslim independence, and he is a votary of Hindu-Muslim unity. What a mockery for him to call Pakistan poisonous. This shows his inner hatred for the Muslims' aspirations. These Hindus are double-dealers in everything. They say something and act differently. Is it not a pity?

League demonstrations continued unabated, though denied in the press. Last evening they arrested a lorry full of people. But I think they take them out 20 miles and leave them there. Today a group of 200 blocked the gates of the Secretariat when Governor Jenkins was

about to go there. They placed themselves in the *namaz* pose and remained there blocking the way of the Governor who could not come. Then they were lifted bodily and put in [to] the lorries and taken away. This is only in two localities of Lahore. The city people demonstrate everywhere.

Pakistan Times is a match for the Hindu press which black out every Muslim news. Now we have headlines of Muslim news, contradicting and criticizing the Hindu view. I do hope the *Pakistan Times* will continue in spite of Mian Iftikharuddin's absence.

Yesterday a Leaguer (a small fry, though) told me that there is some trouble about the payment of twenty thousand rupees to Desmond Young whom Mian Sahib had brought from Karachi for two months. They are uneasy as to who will pay him the sum since Mian Sahib is in jail. I do hope this is not correct, for the Hindus will make a laughing stock of it if by chance the paper stops. Please enquire about this. I am not sure whether this is correct or not. But the League should be sure about it.

There is great uneasiness everywhere about the split in the British Cabinet on the Indian situation. I do hope and pray that God will open the eyes of the Britishers to see justice for the Muslims' cause. The League has clearly pointed out that the Congress has not accepted the Plan when day after day its top-ranking leaders tell Assam, Frontier and even Baluchistan to opt out and make their own constitution. May God bless your efforts to expose the double-dealings of the Hindus.

Hope you are getting stronger daily. Long may you live!

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Harold Macmillan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 799/6-7

PERSONAL/PRIVATE

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
18 February 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am returning to you herewith Professor [Brij] Narain's article,

which I had read with much interest. He certainly puts the matters very clearly and persuasively.

The various papers and pamphlets which you were kind enough to send have arrived. They will be most useful to me.

It was very kind of you to see me yesterday and to give me so much of your time. I shall report faithfully what you said to my colleagues at home. As you can imagine, it makes the whole difference to one's attempt to understand these problems to have the advantage of personal contacts.

With all good wishes,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD MACMILLAN

PS. I should suggest reprinting Professor Narain's article as a pamphlet.

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M. A. Jinnah to Haji Mohamed Sadik

SHC, Sind VIII/86

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
19 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 12th February, 1947,[1] and beg to inform you that a Standing Consultative Committee has been set up by the Sind Assembly Muslim League Party, which consists of five members of the Assembly and you must have seen in yesterday's papers that their names are as follows:

1. Haji Ali Mohammad Kari
2. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali
3. Mr. Anwar Hussain Hidayatullah
4. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Wasan
5. Haji Ali Akbar Shah

I would advise you to place the matter before them to be raised with the Prime Minister [of Sind] or the Minister or Ministers in charge of the department and you can also send a copy to the Prime Minister. I

do hope that your legitimate grievances will receive favourable consideration.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Haji Mohamed Sadik,
S/o Haji Abdul Latif Memon,
P. O. Matiari,
Distt. Hyderabad, Sind

[1]Not traceable.

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Farooqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 678/59

137 GREY STREET, DURBAN,
NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA,
19 February 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed please find herewith a draft for the amount of Rs. 3365-6-0 for the victims of disasters in Bihar and elsewhere. The amount represents remittances received by us direct from the people who, because of their isolated position, could not be approached by any collection committee. I am glad to be able to say that in response to the publicity we gave to your appeal, and the articles we wrote in support thereof, collection committees have been formed in various towns here and they are remitting direct to the Habib Bank. The response, however, is not as enthusiastic as it was at the time of the League Election Fund and this is due primarily to the post-war worsening of conditions in all spheres of business.

I am also enclosing another draft for an amount of 15 pounds sterling which has been sent to us to be forwarded to the Bihar Relief Fund.

Will you please acknowledge on receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
FAROOQI
for the weekly Indian Views

APPENDIX I

FORMATION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

I. 1

Winston S. Churchill to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/28-9

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

CHARTWELL,
WESTERHAM,
KENT,
3 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

1. I received your letter of July 6[1] and, together with my colleagues, have given it most careful consideration.

2. As you know, from my public statements, I am very much opposed to the handing over of India to Hindu caste rule, as seems very largely to be intended, and I have always strongly espoused the rights of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes to their fair share of life and power. I feel that it is most important that British arms should not be used to dominate the Muslims, even though the Caste- Hindus might claim a numerical majority in a constituent assembly.

3. I was, however, surprised to read all the insulting things that were said about Britain at the Muslim Congress in Bombay, and how the Muslims of India were described as "under-going British slavery". All this is quite untrue and very ungrateful. It also seems to be an act of great unwisdom on the part of the Muslims. The tendencies here to support the Congress are very strong in the Government party, and you are driving away your friends. I am sorry to see you taking up an attitude towards Great Britain which cannot be reconciled with your letter to me asking for help.

4. Having got out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, India will be thrown into great confusion, and will have no means of defence against infiltration or invasion from the North.

5. I shall be glad to hear from you[2].

Yours faithfully,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

[1]Not traceable. However, see Appendix I. 54, note 6, Vol. XIII, 490.

[2]Jinnah replied on 22 August expressing surprise at the contents of para 3 and saying even Churchill, who was then the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, did not have a full grasp of the situation in India. See No. 46.

I. 2

Interview given by M. A. Jinnah

F. 113/43-9

BOMBAY,
4 August 1946

Mr. Jinnah said:[1] Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in a recent speech on the Congress Working Committee's resolution at Delhi on June 26[2] and the AICC at Bombay on July 7,[3] to quote his words, said, "accepted the full responsibility of the declaration. The Working Committee's resolution said clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16.[4] It still stood by it. Certainly it had the right to interpret the document." This is misleading. The document embodied four main proposals.

First, the declaration which alone, he says, the Congress has accepted. The basic form and the grouping of the provinces in paragraph 19 of the document and the formation of the Interim Government, have not been accepted by the Congress. And this is clear from the letter of the Congress President of June 25[5] whereby the Congress rejected the statement of June 16[6] regarding the Interim Government and only accepted the statement of May 16 with reservations and with their own interpretations.

This being a conditional acceptance was in fact and in law a rejection of the statement of May 16. The letter winds up by saying: "We also gave our interpretation to some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views we accepted your proposals and are prepared to be working with a view to achieve our objective."

The resolution of the Working Committee proceeds to lay down that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central Government and for fully ensuring the right of provinces to act according to its choice in regard to Grouping.

Congress leaders have said at the AICC that they have not accepted the Long-term Plan of the Cabinet Mission as it was and that they have rejected the Short-term [Plan] of June 16, and now Mr. Patel has the audacity to say that the League has gone back on its pledged word.

To whom did we pledge our word and to what had we pledged our word? One of the two major parties has not accepted the Long-term Plan and rejected the Short-term Plan and this was pointed out by

me immediately by my Press Statements that I made at Delhi on June 27[7] and 29[8] and also by the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee passed on June 26[9] accepting both.

I had pointed out that the Congress had not accepted the Long-term Plan and rejected the short-term Interim Government proposal. The Cabinet Mission had scrapped the Interim Government proposal and had gone back on their word. We, therefore, decided to call a meeting of All India Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 27 and 28 to consider and meet the new situation that had arisen, to which Pandit Nehru retorted that the Congress would create many more new situations. In the meantime, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, including Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel himself, made it clear in their speeches and public utterances in Bombay that the Congress had not accepted any of the terms of the statement of May 16 or committed [itself] to anything.

Further, on July 10 Pandit Nehru, the Congress President, made it crystal clear to a Press Conference[10] and the Assam Assembly, in accordance with the instructions of the Congress high command, after having elected their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, gave them a definite mandate to have nothing to do with "C" Group from the very start, although there was a very strong opposition to this from the representatives of the minorities, including Muslims, but it was carried by an overwhelming Congress majority.

Further, at a public meeting[11] in Delhi on July 22 [20], Pandit Nehru reiterated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and to serve their purpose and if they failed they would kill it.

This was after the debate[12] that took place in Parliament on July 18. This left no doubt that the Congress was going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective as has been repeatedly stated in the letter and the resolution of the Congress.

It made its intentions clear that it was not bound by the grouping nor were they confined strictly to the basic form of the document and unequivocally asserted that they were free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union and add as many subjects as they may wish to do to the Union Government.

We know what is the objective and purpose of the Congress. The Congress believes that they have secured a declaration from the British Government of complete independence of India outside the Commonwealth of Nations and that this constitution-making machinery should be turned into a Sovereign body and the only thing for them [that] now remains is to frame a Constitution on the basis of a

strong United India Federal Government with vital powers and subjects such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Customs, Finance, Commerce, Planning, Industry and Tariff, and further with power to step in if a constitution of any provincial government was not working according to their conception, thus reducing the provinces to a position no better than municipalities or county councils.

Mr. Patel says that no individual statement or expression of opinion could alter the solemn resolution and the resolution is clear. But are we to disregard the pronouncement of the President of the Congress when he further clarifies a resolution? Then what importance are we to attach to individual pronouncements like Mr. Patel's?

Mr. Patel says: "The League and the Congress pull in opposite directions. One wants to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a United India. It was clear," Mr. Patel adds, that "the two have no common meeting ground and that coalition between the Congress and the League was impossible for the organizations holding views which were diametrically opposed to each other."

But when we demand Pakistan and divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan, our scheme gives freedom and independence to both the major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—whereas the Congress and Mr. Patel are adamant and wish to establish a United India with a strong Federal Central Government, which means that hundred million Muslims are to be brought under the yoke of Caste-Hindu majority rule and it means freedom only for the Hindus and slavery for Muslims under Hindu *raj*. How can then there be a common meeting ground on this basis for which, I have no doubt, many Caste-Hindus passionately yearn and Mr. Patel dreams?

Having declared that we stand poles asunder, Mr. Patel advises me that I should change my approach and cease to be a communalist and become a nationalist—I suppose he means a Congress nationalist—and accept that the Congress represents all India, on the imaginary footing that India was one country and one nation. Whereas the facts are that the Congress is nothing but a Caste-Hindu organisation.

But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should bury the Pakistan demand, disown the Muslim nation and appear before him in sack-cloth and ashes, and after that, when we have entirely thrown ourselves at their mercy, we can have as many seats in the proposed Executive as we like, as their creatures.

Mr. Patel is speaking in terms of contradiction [*sic*]. On [the] one hand, he says there is no meeting-ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder, but on the other hand, he says that the

Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times. This, of course, is not true. I have never deigned to go to them. The truth is that three times in the course of the last eight years Mr. Gandhi came to me with a view to persuade me to accept the Congress demands which I could not.

Does Mr. Patel want me to go to the Congress to persuade them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in his speech as a "deflated cycle tube". Last time when Mr. Gandhi came to me he came only in his individual capacity to understand what the Pakistan demand meant, and I spent three weeks with him to convert him but I failed[13].

This sort of talk is really intended to poison the mind of the Hindus and Mr. Patel is only suffering from an inferiority complex. At Simla when it was arranged that Nehru and I should meet, I asked him where we can meet and he himself said, "I shall go over to you". When we met on May 11 during the conference[14] time I pleaded before him for one and a half hour and appealed to him to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan but he was adamant.

Before parting with me I cautioned him that he should not be poisoned by taunts that he had come to my place and that I was not willing to go to his place. The place really does not matter, and it is so petty to trot this out in a manner which Mr. Patel has done. I told Pandit Nehru that if after consulting his colleagues he wished to discuss the matter on the basis of Pakistan and gave me an appointment, I would gladly go to his place or anybody else's place that he may wish.

Mr. Patel makes a passionate appeal; after having made it clear that there was no meeting-ground, he invites me to sit with the Congress as 'brothers' and join them to break the statement of the Mission. Well, we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress, if we are keen upon freedom. And finally, he says, "When we have sat as brothers and if there is no agreement possible let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by the award of the arbitrator."

This proposal is made again to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory but the Muslim League is intransigent. Mr. Patel knows perfectly well and I have pointed out more than once that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims which is their birth-right and it is not and cannot be a justiciable issue on principle alone. It is absurd to say that this matter particularly be referred to arbitration.

Even on practical grounds who will select the arbitrators and who will enforce their award? No country can run its government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. For this very reason the Congress and the Muslim League had demanded Constituent Assemblies of the representatives of the peoples to frame the Constitution.

Is Patel really serious? Then why talk of the Constituent Assembly and why not refer the whole matter regarding the entire framing of the constitution to the arbitration of a few?

Therefore, the proposal of arbitration is ludicrous. Mr. Patel knows better than anybody else that it could not be accepted, both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

Mr. Patel has now become the champion of the British whom he says I have traduced, and complains that I have abused the Congress. He does not specify what are those abuses. I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all India, including Muslims, which certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress.

The Congress has made every effort to mislead people here and abroad, aided with [*sic* for by] its vast and powerful press and organisation, and has accused me and the Muslim League that we are a tool in the hands of British Imperialism and not a day passes when the Congress press does not abuse the League and myself.

There are many inaccuracies in Mr. Patel's statement and they are merely intended as propaganda for the Congress, and to mislead the people abroad by passing off that theirs was a conciliatory attitude whereas the League was intransigent—API.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 183-92.
[2]Ibid., 631-3.
[3]Ibid., 622.
[4]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[5]Annex II to Appendix I. 41, ibid., 466-70.
[6]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, ibid., 445-6.
[7]Appendix I. 45, ibid., 473-7.
[8]Appendix I. 53, ibid., 486-9.
[9]Enclosure to Appendix I. 41, ibid., 460-61.
[10]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 859-66.
[11]Ibid., 866-72.
[12]See Appendix I to No.317, *TP*, VIII, 515-6 and Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 817-35.
[13]See No.177, Vol. XI, 195-6.
[14]See Enclosure & Annex to Appendix I. 16, Vol. XIII, 403-7.

I. 3

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/21

PERSONAL/SECRET [BY HAND]

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
8 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of the 31st July[1] about my proposal for an Interim Government.

2. I am sorry that things have gone the way they have, but I do not think it would be profitable now to enter into a detailed discussion of the points you raised in your letter. I will only remind you that the basis of representation which I suggested in the letter to which you now reply is the same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely 6:5:3.

3. In view of the League resolution of the 29th July[2] I have now decided to invite[3] the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government, and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition, I can rely on you for a ready response. I have told the President of the Congress that any Interim Government would be on the basis of the assurances given in my letter of the 30th May[4] to Maulana Azad.

I hope we may have an opportunity of meeting soon.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I.58, Vol. XIII, 498-500.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I.57, ibid., 494-8.
[3]See No.118, *TP*, VIII, note 5, 188.
[4]No. 409, ibid., VII, 738-9.

I. 4

Note by M. A. Jinnah

F. 918/322-5

[*12 August 1946*]

The entire scheme consisted of the Long-term Plan Statement of the 16th of May[1] and the Short-term proposal of [25th of May][2] setting

up the Interim Government and these two formed integral parts of the whole scheme being interdependent and indivisible. The Muslim League accepted both whereas the Congress rejected the Interim proposal of 16th June[3] and accepted conditionally, with reservations and their own interpretations, the Statement of 16 May.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy scrapped the Interim Government proposal of 16th of June and treated the Congress decision communicated to them on 25th[4] and 26th[5] of June wrongly as acceptance. The so-called acceptance was in fact a rejection.

After that the Viceroy declined to postpone the elections of the Constituent Assembly on the plea that arrangements for it had gone far too ahead. Although the arrangements with regard to the Interim Government were complete and the resignations of his then members of the Executive Council were held by him and according to the Statement of 16th of June the Interim Government was to be set up on or about the 26th of June, yet it was scrapped. After this the Muslim League was free to take such decision as they thought proper as the entire basis had fallen through. It was only the Council of the All India Muslim League that could finally have decided our attitude. In these circumstances we summoned the Council of the All India Muslim League at Bombay on 27-29th July[6] and they decided to withdraw our acceptance formally.

In the meantime we decided to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly in order to prevent undesirable people getting in as Muslim representatives and we captured 95 per cent Muslim seats. Meanwhile, before the Council of the All India Muslim League met, Congress leaders, including the President, in their speeches at the All India Congress Committee meeting on the 6th[7] and 7th [8] of July made their pronouncement which created grave apprehensions in the League circles and were expressed by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of All India Muslim League, in his statement[9] from Delhi and by me in my Statement from Hyderabad on the 13th of July,[10] notably with regard to the pronouncement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 10th of July[11] at a Press Conference which left no doubt as to the intentions of the Congress. Both these Statements were broadcast in the Press by news agencies. The debate in the Parliament which took place on the 18th of July[12] showed that the British Government approved of the scrapping of the Interim Government by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy and paid no attention whatever to the new situation that had arisen, not only by the pronouncements, clarifications and interpretations given by the

Congress leaders, which were published throughout the country, but also by the fact that the Assam Assembly under the instructions of the Congress high command, while electing the Assam representatives to the Constituent Assembly, had passed a Resolution[13] giving a mandate not only to the Congress members but also to the representatives of the Musalmans elected by a separate bloc of Muslim members, to have nothing to do with the "C" Group from the very start. This clearly repudiated one of the fundamental terms of the Statement of 16th of May and this is an instance of how the majority acted although it is highly doubtful whether the Assam Assembly was competent to give such a mandate to the representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

The latest Resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on the 10th of August[14] does not carry us anywhere, because it is only a repetition of the Congress stand taken by them from the very beginning only in a different language and phraseology. This is what they say with regard to their decision on the Long-term Plan:

> The Committee have noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety.[15]

The Resolution further continues:

> They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principle laid down in that statement.[16]

Therefore, to start with, they are free to resolve the inconsistency and fill in the omissions. How can that be in accordance with the principle laid down in that Statement? What is the inconsistency and what are those omissions? The Resolution proceeds further and says:

> They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not.[17]

Therefore, they maintain that it is open to the Congress to decide whether any particular province could join the Group or not. But they go on to say:

> Questions of interpretation will be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives to the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly.[18]

Who will decide this question of interpretations and by what

procedure, and where is the procedure laid dawn in the Statement for the purpose of interpreting the Statement or any clause thereof except by the brute majority? The Resolution then goes on further:

> The Committee have emphasised the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is the right to function and draw up the constitution for India without the interference of any external power or authority. But the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will therefore seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the constitution of free India, allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.[19]

Therefore, it is obvious that they still hold that this Constitution-making machinery is a sovereign Constituent Assembly but they resent any interference of any external power and authority. Whoever has suggested it and where has it been suggested? The question is how this Assembly will function and they make it clear that it will do so with internal limitations which are inherent in its task. What are the internal limitations in the Statement of May 16th which could not be overruled by a sovereign Constituent Assembly? If any decisions are taken by this Assembly which are repugnant, *ultra vires* or incompetent for the Assembly to adopt what is the check provided for it either internally or externally except again the brute majority in the Assembly?

I need not deal with the rest of the Resolution which is nothing but verbiage and an appeal to the League to join the battle of India's independence. But there is no doubt left as to India's independence now because the Statement of May 16th, at any rate, makes it clear on the part of the British and Mr. Patel himself in his recent speech[20] in Bombay said there was no need any longer to fight the British and that the only revolution that was needed was internal revolution. With whom does the Congress ask to join hands and for what purpose?

Curiously enough I saw in the Press that Mr. Gandhi in a recent interview[21] is reported to have said that the proposed Constituent Assembly is an effective substitute for civil disobedience of constructive type. So Mr. Gandhi is sending his followers into the Constituent Assembly to try Constitutional Disobedience and they are going there to non-cooperate.

I am afraid the situation remains as it was and we are there where we were.[22]

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[2]Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, ibid., 445-6.
[4]Annex II to Appendix I. 41, ibid., 466-70.
[5]See Annex to Appendix I. 45 and No. 612, *TP*, VII, 1050-2.
[6]See Resolution No.1 in Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[7]See Appendix II to No. 317, *TP*, VIII, 517.
[8]See S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. XV, New Delhi, 1982, 236-9.
[9]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, note 1, 198.
[10]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2330-3.
[11]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 241-8.
[12]See Appendix I to No. 317, *TP*, VIII, 515-7.
[13]See Enclosure to No. 44, ibid., 76-8.
[14 to 19]See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish*, Vol. XII, New Delhi, 1981, 509-11.
[20]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 181-4, note 2.
[21]See interview to Louis Fischer by M. K. Gandhi, 17 July 1946, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. LXXXV, New Delhi, 1982, 7.
[22]Also see Statement by Jinnah in Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 194-202.

I. 5

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/76

WARDHA,
13 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you know, the Viceroy has invited[1] me, in my capacity as President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government. I have accepted[2] this invitation. I feel that my first step should be to approach you and seek your cooperation in the formation of a Coalition Provisional Government. It is naturally our desire to have as representative a government as possible. Should you wish to discuss this matter further with me, before coming to a decision, I shall gladly see you in Bombay or wherever you may be. I am leaving Wardha on the 14th and reaching Bombay on the 15th August forenoon. Probably I shall leave Bombay for Delhi on the morning of August 17th.

My address in Bombay will be: Sakina Mansion, 20 Carmichael

Road. I would appreciate a line in reply sent to that address.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]See No. 118, *TP*, VIII, note 5, 188.
[2]See No. 138, ibid., 218-9.

I. 6

M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 20/25

15 August 1946

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I received your letter dated the 13th[1] yesterday delivered to me by hand.

I know nothing as to what has transpired between the Viceroy and you, nor have I any idea of what arrangement has been arrived at between you two, except that you say in your letter that the Viceroy has invited you, in your capacity as the President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of the Interim Government and that you have accepted the invitation.

If this means that the Viceroy has commissioned you to form the Executive Council of the Governor-General and has already agreed to accept and act upon your advice and proceed to constitute his fill up [*sic*] Executive accordingly, it is not possible for me to accept such position on that basis.

However, if you care to meet me on behalf of the Congress to settle the Hindu-Muslim question and resolve the serious deadlock, I shall be glad to see you today at 6 p.m.

The substance of your letter, unfortunately, has already appeared in the Press even before I received it. May I, therefore, request you to release this letter of mine also to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Sakina Mansion,
20 Carmichael Road,
Bombay

[1]Appendix I. 5.

I. 7

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/23-4

20 CARMICHAEL ROAD,
BOMBAY,
15 August 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter[1] of today's date which was delivered to me at about 1 p.m.

Nothing has transpired between me and the Viceroy except what has already been published. There is no arrangement other than what is contained in his brief offer and our acceptance. That offer, made by the Viceroy with the concurrence of the British Government, is for us to make proposals for the formation immediately of an Interim Government. The Executive Council of the Governor-General has not been mentioned as such. It is understood, as stated in the published correspondence between the Congress President and the Viceroy, that the Interim Government will have the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of this country.

Since this brief offer was made and we accepted it, I have had no opportunity to meet the Viceroy or discuss the matter with him more fully. I hope to do so within the next two or three days. It was our wish, however, that I might approach you first and invite your cooperation. We are naturally anxious to form a Government, which will be as representative as possible, in order to deal with the urgent problems facing this country.

In your letter you state that you are unable to accept the position as it appears to you. I regret this. Perhaps on fuller consideration of the position you would be agreeable to reconsider your decision. If so we would welcome it. For this purpose I shall gladly see you, if you so desire.

As regards the general Hindu-Muslim question, we are always prepared to discuss this and try to find a way out. Just at present we are immediately concerned with the formation of the Provisional Government and circumstances demand that early steps should be taken in regard to it. We hope that a Coalition Provisional Government will itself help in the consideration and solution of our problems. While I am willing to discuss the larger question with you, I have no new

suggestions to make. Perhaps you may be able to suggest a new approach.

I am prepared to come to your place at 6 p.m. this evening or, if it is more convenient to you, some time tomorrow. I am leaving Bombay on the 17th morning.

My letter to you was not sent to the Press. I made a brief statement to the Press, however, in view of repeated questions put to me by newspapermen, and in order to prevent misconceptions. If you so desire, you can release all this correspondence to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]Appendix I. 6.

I. 8

M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 20/22

15 August 1946

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] of August 15, delivered to me at about 3:30 p.m. and I thank you for it.

I have already made my position clear in my letter dated the 15th of August[2] sent to you this morning. But as you have given certain explanations, with some of which I must not be taken to agree, and as you desire to meet me, I shall be glad to see you today at 6 p.m.

I agree with you that in order to prevent misconceptions in the mind of the public our correspondence should be published, and accordingly I am releasing it to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
20 Carmichael Road
Bombay

[1]Appendix I. 7
[2]Appendix I. 6

I. 9

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/35-6(a)

11 OLD SQUARE,
LINCOLN'S INN, [LONDON] W.C.2,
16 August 1946

My dear Jinnah,

This is not a political but a purely personal letter which I know from my previous relationship with you, you will respect as strictly private and confidential.

From some of your public utterances[1] which have been reinforced recently from private sources[2] reaching me from India, I gather that you feel that not only did I commit a breach of faith towards you but that I was guilty of personal discourtesy to you when we met at the Viceroy's house on the late after-noon of June 25.[3]

Perhaps some day we may be able to clear up the former point—especially if you ever come to England and we meet personally, but it is the latter that I should like to dispose of in this letter.

My own recollection of the interivew[4] is that there were pretty harsh things said on both sides—not surprising perhaps after weeks of discussion and controversy in the gruelling heat of New Delhi—, but if our political duel was exacerbated by any remarks of mine which could be construed as personally discourteous, I should greatly regret it, for in all our interchanges while we were often in acute disagreement in our representative capacities our personal relationship had always been friendly.

The issues at stake in India are so fraught with good or ill for millions of people that it would be tragic if any hasty words were to make them more difficult of solution.[5]

Sincerely yours,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]The latest of these was made during the All India Muslim League Council meeting on 27-29 July 1946. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 544-50, & 560-5.
[2]See No.108, *TP*, VIII, 174-5.
[3&4]Annex I to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 461-5.
[5]See Appendix I. 12 for Jinnah's reply.

I. 10

M. A. Jinnah to Clement R. Attlee

F. 20/33

31 August 1946

Dear Mr. Attlee,

I am in receipt of your letter of 23rd July 1946,[1] and I thank you for it.

All that I can say and do now is to send you further materials for your information as to what has happened since I received your letter of 23rd July 1946.

It is for you now to do what you think proper.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Rt. Hon'ble Clement R. Attlee,[2]
Prime Minister of Great Britain,
Whitehall, London

Enclosures:

1. Jinnah's statement of 25.8.1946.
2. Jinnah's statement of 26.8.1946.
3. Jinnah's *'Id* message of 29.8.1946.
4. Jinnah's speech of 30.8.1946.

[1]Appendix I. 56, Vol. XIII, 492-3.
[2]Acknowledged by J. M. Addis, Attlee's Junior Private Secretary, on 16 September. See F. 676/61, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

BOMBAY,
25 August 1946

Following the announcement about the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy between July 22 and August 8. In a statement releasing the correspondence Mr. Jinnah says:

It is to be regretted that the Viceroy, in his broadcast[2] last night,

should have made such a misleading statement and contrary to facts that though five seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible to secure a coalition.

"The truth is that the Viceroy wrote to me on 22 July[3] making certain proposals which were vitally and substantially different from the Interim Government proposals embodied in the statement of 16th June[4] and the assurances given to the Muslim League, enclosing a copy of a similar letter addressed by him to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This was on the eve of the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the Viceroy knew full well that a grave situation had been created and that [there] were serious apprehensions and misgivings about the policy of His Majesty's Government and his attitude in the matter.

"Nevertheless, there is not a single word in his letter of 22nd July with regard to our position vis-a-vis the Constituent Assembly in the light of the decision of the Congress, the pronouncements of the Congress leaders and the directive given by the Assam Assembly to Assam's representatives on the Constituent Assembly to have nothing to do with the "C" Group.[5]

DEPARTURE FROM PROPOSALS

"I replied to the Viceroy on the 31st July,[6] clearly stating our position with regard to his new move which was obviously intended to meet the Congress wishes, for else what justification was there for him to depart even from the final proposals embodied in the Statement of June 16? Will the Viceroy explain why should there be any departure from those proposals and the assurances that were given to us and for whose advantage is this new move being made by him?

"I received a reply from him dated the 8th of August[7] acknowledging my letter of 31st July; it is amazing that he should have stated therein that his suggestion in his letter of 22nd July was the same as the one Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely 6:5:3.

This is entirely incorrect as has been already pointed out by me in my letter of 31st July. He further says:

"In view of the League resolution of the 29th July,[8] I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government, and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to

you of a coalition I can rely on you for a ready response."

A MERE FORMALITY

"I had, and have, no knowledge or information as to what actually transpired between the Congress and the Viceroy but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I suppose as arranged, came to see me on the 15th of August. It was merely a formality and he made his offer. That the Congress were willing to give out of 14, five seats to the Muslim League and the remaining 9 were to be nominated by them, including one Muslim of their choice; that he is not forming the Executive Council under the present constitution but a Provisional National Government responsible to the present Legislative Assembly; and he made it clear in his letter of 15th August in reply to mine of the same date that while he was willing to discuss the larger question with me, he had no new suggestion to make and added, 'perhaps you may be able to make a new approach and when I did make a suggestion, he turned it down saying that the Congress stand was the same as laid down in their resolution of Delhi passed on June 26[9] and that the Wardha resolution of August 10[10] had only re-affirmed that stand, and this was repeated by him at the Press conference on 16th August[11] before his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy:

NOT ACCEPTABLE

"I informed Pandit Nehru that in these circumstances there was no chance of the Working Committee or the Council of the All India Muslim League accepting his proposals.

"Thereafter the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru, and the Congress leaders have now for nearly a week carried on their discussions and negotiations behind my back and without any knowledge or information being furnished to me, except the communique that was issued last night announcing the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast.

"As the Viceroy has already disclosed the alleged offer without stating what reply he had received from me, I am herewith releasing the correspondence:

Letter from Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, dated 22 July 1946 [*See Appendix I. 55*]

Letter from M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, dated 31 July 1946 [*See Appendix I. 58*]

Letter from Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, dated 8 July 1946 [*See Appendix II. 3*]

As regards the rest of the broadcast I shall deal with it[12] as soon as

possible after the full text of it is available to me—A.P.I.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements,* IV, 2387-94.
[2]Annex.
[3]Appendix I. 55, Vol. XIII, 491-2.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, ibid., 445-6.
[5]See No. 55, *TP,* VIII, 76-8.
[6]Appendix I. 58, Vol. XIII, 498-500.
[7]Appendix I. 3.
[8]Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[9]See Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 478-9.
[10]See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *Encyclopaedia of Indian National Congress,* XII, 1981, 509-11.
[11]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works,* XV, 287-92.
[12]See Enclosure 2.

Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10
Broadcast by Archibald Wavell

F.20/31

NEW DELHI,
24 August 1946

You will have heard the announcement of the names of the members[1] of the new Interim Government which will come into office very shortly. You will, I am sure, all realise that a very momentous step forward has been taken on India's road to freedom. Some of you who listen to me may feel, however, that the step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. It is to these that I want principally to address myself tonight.

You who are opposed to the formation of the new Government are not, I assume, opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government, namely to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. You will also, I think, all agree that we need at once a Government of Indians as representative as possible of political opinion in the country. This is what I set out to secure, but though 5 seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible at present to secure a coalition. No one could be sorrier about the failure than I am. No one could be more sure that it is a coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented that is needed at this moment in the interests of all parties and communities in India. This

is a view which I know that the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his colleagues hold as strongly as I do. His efforts like mine will still be directed to persuading the League to join the Government.

Let me state clearly the offer which has been made and is still open to the Muslim League. They can propose to me five names for places in a Government of 14, of which 6 will be nominees of Congress and three will be representatives of the Minorities. Provided these names are acceptable to me and approved by His Majesty, they will be included in the Government, which will at once be re-formed. The Muslim League need have no fear of being out-voted on any essential issue; a Coalition Government can only exist and function on the condition that both main parties to it are satisfied. I will see that the most important portfolios are equitably shared. I sincerely trust that the League will reconsider their policy and decide to participate in the Government.

Meanwhile, however, the administration of India has to go on, and there are large issues which must be decided. I am glad that the representatives of a very large body of political opinion in the country will be my colleagues in carrying on the government. I welcome them to my Council. I am also glad that the Sikhs have now decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly and in the Interim Government. I have no doubt that their decision is a wise one.

As I have already made clear, I shall implement fully His Majesty's Government's policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country. In the field of provincial autonomy, of course, the Provincial Governments have a very wide sphere of authority in which the Central Government cannot intervene. My new Government will not have any power or indeed any desire to trespass on the field of provincial administration.

The recent terrible occurrences in Calcutta have been a sobering reminder that a much greater measure of toleration is essential if India is to survive the transition to freedom. I appeal most earnestly not only to sober citizens but to the young and to the discontented to recognize that no conceivable good either to themselves or to their community or to India can come either from violent words or from violent deeds. It is essential that in all Provinces law and order is maintained, that the protection of the ordinary peaceable citizen is assured with a firm but impartial hand, and that no community is oppressed.

The Army had to be called in at Calcutta to restore order and rightly so. But I must remind you that to suppress civil disturbances is not the normal duty of the Army but that of the Provincial Governments.

The use of the Army is a last resource only. A general recognition of this basic principle is essential both from the point of view of the civil population and of the Army itself. I have heard much praise of the discipline and efficiency of the troops employed in Calcutta; and will add here my own tribute of admiration to my own service, for their behaviour in a duty which is the most exacting and unpleasant on which troops can be employed.

The War Member in the new Government will be an Indian, and this is a change which both the Commander-in-Chief and I warmly welcome. But the constitutional position of the Armed Forces is in no way changed. They still owe allegiance, in accordance with their oath, to the King Emperor, to whom and to Parliament I am still responsible.

In spite of all immediate appearances I believe there is yet a chance of agreement between the two principal parties. I am quite sure that there is a very large body of opinion in both parties and of non-party men who would welcome such an agreement, and I hope they will all work for it. I would appeal also to the Press to use its very great influence on the side of moderation and compromise. Remember, the Interim Government can be reformed tomorrow if the League decides to come in. Meanwhile it will administer in the interests of the country as a whole and not of any one party or creed.

It is desirable also that the work of the Constituent Assembly should begin as early as possible. I can assure the Muslim League that the procedure laid down in the Statement of May 16th regarding the framing of Provincial and Group Constitutions will be faithfully adhered to; that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's statement of 16th May or of a decision on a main communal issue, without a majority of both major communities; and that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. I sincerely trust that the Muslim League will reconsider their decision not to take part in a plan which promises to give them so wide a field in which to protect the interests and to decide the future of the Muslims of India.

We have come to another critical and solemn issue in the affairs of India. Never were tolerance and soberness in thought and action more necessary; never were the wild speaking and rash deeds of a few fraught with greater danger for so many millions. Now is the time for all Indians in any authority, with any influence, to show by their good sense and restraint that they are worthy of their country,

and that their country is worthy of the freedom it is to receive.

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Sarat Chandra Bose, Chakaravarti Rajagopalachari, Jagjivan Ram, M.Asaf Ali, Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Syed Ali Zaheer, Sardar Baldev Singh, Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha and John Matthai.

Enclosure 2 to Appendix I. 10

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

BOMBAY,
26 August 1946

My reaction to the Viceroy's broadcast[2] is that he has struck a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India, but I am sure that the Muslims of India will bear this with fortitude and courage and learn lessons from our failure to secure our just and honourable position in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

I once more repeat my question. Why has the Viceroy gone back on what was announced in the Statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy[3] on June 16 as final, and the assurances given to the Muslim League in his letter, dated June 20?[4] What has happened between June 16 and July 22 that he was pleased to change that formula vitally and substantially, and what has happened between July 22 and August 24 that he has gone ahead and jammed in a one-party government.

He says in his broadcast that he was addressing those who advised him that this step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. I was one of those unfortunate persons and I still maintain that the step he has taken is most unwise and unstatesmanlike and is fraught with dangerous and serious consequences and he has only added insult to injury by nominating three Muslims[5] who, he knows, do not command either the respect or confidence of Muslim India, and two more Muslim names still remain to be announced.

SAME OLD REFRAIN

He is still harping that we are not opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. Of course, we are not opposed to the freedom of the peoples of India and we have made it clear that the only solution of India's problem is a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, which would mean real freedom for the two major nations, and every possible safeguard for the minorities in the respective States.

I am sorrier that [*sic* for than] the Viceroy about his failure to secure a Coalition Government but my sorrow springs from a different fountain and for different reasons from those of his. I am glad that the Viceroy realises that what is needed is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented, and I am glad that he is also speaking on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress that they hold this view as strongly as he does and that their effort will be directed to persuade the League to join the Government. I do not know what the Viceroy means when he says, in his broadcast, of his offer that has been made and which is still open. It is so vague except that the Muslim League will have five seats. Nothing else is clearly stated.

He has referred to many other things, into which I need not go at present. As regards the Constituent Assembly, I do not know what he means when he says, "Here again let me remind you that assurances have been given to the League that the procedure laid down in the Statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to". It is not a procedure, it is fundamental and basic. The question is whether it can be changed in any way whatsoever.

Then he proceeds to say that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Statement of May 16 and he echoes that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS

But how can he expect an agreement on the terms and fundamentals of the Statement of May 16 when one party puts one interpretation contrary to the authoritative Statement of the Mission dated May 25[6] and the other party puts a different interpretation which is more in accord with the Statement of May 25, but he complacently goes on to say that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

To begin with, there is no provision for such a dispute being referred to the Federal Court, and secondly, on the very threshold the parties fundamentally differ in their interpretations regarding the basic terms. Are we going to commence the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly with litigation and law suits in the Federal Court? Is this the spirit in which the future constitution can be framed affecting four hundred million people of this sub-continent?

If the Viceroy's appeal is really sincere and if he is in earnest, he

should translate it into concrete proposals and his deed and actions.[6]

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2395-7.
[2]Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10.
[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol XIII, 419-29.
[4]Appendix I. 37, ibid., 457-8.
[5]See note 2 above.
[6]Appendix I. 22, Vol. XIII, 434-6. Also see F. 20/30 & 32, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure 3 to Appendix I. 10

'Id Message by M. A. Jinnah[1]

BOMBAY,
28 August 1946

On this most auspicious and happy occasion, I wish all Musalmans *'Id Mubarak*, happiness and prosperity.

The sacred month of Ramazan is just over and the Muslims have gone through its regime of the most trying nature and rigours prescribed with patience and confidence. It is a great institution in itself and it teaches the Musalmans that without undergoing hardships, toil and trouble and without making sacrifices, it is impossible for one to achieve one's objective, and for we, Muslims of India, there is much to learn from the regime laid down for *Ramazan*.

We have now to grip [*sic* for come to grips] with realities and I appeal to the Musalmans to organize, consolidate and co-ordinate all our activities and forces as one solid and disciplined nation and be ready to face all eventualities. There is no royal road to freedom except by suffering and sacrifice and by removing all obstacles in our way. I want every Musalman, man, woman and child, to resolve on this auspicious day to work as disciplined soldiers in every department of life, educational, social, economical [*sic*] and political, and thus build up for our nation of hundred million people, a place worthy of our glorious past and historic traditions.

HORIZON IS DARK FOR US

Today the horizon is dark for us. The doings of the British Government and the Viceregal Lodge are shrouded in mystery; we are vilified, misrepresented and threatened from every direction and the Viceroy has gone headlong and seems to be persistent in his career in a manner which is reckless and irresponsible. The Muslim League is ignored and bypassed: tremendous false propaganda is carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League, for which there is not an iota of

justification; the Viceroy and the British Government have surrendered to the Congress and it only remains for them now frankly to make a declaration that they have abdicated and are about to hand over to the Fascist Caste-Hindu Congress the Government of this sub-continent.

THE TEST OF THE FIRE

The British public is kept in darkness and Parliament in recess. This has created a very grave and dangerous situation for us and we must face it as a united nation and go through the test and fire of being suppressed, oppressed and persecuted. I am confident that if hundred million Muslims stand united, all the manoeuvres, machinations and designs of our opponents will fail miserably and we shall emerge out of this struggle triumphantly and shall achieve Pakistan which is our only salvation and without which we perish.

We have argued; we have reasoned; we have supplicated and we have made great concessions but all to no purpose. There remains in front of us a grim struggle and we must face it boldly and courageously but in a disciplined and organised manner and our failure or setback should not make us despair; nor should our success elate us. Our demands are just and righteous and we cannot fail.

RALLY ROUND MUSLIM LEAGUE

I appeal to every Musalman at this critical juncture to rally round the Muslim League unreservedly, especially after what has happened during the last few months. Let there be no fratricidal war among Muslims and let us stand as one united nation under one flag and on one platform and be determined and prepared to face the worst as a completely united and great people with our motto: unity, faith and discipline. God is with us and we are bound to succeed.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2397-9.

Enclosure 4 to Appendix I. 10

Speech by M. A. Jinnah[1]

BOMBAY,
30 August 1946

An appeal to all Muslims in the country and particularly to those who are not with Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khaksars, Ahrars and Nationalist Muslims to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam was made by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, addressing an *'Id* gathering here today. The Quaid-i-Azam asks every

Musalman of India to realize the grave situation that had arisen today and close their ranks and stand united from one end of the country to the other. He asked them to prepare and organize themselves because, he said, "Our opponents think we are not sufficiently strong to face the situation. We must make them realize their folly that they have misjudged the Musalmans of India." The League President declared: "I have no doubt that if the Muslims of India stand united and strong, all diabolical conspiracies of our opponents will fail. Our cause is righteous and God is with us. The hundred million Muslims of India cannot be crushed. If we stand strong and united under one flag, we shall achieve our sacred goal of Pakistan, whatever trials and tribulations we may have to undergo and without Pakistan, Muslim India must perish."

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Quaid-i-Azam reviewed the political developments in the country since the British Cabinet Mission came to India last April and said:

> Today is a happy day for the Musalmans of India and it is a day for happiness and rejoicings for us. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a dark cloud is overshadowing us. Muslim India is stunned and shocked for the moment by the gross and wicked betrayal by the British government who had made a solemn pledge in its declaration of August 1940,[2] that no transfer of power would take place unless there was an agreement of major parties and other major elements of national life of this country. That declaration laid down clearly that not only a new constitution would not be framed except by an agreement between Hindus and Muslims but even the machinery to draft a new constitution would not be brought into being unless there was an agreement of major elements of national life of this country. Today that solemn declaration has been torn to pieces by the British government. It is no doubt a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India. But I am confident that nothing is going to shake us or frighten us. We shall march on and face all the obstacles and march through fire, trials and tribulations. In our onward march there will be setbacks and sufferings, but we will not flinch or falter.

He then referred to the broadcast of the Viceroy on August 24[3] announcing the formation of the Interim Government at the Centre and said that "it impressed some people when they heard it on the radio, but when it came in cold print and was examined, what did it mean? The Viceroy's broadcast was, no doubt, cleverly worded."

VICEROY'S POLICY CRITICIZED

He criticized the action and policy of the Viceroy and said that "the Viceroy committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and bypassing the Muslim League. I do not know whether the British Government or the Labour Party are really in possession of true facts, but I suspect that there is a move to black out facts from the British public and press. The Viceroy's action today is nothing but a wicked breach of the declaration of August 1940 made by the British Government to which the Labour party was committed. Today the Congress is happy in having achieved its heart's desire and in having manoeuvred to get the Viceroy bypass the Muslim League. But I am also equally happy. If the British Government is happy to have tickled the vanity of the Congress let it strike a bargain with the Congress. We are prepared for it."

BREACH OF FAITH

The Quaid-i-Azam went on to refer to the negotiations carried on by him on behalf of the Muslim League with the British Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and said that the Council of the All India Muslim League accepted the proposals, both short-term and long-term, for the sake of an amicable settlement and on the promise given by the Viceroy on June 3. But immediately the Viceroy committed a breach of faith in making certain modifications in the original proposals and announced the plan for the immediate formation of an Interim Government at the Centre. The Congress rejected the short-term plan but it accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and that was only a sham acceptance. Despite this, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy went back on their promise and they did not go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government. "There seems to be a mystery behind all this, "added Mr. Jinnah. "But it is a conspiracy pre-arranged with the Congress. I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India in that position, with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy, committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League, the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with the Congress and finally bypassed the Muslim League."–API

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 249-53.
[2]See Appendix I, *TP*, I, 877-9.
[3]Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10.

I. 11

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 1133/233

BOMBAY,
31 August 1946

My attention has been drawn to the press report that Mr. Michael Foot, M.P., has written an article in the *Daily Herald*,[1] the official organ of the British Labour Party, that Mr. Churchill and I have been engaged in correspondence over a period. This is incorrect and mischievous.

I wrote to Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, on 6th July, 1946[2] apprising him of how the Muslim League had been betrayed by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy and for his information, I enclosed copies of statements that had been issued by me on 27th[3] and 29th June,[4] together with other papers on the eve of the departure of the Cabinet Delegation from India as it was announced that the matter would be placed before Parliament immediately after the return of the Delegation. An identical letter was written by me to Mr. Churchill,[5] the Leader of the Opposition with similar enclosures and Mr. Attlee was informed by my letter that I was doing so.

I received replies from both Mr. Attlee[6] and Mr. Churchill[7] and I have sent them further material with regard to further serious developments that have taken place for their information and consideration.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 254-5.
[2]Appendix I. 54, Vol. XIII, 489-90.
[3]Appendix I. 45, ibid., 473-7.
[4]Appendix I.53, ibid., 486-9.
[5]See Appendix I. 54, note 6, ibid., 490.
[6]Appendix I. 56, ibid., 492-3.
[7]Appendix I. 1.

I. 12

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 20/34

11 September 1946

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

Thank you for your letter of August 16.[1] I regret the delay as I was so rushed and pressed with other matters that I could not help putting off my

reply to you.

As regards the first point, the breach of faith on your part, you say that, perhaps, some day you may be able to clear [it] up. But since the 25th of June so many other things have taken place, which are of much worse character with far-reaching consequences and we have been stabbed in the back. However, as yours is only a purely personal letter and not a political one, I will confine myself entirely to the second point: that you never intended to show any discourtesy to me in the course of the interview[2] at the Viceroy's House on the late afternoon of June 25.

Believe me that although I had felt at the moment and was rather hurt at the behaviour of your colleagues and yourself, with perhaps one exception, i.e. Mr. Alexander at the interview, but, when a few days before his departure, he came to see me and conveyed to me on behalf of your colleagues and yourself that they never intended to be discourteous to me, I asked him to convey to you and the others that as far as I was concerned the matter was closed and I expressed the hope that it would not affect us so far as our personal relations were concerned. I assure you that whatever may happen, or has happened, believe me, I shall never allow the element of personal rancour or bitterness to influence me in the slightest degree in handling the issues at stake in India which affect millions of people. I have never allowed any personal feeling to influence me in the past and I bear no ill-will towards anyone and entirely reciprocate that our personal relationships would remain friendly.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Pethick-Lawrence,
11 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn,
London, W. C. 2.

[1]Appendix I. 9.
[2]See Annex I to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 461-5.

I. 13

K. H. Khurshid to H. T. Sorley

F. 20/38

12 September 1946

Dear Sir,

I am asked by Mr. Jinnah to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 11th September, 1946,[1] which was delivered to me today at

about 12 noon. Please convey to His Excellency that Mr. Jinnah will be leaving Bombay probably on Sunday next [15 September].[2]

Yours faithfully,
K. H. KHURSHID
Private Secretary to Mr. M. A. Jinnah

The Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bombay,
Political & Services Deptt.,
Bombay Castle,
Bombay

[1]Conveying Viceroy's message to Jinnah to meet him at Delhi. See F. 20/39, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See Annex for an account of their meeting.

Annex to Appendix I. 13

Note by Archibald Wavell

SECRET *16 September 1946*

NOTE OF DISCUSSION WITH MR. JINNAH, 16TH SEPTEMBER 1946[1].

1. I began by saying that I was very sorry that events had taken the turn they had since we last met. There had been much misunderstanding, and some hard things had been said, but it was now necessary to look forward and not back. I had always been certain that an agreement about the Constituent Assembly and a representative Coalition Government were essential to the progress of India and to avoid disaster; and I had therefore asked Mr. Jinnah to come and see me,[2] and to ascertain his difficulties and to see whether an agreement could not be reached.

2. While I agreed that there had been much to cause apprehension on the part of the Muslim League, and that some very unwise things had been said by the Congress, I could have wished that I could have been consulted before the decision was taken to reject the Statement of May 16th.[3] It was, however, now clear that the Congress was prepared to implement the basic principle of the Statement of May 16th, i.e. the meeting of Provinces in Sections, and this should surely get over one of Mr. Jinnah's chief difficulties. Could he let me know what the other difficulties were about the Constituent Assembly?

3. Jinnah said that whatever had happened in the past would have no effect on his present decision. He said that the soul of the scheme of May 16th had been mutilated. The only good thing in it was the provision for Sections and Grouping; and the only guarantee of the

scheme possibly working out was that it should be implemented with honour and goodwill. This the League had always intended to do, but the Congress obviously had not, and it therefore became impossible for the League to continue their acceptance.

Jinnah then went over the events of last May and June, but quite quietly and without rancour, though he said he entirely disagreed with my interpretation of paragraph 8, and that he had been supported by a large body of opinion, much of which was not normally friendly to the League. He repeated however that the past would have no effect on the present; but that it had caused a great deal of ill feeling.

He then said that Nehru's statement at Bombay,[4] and S[ecretary of] S[tate]'s failure to give a definite reply to Simon in the House of Lords,[5] had finally decided the Muslim League that they could hope for no fair play in the Constituent Assembly, and had decided them to resile from their previous acceptance.

(All this took about half an hour)

4. He then said I had made a great mistake in forming the present one-party Government; and went on to dilate on the intensity of Muslim feeling about it in all classes and every part of India.

5. I said that I appreciated all this, but that surely it would be better for the League to come into the Constituent Assembly and see how it worked. I asked again what his difficulties were, now that the meeting in Sections was generally agreed. He said that there were a lot of points which would have to be decided before he came in, but did not specify them. I suggested that he should have a talk to B. N. Rau[6] and find out how it was proposed to work the Constituent Assembly and what were the guarantees that he required. I pointed out to him that the real guarantee was that no Majority could ride roughshod over an influential Minority if they wanted agreement, and that they must persuade them, or the arrangement simply would not work. The Hindus would be in a majority in the Union Assembly, but it would be quite useless for them to force through provisions in the Union which would be unacceptable to the Muslims, because the latter would simply refuse to accept them and would walk out. Similarly, in Groups B and C, the Muslims would be the Majority but they would have to satisfy the Minorities, or they would not get a workable Constitution. Jinnah agreed, but said that in Sections B and C, the Muslims would have a bare majority, whereas in the Union and in Section A, the Hindu majority would be overwhelming. I agreed with this, but said that the principle still held good, that the Majority would have to satisfy the Minority.

Jinnah made a point of the inequalities of the present electoral system, which gave the Muslims such a very small majority in Section C. He claimed that really there should be a large majority which was against the Congress.
(This is an old story, and I refused to be drawn into argument about it.)

(This took [us] to about 6.30 p.m.)

6. Jinnah then asked what I proposed about the Interim Government. I said that the proportion would be the same as he had already accepted on June 26th, i.e. 6: 5: 3. I realised the difficulties, the principal of which was perhaps the issue of a nationalist Muslim. I said that I could not possibly support him over this, as I had already made clear to him several times. I thought, however, that if he did not press the point and make a special issue of it, it was quite possible that the Congress would not insist on putting a nationalist Muslim in their quota. He asked me when [*sic* for whether] I could guarantee this. I said I could give him no guarantee, but that I thought it was unlikely that the Congress would wish to remove any of their Hindu nominees in favour of a nationalist Muslim, provided that he, Jinnah, did not make an essential issue of it. I said that from his point of view it seemed to me that if the Congress did nominate a Muslim it would be an addition in strength to him, since on any issue essential to Muslims, any Muslim would support him; Jinnah said nothing on this point. I said that if negotiations broke down on this issue alone, Jinnah would be in a very weak position in world opinion generally.

I then said that in one of his statements[7] he said that he ought to be consulted over the Minority representatives. I could see no difficulty about this, since two of them were those whom he had already accepted on June 26th, and the third was simply the substitution of one Parsi for another. He tried to make out that this substitution was important, but I said that I certainly could not support him on a breakdown on this issue; if he could agree with Nehru to propose some other name to me, I should certainly be prepared to consider it.

7. Jinnah then said that there was no hope of his supporters agreeing to a solution on these lines, but he said it without any conviction. I said that it would be most unfortunate if this was so, as the consequences would be serious indeed. I recommended him to think it over and to talk to B. N. Rau about the Constituent Assembly and see what were the difficulties about that . If he would then come and see me again we could talk the matter over.

(It was now about 6.45 p.m.)

8. Jinnah was quite friendly throughout, was polite, and much

less discursive than he often is. In fact he was at his best, as I have known him on one or two occasions before. We have got a great deal of rough going in front of us, but this interview might certainly have been much worse.[8]

W[AVELL]

[1]No. 323, *TP*, VIII, 524-7.
[2]See Appendix I. 13, note 1.
[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[4]See S.Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 241-8.
[5]See Appendix I to No. 317, *TP*, VIII, 515-6.
[6]See Appendix I. 14.
[7]See Appendix I. 58, Vol. XIII, 498-500 & Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 10.
[8]The text of this note was telegraphed by Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence.

I. 14

B. N. Rau to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/10

NEW DELHI,
18 September 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I send herewith for favour of confirmation a resume[1] of our discussion this morning. Please make any alteration wherever you think it needs to be altered and return one copy to me with the alterations, if any.

Yours sincerely,
B. N. RAU
Constitutional Adviser

[1]Not printed, however see Appendix I. 15.

I. 15

Interview of M. A. Jinnah with B. N. Rau

F. 21/16-7

18 September 1946

Mr. Jinnah raised the following points:

1. What will be the subjects for discussion at the preliminary meeting of the Constituent Assembly? The Cabinet Mission's Statement mentions "the general order of business" among

the subjects; but what exactly does the phrase include?
2. If there is to be a Committee to draft Rules of Procedure, what will be its composition? And how will such a Committee be chosen?
3. What will be the composition of the Advisory Committee mentioned in para 20 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement and how this Committee will be chosen?
4. How will the Chairman be elected? Would it be possible to have a "rotational Chairman", e.g. a Hindu Chairman for a certain period, then a Muslim Chairman, and so on?
5. Will the Sections frame their own "general order of business" and elect their own Chairmen?
6. In view of the confusion that has arisen about the "grouping clause", would it not be possible to set out its meaning in clear and unmistakable terms?
7. Is it open to the Union Constituent Assembly to modify in any way the Group or Provincial Constitutions as settled by the Sections?
8. If the Union Constituent Assembly claims a particular matter as falling within the Union subjects and a Section claims it as falling outside those subjects, what is the machinery for deciding the dispute?
9. Is the opinion of the Federal Court on a reference under paragraph 19 (vii) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement binding on the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly?
10. In the event of any resolution passed, or decision taken, by a majority in the Union Constituent Assembly, which varies the provisions of paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement, [who] will decide the question whether it amounts to a variation or not?

Mr. Jinnah said that these were some of the points that occurred to him and that there might be others; a list of the additional points would be sent to me in due course; and he would like me to examine all of them carefully.

He would also like to have a copy of any draft Rules of Procedure which we might have framed.

Although he had raised a good many points, he felt that if an Interim Government representing all parties could be formed, most of the difficulties could be left to them to resolve. I readily agreed that in that event, the work of the Constituent Assembly would be greatly simplified.

I. 16

M. A. Jinnah to B. N. Rau

F. 21/18

21 September 1946

Dear Sir B. N. Rau,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 18, [19]46[1] and some of the points which I mentioned in the course of my interview[2] with you on September 18, 1946. The resume of our discussion sent by you is correct except No: 2, to which add: "and how will such a Committee be chosen:" and No: 3, to which add: "and how this Committee will be chosen?" The only other point which strikes me at the moment is marked 10 in the copy which I am sending you herewith.

Of course these are some of the important points[3] that strike me for the moment, but you must not take it that this is an exhaustive list. It is very difficult to anticipate, when nearly 400 people will meet in the Constituent Assembly, as to how such an Assembly will proceed and conduct itself with regard to the main points which will arise.

I am sending you a clean copy of the points with these alterations and additions.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir B. N. Rau,
Constitutional Adviser,
Council Chamber,
New Delhi

[1]Appendix I. 14.
[2]See Appendix I. 15.
[3]For Rau's reply see No. 98.
[4]See note 2 above.

I. 17

Note for M. A. Jinnah's Interview with Archibald Wavell

F. 20/40-1

25 September 1946

PROPOSALS

1. It is stated in the Viceroy's broadcast speech of the 24th of August[1] that "six will be nominees of Congress." It shall be made clear that one of the six nominees of the Congress shall include a representative of the Scheduled-Castes. The Muslim League is not to be taken to have approved of the method of selection of the Scheduled-Caste representative. We are not responsible that the Congress should have been given the right to nominate the representative of the Scheduled-Castes.

2. About the other three representatives of the minorities the Muslim League was not consulted originally in the statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy of the 16th June 1946[2] but we did not raise any objection then as it was done independently by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. Now the two out of the three are those who were included in the list given in the statement of the 16th of June which the Muslim League had accepted. [Regarding] the third, namely Mr. Bhabha, the Muslim League has not been consulted at all about his appointment. Apart from this, his being a member of the Government is not desirable and we do not approve of him on various grounds and reasons that were given to the Viceroy. In future, if there is any vacancy with regard to minority representatives Muslim League must be consulted by the Viceroy.

SAFEGUARD

3. There should be a convention that no major communal issue will be decided by the Executive Council if the majority of Muslim League members are opposed to it. In this connection I quoted from the Viceroy's broadcast wherein he stated that "the Muslim League need have no fear of being out-voted on any essential issue."

4. What about Vice-President of the Council?

PORTFOLIOS

5. The Viceroy will prepare a list of portfolios and then discuss it.

6. The Vice-President—The Viceroy said that it should be rotational and alternative [*sic*].

LONG TERM[3]

The following should be made clear:

1. About grouping it should be made absolutely clear without any shadow of doubt. There is no question of going to the Federal Court for interpretation regarding this matter.
2. In the event of any decision being taken or resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly or Sections where one party says that it amounts to variation of Paragraph 15 of the statement and the other holds that it does not, then who is to decide?
3. If the Union Constituent Assembly claims a particular matter as falling within the Union subjects, [and] a Section claims it as falling outside those subjects and belonging to them, what will be the machinery for deciding the dispute?

[1]Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I.10.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, Vol. XIII, 445-6.
[3]See Annex I, paras 4-6.

Annex I to Appendix I. 17
Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram[1]

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

NEW DELHI,
26 September 1946

I saw Jinnah yesterday evening for an hour and three quarters. We discussed first the Interim Government. He said that if the Congress would make a gesture of goodwill and not appoint a Nationalist Muslim,[2] that would very greatly ease his position. We discussed the minority representatives, and he took exception only to Bhabha, whom he called a nominee of Patel's.

2. He asked for a convention that major communal issues would only be decided by a vote of both communities, and I explained that if a matter involving such an issue was likely to come before the Cabinet, the two party leaders concerned would try to iron it out beforehand. If they failed, I should try to reconcile the differences. I pointed out that a convention would [be] no more effective than the freedom to resign in the event of an adverse decision in the Cabinet. Jinnah agreed, but said that he would need some convention to satisfy his supporters.

3. He did not apparently take great interest in the allocation of portfolios, but asked about the Vice-President's position. I suggested that it would be better to distribute other important offices such

as Vice-Chairman of the Coordination Committee rather than try to arrange for the Vice-Presidency to be held in rotation.

4. We then discussed the long-term issue. Jinnah said he would require time for consideration as it would be the All-India Council which would have to decide to change the policy on the matter, whereas the Working Committee could authorise immediate participation in the Interim Government.

5. He said that there were two essential matters on which a decision would have to be reached before he could agree to recommend his Council to come into the Constituent Assembly. The first of these was that the meeting in Sections must be made quite clear. The second was that there must be some agreement on how certain matters were to be settled; i.e. whether the Group and Provincial constitutions impinged on the Union subject[s], or vice versa, the Union Constitution impinged on Group or Provincial Autonomy. Again, who was to decide on the interpretation of the Statement of May 16th, particularly as regards section 15? He seemed quite prepared to agree that these matters should be referred to the Federal Court.

6. He said that there would have to be a good deal of discussion on the procedure of the Constituent Assembly before it met; if 300 or so members met without a considerable measure of agreement between the principal parties, no reasonable results would be reached.

7. I promised to see Nehru as soon as possible. Jinnah said that he would be prepared to see Nehru if he was certain of a favourable agreement on the points he had raised but did not wish it to appear that he had gone to the Congress to ask for favours.

8. Jinnah was very quiet and reasonable, and appears anxious for a settlement if it can be done without loss of prestige.

9. I am seeing Nehru at 3 p.m. today and Gandhi at 4 p.m. The latter interview was arranged before I saw Jinnah because I understood that Gandhi was leaving Delhi tomorrow and was intended mainly as a courtesy visit.

[1]No. 364, *TP*, VIII, 587-8.
[2]Also see Annex II.

Annex II to Appendix I. 17
Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram[1]

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

NEW DELHI,
29 September 1946

I saw Jinnah yesterday evening for three quarters of an hour. I explained the progress of discussions with the Congress, and that they had mainly centred round the issue of the Nationalist Muslim. I told him that I had pressed the Congress leaders very hard to make a gesture by not appointing one, but so far without success.

2. I stressed the need for Jinnah to give way if necessary on this question, and in exchange to secure his other points; and said that it was possible that Congress would not in fact appoint a Nationalist Muslim in the end, if Jinnah conceded their right to do so. I urged the importance from the point of view of Muslim interests that the Muslim League should join the Coalition Government.

3. Jinnah used his usual arguments to show that the Congress desire to appoint a Nationalist Muslim was not honest, and that if they wanted cooperation they should not insist on it. I urged that even in that case he should frustrate their design of securing power to themselves at the Centre by coming in on almost any conditions. I suggested the possibility of a bargain at the Centre in exchange for League agreement to participate in Provincial Government even though they contained a Nationalist Muslim. Discussion on this point was inconclusive.

Jinnah was friendly and obviously anxious to secure agreement if possible, but the Nationalist Muslim still remains a very difficult issue.

[1]No. 381, *TP*, VIII, 625-6.

I. 18

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/15

3 October 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

At the end of our last interview[1] on October 2, 1946, it was agreed

that I should finally put before you the various proposals that emerged out of our discussions, for your consideration and reply. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the various proposals that have been formulated by me.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See Annex.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 18

F. 99/5

1. The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

2. Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled-Castes' representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to, or approves of, the selection of the Scheduled-Castes' representative, the ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

3. That the Congress should not include in the remaining five members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

4. Safeguard: that there should be a convention that on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

5. Alternative or Rotational Vice-President should be appointed in fairness to both the major communities as it was adopted in the UNO Conference.

6. The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, i.e. Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi, and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approves of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

7. Portfolios: The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

8. That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

9. The question of the settlement of the long-term Plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created

and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Interim Government has been reformed and finally set up.

Annex to Appendix I. 18
Note by Archibald Wavell

TOP SECRET *2 October 1946*

NOTE OF INTERVIEW WITH MR. JINNAH[1]

I told him that I had failed to secure any concession from Congress over Nationalist Muslim issue, and that I could not press them further over this. As I had always told him, I did not think that he was on good ground in contesting this issue; and that he would forfeit the undoubted sympathy that he has in a great many quarters if he allowed negotiations to break down on this particular issue.

I said that it was in the obvious interest of the Muslim League to come into the Government at once and unconditionally. If the Congress has, as Mr. Jinnah seems to suspect, the object of disrupting the Muslim League, this is the most effective way to defeat it and to protect Muslim interests. The Muslim League, with the prestige and influence of being in the Central Government, will be in a far stronger position than they are now; if Congress do nominate a Nationalist Muslim, the League will be not merely on a parity with the Caste-Hindus in Congress, but will out-number them.

I said that on the distribution of portfolios and other issues I would see that the Muslim League got fair treatment. My strong advice to Mr. Jinnah therefore was to give me the five names for the places open to the Muslim League at once and to leave other issues to be settled afterward. The present negotiations had gone on already for some weeks and were merely increasing the communal tension. We must get a decision at once.

Mr. Jinnah said nothing at all on the Nationalist Muslim issue and did not attempt to argue it; but he said that if he was to have any chance of success with his Working Committee he must have some success to show them on the other points he had raised, e.g. the safeguard against being out-voted on major communal issues, the Vice-Presidency, and the question of Minorities. We had a certain amount of discussion, mainly on the matter of the Vice-President, which was obviously the one to which Jinnah attached most importance, from the psychological point of view. His argument was that with Nehru holding the office of Vice-President the Congress were in a superior position and that made the Muslim League inferior in status. I

explained that the only function of the Vice-President was to preside at Cabinet meetings in my absence, and that I could arrange for the leader of the Muslim party to be appointed as Vice-Chairman of the C.C.C. [Coordination Committee of the Council], which was really a more influential position. I could assure him on the matter of any future appointment of a Minority representative that I would consult both parties; and that on the matter of major communal issues, I did not think that any written convention, as he himself had agreed when we last discussed the matter, would be really effective, but that I thought I could guarantee that no such issue would come before the Cabinet without thorough prior discussion outside.

Jinnah's main line was that he must have something with which to convince his Working Committee that he had not been defeated on every issue and was coming into the Government as a subordinate to the Congress. He, therefore, kept harping on the Vice-Presidency in particular, asking whether it could not be arranged that it should be held alternatively [*sic*] for three-monthly periods.

Finally, it was arranged that Mr. Jinnah should summon his Working Committee as soon as possible; in the meantime he would send me a note setting out the points which we had discussed, and asking for my decision on them which he could put before his Working Committee.

We hardly touched on the long-term issue. Mr. Jinnah said that that could wait on the decision about the entry into the Interim Government. If this was secured there would obviously have to be discussions between the parties about the long-term issue, so that he could put it before his Council.

Mr. Jinnah was friendly and reasonable throughout, and I got the impression that the League are anxious to come in if their *amour-propre* can in some way be satisfied.

W[AVELL]

[1]No. 395, *TP*, VIII, 643–4.

I. 19

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/56-7

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
4 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated yesterday.[1] My replies to your nine points are as follows:

1. This is agreed.
2. I note what you say and accept that the responsibility is mine.
3. I am unable to agree to this. Each party must be equally free to nominate its own representative.
4. In a Coalition Government it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I are agreed that it would be fatal to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all.
5. The arrangement of alternative or rotational Vice-Presidents would present practical difficulty, and I do not consider it feasible. I will however arrange to nominate a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the event of the Governor-General and the Vice-President being absent.
   I will also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Coordination Committee of Cabinet,[2] which is a most important post. I am Chairman of the Committee and in the past have presided almost invariably, but I shall probably do so only on special occasions in future.
6. I accept that both major parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in any of these three seats.
7. In the present conditions all the portfolios in the Cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representatives cannot be

excluded from a share of the major portfolios and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the Labour portfolio. But subject to this, there can be equal distribution of the most important portfolios between the Congress and the Muslim League. Details would be a matter for negotiation.

8. I agree.
9. Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the Statement of the 16th May,[3] I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution.[4]

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I.18.
[2]See Note on Coordination Committee, F. 20/54-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[4]Enclosure to Appendix I.57, ibid., 494-8.

I. 20

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 238/21

TOP SECRET

BARODA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
4 October 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I send you herewith a copy of a formula[1] which represents Gandhiji's views and has been signed by him. I hope you will agree with it and that it will serve as a basis for a meeting to be arranged between you and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in order to negotiate the few other points that remain for the purpose of reforming the Interim Government.

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

[1]Another copy of the formula bears a note saying "I have not, says H. H. Nawab of Bhopal, discussed the draft point No. 2 with Mr. Gandhi, but this is roughly what Mr. Gandhi desired me to convey to Mr. Jinnah". See F. 238/23, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 20

F. 238/22

TOP SECRET *4 October 1946*

I. The Congress does not challenge and accepts that the Muslim League now is the authoritative representative of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles they alone have today an unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India. But the Congress cannot agree that any restriction or limitation should be put upon the Congress to choose such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress as their representatives.

II. It is understood that all the Ministers of the Interim Government will work as a team for the good of the whole of India and will never invoke the intervention of the Governor-General, in any case.

I accept this formula.

M. K. GANDHI

[Initialled by]
HAMIDULLAH

I. 21

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Bhopal

F. 238/24

5 October 1946

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 4, 1946,[1] with a true copy of a formula signed by Mr. Gandhi, and I thank you for it.

As regards paragraph 1, I approve of it, in my personal capacity, as a basis for a meeting to be arranged between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me in order to negotiate and settle a few other points that remain for the purpose of reconstituting the Interim Government.

With reference to paragraph 2, in my opinion it requires further examination and discussion and I understand that Mr. Gandhi also appreciates this position.

I shall be glad to meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru[2] at your residence

any time suitable to both of you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal,
Baroda House,
New Delhi

[1]Appendix I.20.
[2]Nawab of Bhopal invited both Jinnah and Nehru to lunch on 5 October. See F. 238/62, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 22

G.E.B. Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/58

[NO.] 592/58

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
5 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of the list of portfolios as it stands at present. When the Departments have to be divided among 14 members of the Cabinet, His Excellency's present intention is that there should be separate portfolios of Health and of Communications. I hope this provides the information you require.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

Enclosure to Appendix I. 22

F. 20/59

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

External Affairs	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Commonwealth Relations	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Defence	Sardar Baldev Singh
Home; Information & Broadcasting	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Finance	Dr. John Matthai

Transport	M. Asaf Ali
Railways	M. Asaf Ali
Agriculture	Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Food	Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Labour	Jagjivan Ram
Health	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Education	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Arts	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Legislative	Syed Ali Zaheer
Communications (Posts & Air)	Syed Ali Zaheer
Industries & Supplies	C. Rajagopalacharia
Works, Mines & Power	Sarat Chandra Bose
Commerce	C. H. Bhabha

I. 23

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/2-3

CONFIDENTIAL

17 YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI
6 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have consulted some of my colleagues about the matters discussed by us yesterday[1] and over the possibility of *rapprochement* between the Muslim League and the Congress. We are all agreed that nothing could be happier and better for the country than that these two organizations should meet again as before as friends having no mental reservations and bent on resolving all their differences by mutual consultation and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or others or of any other foreign power. We would, therefore, welcome the decision of the League to join the Interim Government

for it to work as a united team on behalf of India as a whole.

The points put forward by you in our conversation yesterday were:

1. the formula suggested to you by Gandhiji,[2]
2. the League not being responsible for the members at present representing the Scheduled-Castes and the minorities,
3. what should be done in case any vacancy should arise among the members representing the minorities other than the Scheduled-Castes,
4. the procedure to be adopted over what may be called major communal issues, and
5. alternating Vice-Presidentship.

Regarding No. 1, we feel that the formula is not happily worded. We do not question the purpose underlying it. We are willing, as a result of the elections, to accept the Muslim League as the authoritative representative organization of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India and that as such and in accordance with democratic principles they have today the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India, provided that for identical reasons the League recognises the Congress as the authoritative organization representing all non-Muslims and such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress. The Congress cannot agree to any restriction or limitations to be put upon it in choosing such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress. We should suggest, therefore, that no formula is necessary and each organization may stand on its merits.

Regarding No. 2, I am to say that the question of the League being responsible does not arise and, as you do not raise any objections to the present constitution of the Government in this respect, there is no question to be solved.

Regarding No.3, I am to say that if any such vacancy arises, the whole Cabinet will consider what should be done to replace the vacancy and advise the Viceroy accordingly. There can be no question of right in the matter of consultation with the League in regard to the representation of these minorities.

Regarding No. 4, your suggestion about the Federal Court is not feasible. Matters coming before the Cabinet cannot be made subject-matter of references to court. We should thrash out all such matters amongst ourselves and bring up agreed proposals before the Cabinet. In the event of failure to reach an agreed decision, we should seek the method of arbitration of our own choice. We hope, however, that we will act with such mutual trust, forbearance and

friendliness that there will be no occasion to go to such arbitration.

Regarding No. 5, it is out of the question to have any rotation in the Vice-Presidentship. We have no objection if you desire to have an additional Vice-Chairman for the Coordination Committee of the Cabinet, who can also preside at such committee meetings from time to time.

I am hoping that if your Committee finally decide upon the League joining the National Cabinet, they will also decide simultaneously to join the Constituent Assembly, or recommend to your Council to this effect.

I need hardly mention that when an agreement has been reached by us it can only be varied by mutual agreement and not otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]See Appendix I. 21, note 2.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 20.

I. 24

M. A. Jinnah to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 98/4-5

7 October 1946

My dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am in receipt of your letter of 6th October, 1946[1] and I thank you for it; I appreciate and reciprocate your sentiments expressed in paragraph 1 of your letter.

With regard to the 2nd paragraph of your letter, point No. 1, the formula, it was accepted by Mr. Gandhi and me and the meeting between us was arranged on that basis in order to negotiate and settle a few other points remaining for the purpose of reconstituting the Interim Government. The formula runs as follows:

[*Not printed. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 20, para I*]

And now, in your letter under reply, not only you have made changes in it but you consider no formula is necessary! I regret I cannot agree to any change in the language or otherwise, as it was the agreed basis of our discussion on other points; nor can I agree with you that no formula is necessary. It was signed by Mr. Gandhi and accepted by me.

As the whole basis of our talk on other matters was the formula

agreed to by Mr. Gandhi, I don't think we can make any further progress unless it is accepted by you as a basis upon which we can proceed to discuss other points we have already discussed orally in the course of our conversation and now I am enclosing herewith a copy[2] of the various points put by me before you in writing.

Even the four points, excluding point No: 1 regarding the formula which I have already dealt with above, you don't agree with any one of them. I am still willing, on the basis of the formula being accepted by you, to further discuss[3] the various points with a view to settle them in the spirit of the sentiments expressed by you in paragraph 1. I am anxious that we should come to our own settlement without undue delay.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
17, York Road,
New Delhi

[1]Appendix I. 23.
[2]Not printed. See Enclosure to Appendix I. 18.
[3]Jinnah and Nehru met at Baroda House in New Delhi in the evening on 7 October. See F. 238/25, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 25

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/7-8

17 YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
8 October 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 7th October[1] as I was going to Baroda House to meet you[2] there last evening. I hurriedly glanced through it and was perturbed by it as it seemed to me to be at variance with the spirit of our talk the previous day. Subsequently we discussed various points and unfortunately could not convince each other.

On my return I read through your letter more carefully and consulted some of my colleagues. They were also disturbed not only by the letter but also by the list of points[3] attached to it. This list had not been seen or considered by us previously. It had little

relevance after our talk.

We have again given earnest consideration to the whole matter and we feel that we cannot state our position more clearly than I did in my letter to you of October 6th,[4] except for some variations which I shall indicate below. I shall, therefore, refer you to that letter of mine which represents our general and specific view-point.

As I have told you, my colleagues and I did not accept the formula[5] agreed to by Gandhiji and you.[6] The meeting between you and me was not arranged, so far as I was aware, on the agreed basis of that formula. We knew of it and were prepared to agree to the substance of that formula as stated to you in my letter of October 6th. That formula contained a further paragraph which you have not quoted in your letter:

"It is understood that all the Ministers of the Interim Government will work as a team for the good of the whole of India and will never invoke the intervention of the Governor-General in any case."

While we still think that the formula is not happily worded, we are prepared, for the sake of the settlement we so earnestly desire, to accept the whole of it, including the paragraph left out in your letter.

In that case you will agree, I hope, that we should make our further position quite clear. It is clearly understood of course that the Congress has the right to appoint a Muslim out of its quota. Further, as I have stated in my previous letter, the Congress position in regard to the Nationalist Muslims and the smaller minorities should not be challenged by you.

In regard to points numbered 2, 3 and 4 in my letter of October 6th, I have stated our position and have nothing further to add. We have gone as far as we could to meet you and we are unable to go further. I trust that you will appreciate the position.

Regarding No. 5 (the question of the Vice-President), you made a suggestion yesterday that the Vice-President and the Leader of the House (the Central Assembly) should not be the same person. In present circumstances this means that the Leader of the House should be a Muslim League member of the Cabinet. We shall agree to this.

I am writing this letter to you after full and careful consideration of all the issues involved and after consulting such of my colleagues as are here. It is in no spirit of carrying on an argument that I have written but rather to indicate to you our earnest desire to come to an agreement. We have discussed these matters sufficiently and the time

brethren and the country in general.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HASAN
General Secretary,
District Jamiatul Momenin

302

Mohammad Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/288-9

NASIRABAD CANTT.
RAJPUTANA,
15 November 1946

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You have heard Nehru's speech on the floor of the Central Assembly and in his [own] estimation he has won to [*sic*] minimize the gravity of the Bihar tragedy and justify the greatest possible inhumanity done by the Biharis on account of the Calcutta killings and he wants to prove it to the world that whatever had happened in Bihar was the sure result of Calcutta riots.

On the other hand he comes as a great champion to protect the Bihar Govt. and his colleagues by putting it that the Bihar Govt. is doing all for the destitutes, the distressed and the injured, having [made] no mention of the Muslim League's work. He says that Biharis [*sic*] started it and the Hindus—he, Rajendra Prasad or Gandhi—stopped it. He did not say that when there was left none to be killed, drowned or burnt, the tragedy stopped by itself. Can't you or Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan give a lie to his utterances on the floor of the Central Assembly as well? Only yesterday the Home Minister had tried to gag the Muslim press and the same very day, Nehru preached all the false arguments to still provoke the Hindus against Muslims with quite [*sic*] innocence and hospitability [*sic*]. What is the so-called Mahatma doing? He is visiting Eastern Bengal, Noakhali District, and giving vent [*sic*] to the occurrences in Noakhali to prove that whatever has been done in Bihar was justified and keeps up the provocation undaunted. The Congress has got the control of the Home and Foreign [Affairs] and is pitched to outcast [*sic*] the Muslims. Here, I most respectfully beg to submit that Muslim India is crying

for your orders and the time is ripe now for the orderly respected Quaid-i-Azam. No retaliation, no revenge to kill or destroy, although in revenge there is life. You must proclaim forthwith to the world and to Muslim India that Bihar Muslims will never return to where they were living and must be taken by the Muslims of India for rehabilitation and that should be your order of the day. Bihar Govt. can never be trusted and the Hindu Congress can never be allowed to massacre [Muslims] in Bihar in the future, and the Muslims can never be left to the mercy of these hooligans. This is the time to do it—Muslims from Bihar Districts are now all in camps and these camps be transferred to Muslim India. Muslims of Bihar have borne the brunt. Let the whole [of] Muslim India bear this other one too [*sic*]. I humbly submit—strike the nail aright. Hit it on the head—strike with all your might while the iron is hot. Muslims are looking towards [*sic*] your guidance. No matter you may be cool-headed logician.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
My Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD HASAN
Sanitary Superintendent

303

Mirza Babar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/64

ARRAH, DIST. SHAHABAD,
BIHAR,
15 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is needless to write to you [about] the Bihar happenings as you must have been apprised of the full facts and figures of the terrible calamity. Now the only question worth solving for the Bihari Muslims is their peaceful migration to Muslim majority provinces. In this connection, is there any place before [*sic*] the Muslim League or the Govts. of NWFP, Sindh, Punjab and Bengal for such a migration and their settling in some occupations of life immediately? I have written a letter to

Honourable S. Hossain Imam, President, Bihar Muslim League, on this subject, to write officially to you and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as well as the Govts. of NWFP, Sind, Punjab and Bengal, for their immediate attention and consideration.

Yours obediently,
MIRZA BABAR HUSSAIN
Mokhtar

304

M. A. Jinnah to Fasihuddin Ahmed

SHC, UP III/72

15 November 1946

Dear Mr. Fasihuddin Ahmed,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th Novermber[1] and thank you for it. Yes, the Bihar tragedy is terrible and I am glad that you are doing your bit, and I assure you that I am doing all that is in my power.

There are so many people who really wish to see me and talk to me, but I have hardly any time just now to discuss the heart-rending tales. The thing is that we must all act and do our bit. I quite appreciate your feelings and how deeply you are moved. You know Liaquat Ali and I have to attend to so many things; therefore, you should not be annoyed if it is not possible for him to see you immediately. I am sorry that my Secretary annoyed you when he said that you should meet Liaquat Ali Khan. But, you see, I cannot see anybody who turns up, as my whole day is occupied with engagements. Anyhow, the thing is for all of us to work [on].

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Fasihuddin Ahmed, Esq.,
73 S.S. Engineering Hostel,
Muslim University, Aligarh

[1]No. 278.

305

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab V/41

5 MASSON RAOD,
LAHORE,
15 Novermber 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am forwarding to you the editorials[1] of the Hindu press that goes on repeating the lies till they appear true, otherwise what other reason they have in calling Muslims the aggressors everywhere.

The other article[2] contributed by some Pir Ali Mohammad of Sind seems to be from the pen of a Hindu who has bought this bluffer of a man. He seems to be mad after seeing what the Hindus have done and are doing to Muslims in Congress Provinces. For a Muslim to write in this strain is staggering indeed. He does not seem to realize what you have done for the Muslim nation and minorities.

He seems to have lost all sense of judgement and reason. The only conclusion one draws for such Muslims is that they stand with open hands for the Birla [and] Tata cheques to be thrown into [*sic*] them. What a shame it is for such silly creatures to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

Hope that God will give you health and strength to stand the strain of such blasphemous [*sic*] utterances.[3]

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not traceable.

[3]Jinnah thanked her for her encouraging and informative letters and wished her to keep communicating with him. See *SHC*, Punjab V/42. Not printed.

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S. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/139

DELHI,
15 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to draw your attention to a very widespread complaint felt

by the Muslims all over India, and particularly in Delhi Province, regarding the open carrying of three-foot long *kirpans* by the Sikhs while the other communities are virtually disarmed by the Govt. under an order promulgated under Section 144, Cr. P. C. This callous and differential [*sic* for discriminatory] attitude of the Govt. is un-understandable [*sic*]. It means that the Hindu Interim Govt. at the Centre wants a portion of their community, I mean the Sikhs, to be armed, while disarming the other communities. As the imposition of ban on the carrying of arms has become a routine in Delhi and has been in force for a very long time and is likely to remain in force in the future, the matter assumes first-class importance. It is, therefore, vital and most important from the Muslim point of view that this matter should be taken up by you urgently as well as by the *Dawn* and some members of the Legislative Assembly should raise this question in the Assembly. It further appears strange that while the order of District Magistrate, Delhi, bans the carrying of all kinds of weapons including the *kirpan*, the authorities have conspired to see that the Sikhs are allowed to carry the same without any legal action being taken against them.

This discrimination is also telling very heavily on the morale of the Muslims which must be kept up and maintained.

It is highly unjust and unfair that whereas the Muslim community should be disarmed by law and not allowed to carry even licensed weapons, the Sikhs should be permitted to go about armed to [the] teeth.

The carrying of *kirpans* by the Sikhs openly also offers a good deal of provocation and not unoften leads to breach of [the] peace which should be maintained at all cost under these disturbed circumstances.

The claim of the Sikhs that they are enjoined by their religion to carry a *kirpan* is only a camouflage. The fact remains that the *kirpan* is a very deadly arm and a weapon of offence and has been used as such on countless occasions by Sikhs in personal as well as communal fights.

Respectfully yours,
S. H. SIDDIQI

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Mohammad Abdur Rahman & Others to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/65

MILKI MOHALLAH, ARRAH,
DISTRICT SHAHABAD,
15 Novermber 1946

Our respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We know that you are fully aware of the harrowing atrocities which are being perpetrated on the Muslims of Bihar. It is needless to say that thousands have been massacred and countless rendered helpless and homeless. You must also be aware of the fact that not less than seventy thousand horror and terror-stricken refugees with heart-rending and painful tales of inhuman butchery to relate are taking shelter in district towns.

Leaving Purnea District, where 8 to 9 per cent of Muslim population of the province is concentrated, only 5 to 8 per cent of Muslims inhabit other parts of the province. Now one can easily say that the Muslims are living only in the district and sub-divisional towns of Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpore, and Chapra. Rural population of the Muslims in those districts has been completely wiped out. The future of Muslim population in the Congress-Government provinces is bleak and barren. The lives, honour, properties, nay, everything dear to the Muslims of Bihar, are always in jeopardy. Now the helpless and woe-stricken Muslims of Bihar are looking towards you for your orders of migration to the zone of Pakistan.

As regards ourselves, we are inhabitants of a small Muslim *Mohalla* of a town which is predominantly populated by the Hindus. Our whole district, which is notorious as one of the most ferocious districts of Bihar and predominantly a Hindu district, is seething with communal discord and dissension. Our honour, lives, properties, and everything dear to us, are always threatened. God forbid, if communal riot breaks out in the District of Shahabad, not a single Muslim can escape its brutal and inhuman sway because the Muslim population of this district is only 3 per cent. We know that the Hindu leaders of this district are trying to fan the flames of communal riot by delivering fiery and inflammatory speeches on every occasion. Passing away of late [Pandit] Madan Mohan Malaviya had caused a great commotion in the whole district. Keeping all these [*sic*], which go to make the situation

tense, everyone of us is passing restless days and sleepless nights.

Now most of us are thinking that migration is the only solution to our troubles. As our great leader and well-wisher, you can rightly judge whether the time for migration is ripe. Really, we shall feel solaced if you kindly explain to us your scheme of migration to the eastern and western zones of Pakistan. We wish to let you know that most of us are Govt. servants having no landed properties except a house to live in. Some of us are Central Govt. servants and most of us are Provincial Govt. servants, but those who are employed in the central services can try for their transfer to the Pakistan zone through our leaders, if advised to migrate. If migration is taken up gradually on a small scale, most of us request you to throw light on the following points:

i. To which part of eastern and western zones of Pakistan we should migrate and settle?
ii. What sort of help shall we get from the Govt. if we take up trade as our profession?
iii. Guarantee of service by the Govt. in the private firms or in the provincial and central services.
iv How the provincial govt. servants will seek their employment in provincial govts. of Pakistan, if they resign and migrate.
v. What is the prospect of expansion of different types of industries in the Pakistan zones?
vi. What is the plan of inhabiting certain areas which are uninhabited and how far our Govt. will help?

Your sincere followers,
MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN & OTHERS

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S. B. Huda to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar II/66

SIR FAKHRUDDIN HOUSE,
P. O. BANKIPUR,
PATNA,
16 November 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I would not have troubled you with this letter but for the fact that I find you, in one of your statements, saying you read every letter

you receive and give consideration to the view-point therein.

You must have by now come to know a lot about Bihar and the brutal atrocities perpetrated by the offensive majority on poor Muslim innocent minority. Sufficient to say that even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could hardly imagine such cruelty being practised on a defenceless people by human beings and we are grateful to him that but for his strong handling of the situation even at the cost of unpopularity to himself the situation might have become worse and the entire Muslim population wiped out from Patna District.

Now that the trouble seems to be at an end for the present, it is [*word illegible*] the Muslim leaders thought for the future of these helpless Muslim minorities. It is indeed our misfortune that in spite of this great calamity inflicted on us you did not consider it desirable to give [*sic*] a personal visit to the stricken place and be a solace to those who have suffered. Besides, it would have given you an opportunity to make a correct appreciation of the disaster which no amount of second-hand reports to you could do. If the election in Sind could need your presence there, the necessity of a visit to this province was all the more [*sic*] greater, for here was the question of the very extinction of the Muslims whereas in Sind there was a tussle for personal gains, for whether it be [G.M.] Sayed or Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, he will be a Muslim.

In view of colossal suffering we have begun thinking whether Pakistan is really in our interest or it is only meant for the Muslims who are in majority in certain provinces. Pakistan or no Pakistan, no person can dare harm a single Muslim who inhabits NWFP, Sind or Punjab. This is, therefore, a sort of pet ideology with practically no substance in it and it is not fair to make us bleed like this for it. It cannot be denied that communal relations had been impaired beyond any hope of repair since Pakistan had held the field. It had unnecessarily irritated the Hindus and we were not made prepared to face it with the result that it has cost us an irreparable loss and only those people who live in the province can visualize to what indignity and degradation we have been subjected. We do not want to be the sacrificial goat for the Muslim majority provinces. Your recent interview to the representatives of a certain press is also not very heartening for yourself. If Pakistan is not conceded, the same thing would happen what is happening, meaning perhaps that the communal tension would not cease. If that is to be so, I would request you to arrange for our migration before you launch a fight in right earnest for Pakistan, [or] else you should think of some other arrangement by which both the communities could live in peace

honourably. In this connection, personally I would like to commend to you the formula of Moulana Mohammad Ali about proportional representation with reservation of seats. In that case there would be a check of the minority over the majority.

As for myself and certain other persons, we have become absolutely fed up with this province and would prefer to migrate by the first possible train. I appeal to you most earnestly to make some arrangement for our migration, preferably to Karachi where we could spend an honorable life. We belong to the upper middle class and own a small zamindari which we are prepared to liquidate. I have already contacted the Premier of Sind but have not had a reply from him yet.

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

S. B. HUDA

309

Z. S. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/360-1

BAGH MUZAFFAR KHAN,
AGRA,
16 Novermber 1946

My dear Sir,

We are very glad to read your nice appeal[1] printed on page 1 of the *Statesman* dated 13.11.[19]46. We hope you could mean sincerely what you advise your Muslims now [*sic*]. You are such an able and strong personality that if you so desire you can stop this bloodshed at once even now. It is equally painful to us to know that so many innocent lives are being lost every day (may they be Hindus or Muslims). Had you preached this earlier and taken care to properly clarify what 'Direct Action' means, you and we would not have seen the picture of Calcutta and Noakhali nor elsewhere [*sic*]. What you say in regard to Bihar now, we say and said the same before in regard to the above-noted places but neither you nor others listened to us. Had you raised your hue and cry soon after the occurrence of Calcutta (just as you are doing now) the scenes of Calcutta would not have multiplied. Please take into account how many precious and innocent lives have been wasted for nothing. It is high time even now for you to take immediate steps to check this rowdyism, otherwise we are afraid lest [*sic*] the whole of Hindustan

might turn into a waste land (without any human being), a fit abode for swines to revel and enjoy a 'free India'. Please think over the matter twice and seriously if you wish that we (Hindus and Muslims) should exist in this world and live peacefully like two brothers. Man can deceive man by his false speeches and deeds but he cannot deceive God. Not only Islam but no religion in the world permits brutal killing of men (*Ashraful Makhlooqat*) and forcible committal of rape on ladies of high families, looting and arson. These are all sins of the worst type, sins not only against society but sins against God. Those alone who have faith in the existence of God and are afraid of the Day of Judgement can realise all this but for others it is a mere delusion and a myth. However, it is a matter of compliment to you to have published your appeal to Muslim brothers who, we hope, would surely act up to your advice in future.

Soliciting an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
Z. S. SHARMA
Secretary,
The Kasht Niwarak Samiti

[1]See Appendix II. 2.

310

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 885/292-5
[*Original in Urdu*]

LAHORE,
16 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam, may you live long and have sound health,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahamtullah

I have learnt that in your *'Id* day speech, you had permitted the general people to write letters to you for expressing their feelings, sentiments and views.

On this basis, I venture to write to you my second letter, hoping your honour would consider my submissions. These would be brief so that your valuable time is not wasted.

a. The position of Muslim League has been diminishing among the general masses day by day. The Congress has become the ruler of the country and is utilizing its influence and capital to create dissension among the Muslims. Strong verbal

and written campaign is in progress to downgrade you, Muslim League and the Muslim League leaders' image in the public. New newspapers are being brought out by the self-motivated Muslims and the old papers are being bribed.

b. The massacre of the Muslims at many places is continuing. The Muslims are so helpless that they cannot get correct reports because the press is under the full control of the Hindu Government. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindus are also promoting mischief. You would have observed how much press coverage has been given to the activities of Gandhi. You would have also heard the statement of Jawaharlal Nehru, given in the Assembly. But you and your Ministers in the Interim Government look quite helpless.

[*Next para omitted*]

c. A number of Muslims understand that the Muslim League leaders exploited the Muslims to secure the offices and membership of the Assemblies. They used the students to get votes and then became contented, thinking that they were experts at befooling the public. They have been talking about civil war, bloodshed, Genghis Khan and Halagu Khan, but they did not realise the consequences of such utterances, and thus the Muslims suffered ultimately.

d. The Muslim League on its part had formed the Council [Committee] of Action but its impact is insignificant as thousands of Muslims have been mercilessly massacred in Bihar and at other places. Now, where have the people who had been talking about civil war gone and why did they not take revenge for the bloodshed of the Muslims.

It is regrettable that our leaders were of the view that they would achieve their objective just by threats whereas the rival group had made full preparations to crush the Muslims. Why do not they go to Bihar to take revenge for the bloodshed of the Muslims?

e. In my view, disorder has taken its course in the country and it would continue for years. The Muslim League leaders, one day, would unconditionally surrender to the Hindu Congress. Despite that the massacre of the poor and helpless Muslims would not end, and the whole responsibility for the destruction of life and property of the Muslims would lie on you and your leaders.

f. Please forget about the idea that the British Government or

any British party would help you in this crisis. The Britons and Hindus are now one, and this situation would remain so for another twenty-five years.

I regret I am watching the developments helplessly and cannot do anything except to pray to the Almighty for rectifying the situation and for the recovery of the Muslims from this turmoil, and enable the Muslim leaders to work for their community.

ROOHUL MILLAT

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 286/13

HYDERABAD, SIND,
17 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th instant,[1] to hand only yesterday, as I am here in camp, and your letter went to Karachi and was readdressed to me from there.

I would have been only too pleased if you came and stopped at my place, where my family would keep you very comfortable. As regards your staying with Khuhro, I wish to bring some matters before you for you to decide for yourself whether it is desirable for you to stop with him, or not.

Khuhro has entered into a pact with G. M. Sayed. This is a matter of common knowledge. He is very indifferent about my election, but this I do not mind. What I mind, however, is his carrying on an intrigue with Sayed. I have both official and non-official evidence to this effect.

Khuhro and Sayed had met at Karachi; I have reliable evidence of this. It is only due to your telegram or letter that he is keeping mum about my election. But he does not tell people openly to support me.

The Hindu press has been proclaiming from the house-tops that Khuhro is against me. I have asked him repeatedly to contradict this report, but he has not yet done so.

Sayed had put up candidates against Khuhro nominally, and then asked them to withdraw. There were some prospective candidates in the field against him who were disqualified, but for his sake I did not remove their disqualification.

I and others have asked him to go to Sayed's constituency to work for our candidate, but he is avoiding doing so.

All these are so many and very convincing pieces of evidence of Khuhro's working against the League.

As you know very well, I have never exploited you or anyone else who has stayed with me. But Khuhro has been exploiting members of the high command whom he has been keeping with him [*sic*].

Mir Bandeh Ali has a very nice bungalow which was originally the old Government House. It has a very fine garden, and many other comforts. Though he is away for his election, he has a very nice establishment which will look after all your comforts. So I think you will be very comfortable if you stay in his bungalow.

I now leave it to your good sense and discretion to decide for yourself whether, in all the circumstances I have mentioned above, you should stay with Khuhro or not.

Hoping you are doing very well, [and]
with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Not traceable.

312

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/104-5

17 November 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of November 46,[1] and I thank you for it. Owing to the very grave situation created in Bihar it was not possible for me to consult such of my colleagues as would have been available in Delhi, or my Committee of Action, and in order not to delay my reply, I have consulted some and beg to inform you that the Congress have not accepted the Statement of May 16, from the very beginning. To mention only a few official documents, there is the letter of the President of the Congress dated 25 of June,[2] the Congress Working Committee's Resolution of the 26th June,[3] and various pronouncements of the foremost Congress leaders; and thereafter the Wardha Resolution of Congress Working Committee dated August 10. This clearly shows that the

Congress never had, nor have they even now, accepted the Statement of May 16.

Even recently, in a letter to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam, published on the 30th of September 1946 (after the Assam Legislative Assembly had given a mandate to their representatives to the Constituent Assembly in the clearest terms to defy the fundamentals of the Statement of May 16), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says:

> I fully appreciate the feeling in Assam in regard to the sections or grouping and I think that our position will safeguard your sentiment completely. Having accepted the document of May 16 we have inevitably to accept going into the sections, but the question is as to how we shall function in these sections. You are right in saying that I did not go into this matter in my broadcast,[4] because I did not wish to raise controversial issues there. But our position is clear that provincial autonomy must be maintained and a province must decide both about grouping and its own constitution.
>
> It is true that we have accepted the Federal Court's decision in regard to the interpretation and we must abide by that decision of ours. But in no event are we going to agree to a province like Assam being forced against its will to do anything.
>
> The Constituent Assembly has now been postponed to December and we do not know what development might take place by that time. Whatever they might be, if Assam is strong enough, nothing can happen to Assam that it does not like.

Next, Mr. Gandhi, only as recently as the 23rd of October 1946, in one of his pronouncements, said:

> The Constituent Assembly is based on the State paper. That paper has put in cold storage the idea of Pakistan. It has recommended the device of 'grouping', which the Congress interprets in one way, the League in another and the Cabinet Mission in a third way. No law-giver can give an authoritative interpretation of his own law. If, then, there is a dispute as to its interpretations, a duly constituted court of law must decide it.

In the first place there is no provision in the Statement of May 16 for any court to decide what is the true interpretation of the document. Besides, the basic and fundamental principle underlying that document is not, and cannot be made, a justiciable issue. The proposals embodied in the Statement of May 16 are recommendations of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which can only be carried out when both the major parties are agreed, in the clearest manner and unquestionably, upon the fundamentals.

I quite appreciate [it] when you say that there is no use holding further discussions, and you informed me that there was no chance

of the Congress budging from the position they had taken up. In these circumstances, I hope you will appreciate that it will be futile for me to summon the Council of the All India Muslim League.

You ask me to let you know what exactly it is in the way of assurances that will be necessary. The question is not, as you put it, that, if some assurances are necessary, I should let you know exactly what they are. The real question is to get the Congress first to agree to the fundamentals in the clearest language and then devise ways and means by which the proposals can be implemented and enforced by His Majesty's Government if the Congress break their word.

Apart from this impossible position that the Congress have taken up throughout and have followed up to the present moment, now we are face to face with the mass, organized and planned ruthless massacre of the Muslims in various parts of Bihar.

The foul and gruesome methods adopted under the very nose of the Congress Government, the administration and the police in Bihar, show that the Congress have entirely failed to protect the life and property of innocent people, to say nothing of the small-scale killings and destruction of property that are going on in various other parts of the country where the Muslims are in minority. In this highly charged and explosive atmosphere, even to think of the proposed Constituent Assembly or any talk about it, when we are faced with two hostile camps with the result that killing, murder and destruction of property are going on a pace, is neither advisable nor possible. It will only exacerbate the present situation.

I most earnestly urge upon you to concentrate upon the measures to be adopted and carried out first to protect life and property without delay. The entire machinery of the administration of the Government must immediately be concentrated upon establishing peace and tranquillity and [providing] succour and help to those who are homeless, foodless, clothless, in need of medical help and wandering about in Bihar in thousands—the latest reliable estimates so far available are about 30,000 killed and 1,50,000 refugees—and further to see by every means how to avoid and prevent a recurrence of human slaughter in future. This is your sacred duty and trust and I hope you will immediately impress upon His Majesty's Government to take up this immediate task. In my opinion, therefore, you should announce immediately the postponement of the Constituent Assembly *sine die* and let us all forthwith concentrate every ounce of

our energy upon restoring peace and order first.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. E. Lord Wavell,
Viceroy of India,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[1]No. 237.
[2]Annex II to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 110-14.
[3]Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 122-3.
[4]See No. 275, note 3, *TP*, VIII, 441.

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Husan Ara Begum to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal II/73

11 TILJALA ROAD, CIRCUS,
CALCUTTA,
17 November 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In continuation of my report[1] on the Calcutta disturbance [and] with due respects, I have the honour to submit herewith a statement[2] of the outrage in Bihar for your perusal.

I may be permitted to state that many of the causalty cases were removed from the ward of the General Hospital and placed in another wing, two hours before the visit of the Viceroy on the 9th instant. In report being [*sic*] received, I went immediately and found that it was correct. I took down the full particulars, and reported the matter to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Khwaja Nazimuddin.

I shall be going back to Bihar this week again, and shall be staying at Mrs. Yunus, Grand Hotel, Patna. If any service is demanded from my humbleself, I am at your command.

Quaid-i-Azam, the eyes of the Muslims of India are now turned towards you. Their hopes are centred in [*sic*] their leader. The bleeding wounds can now only be healed by the great Creator, but the balm can be given by our earthly leader. May the great Almighty bless you with a long life to steer the ship of Islam clear of all storms.

I do not [want] to waste your valuable time. I can realise your

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. John Matthai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, and Mr. Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha.

The distribution of portfolios will be settled early next week,[2] and the new members will then be sworn in. Meanwhile, H. E. the Viceroy has asked the resigning members to continue in charge of their portfolios.

[1]No. 467, *TP*, VIII, 736.
[2]See Annexes II & III. Also see Annex I to Appendix I. 40.

Annex II to Appendix I. 37

Note by Archibald Wavell

16 October 1946

INTERVIEW WITH MR. JINNAH[1]

1. I congratulated Mr. Jinnah on the League's acceptance of participation in the Interim Government, but said that I was to a certain extent disappointed with the names that he had put forward; I had hoped that he would come in himself, and I also regretted the absence of two leading members of the Muslim League of whom I had formed a high opinion from contact with them, [Khwaja] Nazimuddin and [Nawab] Mohammed Ismail [Khan].

Jinnah said that he agreed with me about the qualities of Mohammed Ismail and Nazimuddin, but that it was impossible to put in two names from the same Province, and since Liaquat Ali Khan and Mohammed Ismail both came from the U.P., it was necessary to drop Mohammed Ismail. It was also necessary to have the Punjab represented, which was why Ghazanfar Ali Khan had been included. There was in the end no room for Nazimuddin.

As to his own entry into the Government, he felt that the Muslim League organization would suffer if he came in.

[*Para 2 omitted*][2]

3. I admitted the tension in communal relations, and said that a great deal would depend on the spirit in which the Government at the Centre was now conducted. Jinnah said with great emphasis that it would all depend on whether Congress would get over the idea of the Muslim League coming in as subordinates into a Government run by Nehru, and if they would accept the present constitution and not try to make the Government their own.

He added that the Governor-General was now in a much stronger

position, and urged me to be firm and fair in the distribution of portfolios.

4. I spoke to him about the elections by the Sikhs to the Constituent Assembly. He said he would raise no technical objection if I approved the elections, but would like it to be made known to the Sikhs that he welcomed them.

5. We then had some discussion on the long-term issue. He said that there must be some agreement that the terms of the Statement of May 16th,[3] as emphasised in the Statement of May 25th,[4] would be observed by the Congress.

We talked for some time on this. The main point at issue obviously is whether Sections can frame Provincial constitutions. I said that in the end, whatever conditions were made, a Constitution could only be arrived at by general agreement. Jinnah assented to this, but maintained that he would only get his Council to rescind their existing resolution[5] if he could assure them on certain points.

[*Para 6 omitted*][6]

7. I then referred to the matter of coalitions in the Provinces, and Jinnah said that he agreed that there should be such coalitions, but that they must be general all over India, and it must not be a question simply of imposing coalitions where there were Muslim majorities. He said that each party should be able to propose their nominations without questioning by the other party. I said that I supposed he meant that the arrangements should be the same as at the Centre, i.e. that Congress would be at liberty to put in a Nationalist Muslim, just as he had been at liberty to put in a Scheduled-Caste [member]. He shied at this, and obviously tried to avoid the Nationalist Muslim issue.

8. Finally, I tackled him about his attitude as regards honours, explaining to him the present position. He said that he was powerless as regards the decision of his Council, but that only applied to members of the Muslim League and not of course to officials.

9. The interview lasted for an hour, and was very friendly.

[WAVELL]

[1]No. 470, *TP*, VIII, 739-41.
[2&6]Matter omitted because relatively less important.
[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[4]Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.
[5]Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, ibid., 494-8.

Annex III to Appendix I. 37

Note by Archibald Wavell
[Extract]

SECRET *22 October 1946*

DISCUSSION WITH MR. M. A. JINNAH[1]

1. I told Mr. Jinnah that we must have a quick decision about portfolios, since the Legislative Assembly meet early next week. I told him that I was seeing Nehru today, and would see him later or else arrange a joint meeting between him and Nehru. He did not seem to favour this latter proposal and referred to previous abortive meetings with Nehru.

I told him that I thought the League should have one of the three portfolios: Defence, Home or External Affairs, and also the Commerce or Industries and Supplies portfolios, but that I might have some difficulty with the Congress over the distribution. I asked him about the qualifications of his nominees, but beyond the fact that they all seemed to be lawyers and were all, according to him, very competent men, I did not get much enlightenment.

Jinnah finally suggested that I should make two lists of portfolios according to what I thought fair, and should then let Nehru have the first choice, as was sometimes done in legal disputes. I said that I was afraid that this would present considerable difficulty.

[Remaining paras omitted]

[1]No. 488, *TP*, VIII, 761.

I. 38

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/98

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
25 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The portfolios that I can offer the Muslim League in the Interim Government are the following:

Finance
Commerce

Posts and Air
Health
Legislative

2. I should be grateful if you would let me know how you would propose that these portfolios should be distributed among the Muslim League representatives in the Cabinet.

3. I should like to get an announcement out to-night,[1] and to swear in the new members whom I shall warmly welcome tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Wavell had sent his Deputy Private Secretary, Ian Scott, to Jinnah's house to obtain the latter's reply. See F. 20/99-100, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 39

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 20/101

25 October 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 25, 1946,[1] at 5-30 p.m. communicating your decision regarding portfolios.

I am sorry I cannot say that it is an equitable distribution, but we have discussed all the pros and cons and as you have taken your final decision, I need not go into the matter further.

I am sending you below the names of the nominees of the Muslim League showing how these portfolios should be distributed amongst them:

Finance	Liaquat Ali Khan
Commerce	I. I. Chundrigar
Posts & Air	A. R. Nishtar
Health	Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Legislative	Jogendra Nath Mandal

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 38.

I. 40

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/102

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
25 October 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter[1] of this evening. I am indeed delighted that the difficult business of the portfolios should now be settled, and that I can swear in the new members tomorrow.[2] I hope we may be able to create gradually a new spirit of trust as the result of this coalition and I am grateful to you for your helpful and friendly attitude.[3]

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Appendix I. 39
[2]See Annex I.
[3]See Annexes II & III.

Annex I to Appendix I. 40

F. 20/103

25 October 1946

PRESS NOTE BY VICEROY'S OFFICE

The portfolios to be held by the representatives of the Muslim League who have recently been appointed Members of the Interim Government have been allotted by His Excellency the Governor-General as follows:

Liaquat Ali Khan	Finance
I. I. Chundrigar	Commerce
Abdur Rab Nishtar	Communications (Posts and Air)
Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Health
Jogendra Nath Mandal	Legislative

Consequent changes among the other portfolios are as follows:

Dr. John Matthai	Industries & Supplies
[C.] Rajagopalachari	Education and Arts
[C. H.] Bhabha	Works, Mines & Power

The other portfolios remain as before, i.e.:

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel	Home and Information & Broadcasting
Dr. Rajendra Prasad	Food and Agriculture
Asaf Ali	Transport & Railways
Sardar Baldev Singh	Defence
Jagjivan Ram	Labour

The new members will be sworn in at a Cabinet meeting at 10-30 a.m. tomorrow.

Annex II to Appendix I. 40

INTERVIEW[1] GIVEN BY M. A. JINNAH TO MISS CUMMINGS OF THE *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*

NEW DELHI,
9 November 1946

"The Muslim League has not agreed to the basis of the scheme for the Interim Government. It has been imposed by the decision of the Viceroy with the authority of His Majesty's Government," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League, in an interview with Miss Cummings of the *Christian Science Monitor* in New Delhi and released to India through the Orient Press.

Mr. Jinnah said, "The Congress went into the Interim Government and manoeuvred to get the British Government to ignore and bypass the Muslim League and it would have been fatal to our interests if they had been allowed to be there in sole charge of the administration. We were therefore forced to nominate our five sentinels to watch over and safeguard Muslim interests."

"The Muslim League has decided to go into this arrangement in exercise of their rights under the decision taken by the British Government, in order to safeguard their interests in the day-to-day administration, under the present constitution, which was enacted as far back as 1919[2] and according to which the present Executive Council of the Governor-General is functioning", Mr. Jinnah added.

Referring to his conviction that the only solution of the Indian problem was Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, "The solution is to divide India into two great independent states by separating Muslim India from Hindu India as Pakistan and Hindustan."

Maintaining that the North-West and the North-East parts of India are Muslim homelands where the Muslims are in an overwhelming

majority of over 70 per cent and that the South-West where Caste-Hindus are in a majority of roughly 60 per cent, is Hindu India. Mr. Jinnah said, "Pakistan is the true road to freedom and independence of this sub-continent and its two great nations, the Hindus and the Muslims".

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2452-3.

[2]Government of India Act, 1919. Government of India Act, 1935, while abolishing diarchy (1921-37) and introducing autonomy and parliamentary self-government in the eleven provinces of British India, provided also for an all-India federation, including the Princely States. The federal system worked into the fabric of the Act of 1935 was, however, not actually created till the partition of India, and the Governor-General's Executive Council continued to function, as during 1921-37, under the Act of 1919.

Annex III to Appendix I. 40

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

[Extract]

NEW DELHI,
14 November 1946

Muslim League President Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that in his view "the only solution" to India's present communal situation "is Pakistan and Hindustan," and said that he meant "absolute Pakistan—anything else would be artificial and unnatural."

"As soon as Pakistan is achieved," he told representatives of the foreign press, "this tension which exists, and will continue—that one nation is going to rule the other—will cease. These minorities will then settle down as minorities. They will realise that minorities can live only as minorities and not as a dominant body."

Mr. Jinnah, who said that he had given the press conference because of a number of individual requests by foreign correspondents, added:

"At present the position is this: That the minorities in Muslim zones naturally do not want Pakistan, because with the backing and dissension of Hindus all over India, they are encouraged and are dominating Muslim majorities."

"Once they realise that they have to live as minorities, then I think you will have really a stable and secure Government in Pakistan and Hindustan. Why should there then be a national quarrel? The position is reduced to a much smaller plane, that is how best the minorities can be protected and safeguarded in the two States.

"Unless you say we are reduced to bestiality, I do not see any reason why the Muslim majority in Pakistan should not deal with

the minorities in a most generous way."

Asked when the League Council would be summoned, Mr. Jinnah commenced: "I cannot say." Pressed further, he said that he "could not discuss the matter now for state reasons—it is not in the public interest just now."

BOMBAY RESOLUTION

Unless the League's Bombay Resolution[2] withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan is removed, the League boycott of the Constituent Assembly scheduled to open on December 9 remains in force.

Of the Interim Government, Mr. Jinnah said in response to questions that the Muslim League Ministers were there as sentinels who would watch Muslim interests in the day-to-day administration of Government."

He also commented that "this Government should not be allowed to do anything administratively, by convention or conventions which would in any way prejudice or militate [*sic*] the problem of the future constitution of India, and we shall continue to resist every attempt which would directly or indirectly militate [against] or prejudice our demand of Pakistan."

Asked if he favoured abandoning the Interim Government, Mr. Jinnah replied: "I have said this: It was forced upon us. The present arrangement I do not approve of."

LABOUR GOVERNMENT BLUNDER

He made it clear that the British Labour Government "has blundered already seriously, and are blundering, living in a dreamland in the policy they are pursuing, maybe with the best of intentions. The British Government is groping in the dark. They think there is some other easy solution."

Mr. Jinnah dismissed Pan-Islam as [an] "exploded bogey" and declared, "Whatever others might say, I think that these two States of Pakistan and Hindustan, by virtue of contiguity and mutual interest, will be friends in this sub-continent.

"They will go to each other's rescue in case of danger and will be able to say 'hands off' to other nations. We shall then have a Monroe Doctrine[3] more solid than in America.

"I am not fighting for Muslims, believe me, when I demand Pakistan. Pakistan and Hindustan alone will mean freedom to both Hindus and Muslims.

"The Plan for Pakistan called for a popular representative Government in which every child, no matter what his caste, colour or creed, will have equal rights."

Asked what would happen in the next six months or a year when

the Congress and the League are not agreed on the question of the division of the country, Mr. Jinnah said, "What happens is what you see. You have been witnessing what is happening."

EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

Mr. Jinnah made a direct reference to the present disturbances when he said: "The exchange of populations will have to be considered seriously as far as possible, especially after this Bihar tragedy."

Answering another question, Mr. Jinnah said that the Interim Government was not a Cabinet and it was not a coalition. It was, he said, the Executive Council of the Governor-General formed under the Government of India Act of 1919.

"A coalition as I understand it," Mr. Jinnah said, "can only be formed when there is a sovereign Parliament composed of two or more parties, who form themselves into political parties, formulating policies that they think are in the interests of their nation, both external and internal, and when there arises a national emergency these parties concentrate on those issues which endanger national interests of the people.

"Of course, in such a coalition, there is joint and collective responsibility. They work together provisionally until the crisis or danger is averted. That is my view of looking at it constitutionally."

NEHRU'S STATUS

"In the foreign Press it is given out," said Mr. Jinnah, "that Pandit Nehru is Prime Minister and that it is Pandit Nehru's Government and I also hear Pandit Nehru described as Vice-President.

"There have been Vice-Presidents since 1919. Under the present constitution the Viceroy has to appoint a Vice-President and his function is only to preside in case the Viceroy is unable to preside over the Executive Council."

Asked about Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said that the demand for division into Pakistan and Hindustan was confined to British India but the States at a later stage would be free to join either Pakistan or Hindustan.

"My own view is: let these States develop for themselves. It is a matter now between the rulers and [their] subjects. The States of course will have to advance. In course of time I think there will be complete self-government in the States, quicker than we imagine because of events in British India."

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2456-9.

[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.

[3]The doctrine enunciated by James Monroe, US president, 1817-25, in his message to Congress on 2 December 1823, that any, attempt by European powers to interfere in the affairs of, or to acquire territory in, any of the countries of North and South Americas would be regarded by the US as an unfriendly act.

APPENDIX II

COMMUNAL RIOTS

II. 1

Jinnah's Interview[1] *on Calcutta Situation*

BOMBAY,
[*17 August 1946*]

"I unreservedly condemn the acts of violence and deeply sympathize with those who have suffered", said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, interviewed by the API on the situation in Calcutta. He added:

"At present I do not know who is responsible for the resultant loss of life and property which has been reported in the press. I have no official reports from any quarters—either the Provincial Muslim League Executive or the Government of Bengal.

"Those who are guilty of resorting to indefensible conduct and hooliganism must be dealt with according to law, as their actions were (so far as the Muslim League is concerned) contrary to expressed instructions and they have only played into the hands of the enemies of the Muslim League. It may be the action of *agents provocateur*. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using any violence, but if any have broken the strict and solemn instructions to conduct themselves peacefully, I have no doubt in my mind that the Provincial Muslim League will not fail to take immediate action against them. I await the authoritative reports[2] before I can say anything further".

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 214-15.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 197, *TP*, VIII, 293-303.

II. 2

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW DELHI,
11 November 1946

"This is not the time for me to add anything to what is already so very clear to every honest thinking and intelligent man. There is no

limit to the false propaganda that is being carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League and the Musalmans for what is happening in various parts of India.[2] There is no foundation or justification for making wild and false allegations against the Muslim League, but this is not the moment for me to deal with them or pass judgement.

I know that the Musalmans have suffered heavily and are suffering, but the tragedy of Bihar has eclipsed what are mere specks elsewhere. I condemn brutality in any shape or form, but the Bihar tragedy has no parallel or precedent in this record of cold-blooded butchery of the Muslim minority in various parts of the country committed by the majority Hindu community.

While I can quite understand that there is a grave provocation and deep resentment among the Musalmans of India, I wish to caution them that retaliation or vengeance in Muslim majority provinces for what has happened in Bihar, and is happening in other parts of India, will be a terrible catastrophe and a blunder on our part, both morally and politically, and we shall be only playing in the hands of our enemies.

CLAIM FOR PAKISTAN

If you really want to achieve Pakistan, I may pray to God that Muslim honour should not be sullied by inhuman degrading and brutal happenings of the kind that have taken place in Bihar. We should not sink low in the scales of civilization, morality and humanity. While our hearts may bleed for the suffering, we cannot sanction cowardly inhuman massacres of the innocent in other places where Muslims happen to be in majority. We must prove politically that we are brave, generous and trustworthy: that in Pakistan areas the minorities will enjoy the fullest security of life, property and honour just as the Musalmans themselves—nay, even greater. If the Musalmans lose their balance and give vent to their spirit of vengeance and retaliation and prove false to the highest codes of morality and teachings of our great religion, Islam, you will not only lose your title to the claim of Pakistan, but also, it will start a most vicious circle of bloodshed and cruelty which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of our slavery and bondage.

MUSLIMS' GENEROSITY

I am glad that so far the Muslim majority provinces have been peaceful and immune from this virus of holocaust and I hope and trust that they will not lose their balance and will not stoop to the spirit of malice, revengefulness or retaliation, however deeply they

may feel from what they read and hear of the terrible happenings, especially in Bihar. I, therefore, most fervently and earnestly appeal to the Musalmans, wherever they are in majority, to do their best to protect and defend the non-Muslims and do everything that lies in their power to create a complete sense of security and confidence among the non-Muslim minorities.

The sufferings of the Muslims in the minority provinces and the terrific death toll and the butchery that has taken place will not go in vain. This sacrifice will, I am sure, establish our claim of Pakistan. Those who have died, been wounded and suffered the loss and destruction of property may take some consolation that they have suffered and made their contribution for our freedom and the achievement of Pakistan."—API

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 372-4.
[2]See Appendix to No. 25, *TP*, IX, 46-9 & No. 102, ibid., 188.

II. 3

Report by Khwaja Nazimuddin & Others

SHC (1188)

[15] November 1946

BIHAR MASSACRE

The Bihar massacre was planned and directed by top-ranking Congress leaders with the co-operation of high-ranking Government officials. The emotions of the Hindu masses were deliberately incited and inflamed by a series of provocative articles in the *Searchlight*, distribution of vast quantity of handbills and posters to the Hindus in the rural areas, public meetings in villages, addressed by prominent Hindu leaders, chiding the Hindus for their lack of self-respect and courage which permitted the Muslims to plan for Pakistan in a land which was exclusively theirs to dominate and rule. Attempts have been made to connect the Bihar massacre with the desire to take revenge for the Noakhali happenings. It is undoubtedly true that grossly exaggerated reports of Noakhali provided a convenient argument to the inciters and had perhaps something to do with the timing and the severity of the outbreak, but there is no doubt that the plans were well-laid and the powder all but ignited weeks before Noakhali, as is decisively proved by the savage butchery at Beniabad on the 29th of September and the killing at Andhana weeks before the August Calcutta riots.

The first incident at Noakhali (Eastern Bengal) took place on the 10th of October, and the first reports were published in the newspapers on the

17th. It is almost inconceivable that a conflagration, covering hundreds of square miles and involving nearly every male Hindu of a population proverbially ignorant and slow in reacting to political stimuli, could have spread with such rapidity and dragooned thoroughness without a prepared and organised plan which awaited a signal for its brutal consummation, and it is absurd to allege its exclusive motivation to an occurrence of such recent happening. At the same time, it would not be inappropriate to bear in mind that despite the formidable Congress publicity machine which has been borrowed without stint or shame from the technique of Goebbels,[1] the most exaggerated estimates of Noakhali cannot place the deaths in Eastern Bengal alone[above] 200, and the Congress organisation itself has failed to unearth even a single genuine case of rape or abduction. Therefore, to compare or to relate Noakhali with Bihar is to strain all canons of logic.

The incitement of the Bihar leaders fell on fertile soil because the Bihar Hindus are peculiarly susceptible to communal frenzy and have time after [*sic* for and] again attacked and butchered the isolated settlements of the Muslims, whenever they have felt that the might of the British rule is shaken or that the power has effectively come into the hands of the Hindus. A whole succession of violent outbreaks and communal massacres in 1917, between 1937-1940 during the first Congress regime, in 1941 and again since April 1946, bear witness to this.

On the present occasion, the Hindu masses were easily persuaded that they were the masters in their home and could work their will on the Muslims with impunity because only recently, the worst crimes of the 1942[2] disturbances had been exonerated, all sentences remitted and participators in these disturbances honoured and feted. This was further emphasised by the effusive welcome given to the released ex-INA personnel, who were particularly active before and during the present massacres, and to some of whom must go the given credit for the military organisation of the mass attacks and the massacres.

It is only viewed in this perspective that the intensity and proportions of the Bihar killing becomes comprehensible. For centuries the Muslims have lived as small minorities amidst overwhelming Hindu population and have more than held their own in the frequent but isolated communal disturbances. It is not that all of a sudden a new courage has replaced the traditional timidity of the Hindu people nor have the Muslims lost any of their characteristic bravery or fortitude. But the shameless partiality and actual incitement of the entire Governmental machine [which has] now come in all its plenitude into the communal hands of the Hindu Congress, has introduced a fatal factor in the political situation, much removed from the firm and impartial treatment meted out to the criminals

of the 1917 disturbances, which has afforded an assurance of shameless impunity to the Hindu masses whilst the Muslims are left helpless victims of an inflamed majority community unburdened, it seems, by any scruples of decency or of humility.

To disarm the Muslims of what small security they had in a hostile world since August 1946, most of the Muslim Police officials were transferred to inferior, irresponsible and ineffective posts, and thus conveniently got out of the way.

The massacres at Andhana and Beniabad were an indication of the rising temper of the Hindu people. Beniabad, in particular, exposed at the very outset the savage communal colour of the Hindu offensive, which was unburdened by any consideration of political ideology. The extermination was to be of the Muslims because they were Muslims and not because they subscribed to a particular view about the future destiny of the Indian sub-continent. Maulvi Mohammad Shafi, a noted Congress Muslim worker and high in the hierarchy of that organisation was butchered, whilst he, confident in the security of his political affiliations, had gone to intercede with the collected mob that all in Beniabad believed with him in the principles for which the Congress ostensibly stood. The contemptuous reply was "if you are a Muslim that is enough for us".

The first large-scale slaughter took place during the *Kali Puja* celebrations at Chapra Town and its adjoining villages on the 25th of October, and the signal for the holocaust were the two mass meetings, held in Patna (25th-Bankipore Lane in Patna City and 26th in Patna proper) to observe the Noakhali Day. A huge gathering was addressed by Jagat Narain Lal, Member All India Congress Committee; Murli Manohar Prashad, MLA, Editor of the *Searchlight*, a Birla-owned daily, and others in Patna on the 28th in which grossly exaggerated reports were given of the Noakhali happenings and inexpressibly provocative speeches were made. Immediately after this meeting, a two-mile procession paraded the city, raising slogans of revenge such as *Khun ka badla khun se leinge* (Blood shall be revenged with blood), *Bengal ka badla Bihar mein lainge, kab leinge? aaj leinge* (Bengal shall be revenged in Bihar, when? here and now). On the 28th, mass attacks on the Muslim population began, particularly at Bhalwara near Pulwari Sharif, six miles from Patna, the headquarters of the Province and completely covered the four districts of Patna, Chapra, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and parts of Gaya District and a few places in Santhal Parganas by the 30th. The speed and military precision with which such a vast scale mass uprising enveloped such a large area in such a short time, particularly in a Province where the transport and communication facilities

are almost primitive, unquestionably points out to a deep and well-laid plan, elaborated and worked out in detail, in advance.

After the 28th, the mass killings proceeded unabated, unchecked and almost unnoticed by the outside world till the 7th November.

The general plan of attack was uniform almost throughout the five districts. Mobs of 10,000 to 40,000 collected at a pre-arranged signal usually by whistling. At one place at Taregna where, over 150 refugees collected together at the railway station, were massacred to a man. The signal for collecting together was given by the siren of the Krishna Mill, the Manager of which also lent his firearms to the murderers. A second siren gave signal of attack, and the siren lasted throughout the attack and stopping of the siren was taken as signal for dispersal.

The first manoeuvre in the attack was to surround completely an isolated village and set it to fire. The arson was facilitated by the fact that almost all the rural houses are constructed of mud and wood, and the roofs in every case, even of the more elaborate and luxurious homestead are made of brick tiles on a bamboo scaffolding which projects beyond the walls so as to admit of being ignited from the outside. As the villages blazed and the unfortunate inhabitants, men, women and children burnt and suffocated, rushed out in panic, they were picked out one by one and butchered.

These huge mobs spread out to the countryside and massacred isolated settlements of the Muslims sometime comprising four or five houses in a village. Whenever they were faced with effective resistance, which came from the very few villages where a considerable number of Muslims lived or had collected together, e.g. 500, and had one or two firearms, the mob would disperse to the surrounding villages, and after having massacred isolated or unprotected Muslims, would collect again. At many places the Muslims in large villages resisted for five or six days, and were overpowered only after the last round of ammunition had been exhausted.

The cold-blooded brutality and savagery of the Hindu mobs is beyond description and puts to shame anything recorded in history. The men, defenceless, outnumbered and unarmed, were butchered without quarter and without mercy. The hand of the assassins guided by the politicians but unchecked by his distinctions[*sic*], fell equally on the Muslim Leaguers and the Muslim Congressites, and many were butchered who in the past elections had trusted the fraternity of the Hindus. In fact nowhere was the destruction so complete, the loss of life so appalling as in the villages of the Momins, erstwhile allies of the Congress.

Sword, *lathi*, crude spear—all were used and used to the full. Sadism went to the length of living men being sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Ganges. Neither woman nor child was spared. Children under five, sometimes as young as one month old, were roasted alive in bonfires. Savage sacrificial rites were performed. Wombs of pregnant women were ripped open and the unborn life plucked out and cut to pieces. Infants were snatched from the mothers, hacked in two, and the mother forced to wean[*sic*] the massacred child or she fell herself. Political argument took the savage form of a babe cut in two and presented to parents as an example[*sic*] of Pakistan. Women were pursued with flaming torches attached to long spears and burnt to death. Young girls were outraged and raped, a large number of whom threw themselves into wells to save their honour. Those to whom death gave no refuge, were carried away, prostituted and deflowered to serve as slave girls in the meanest Hindu houses, and live as shameless trophies of a people vicious, brutalised and debased [sic] beyond the example of history.

It is estimated that the casualties of women and infants bear a proportion of 8:1 to the men, and this is borne out by Colonel Venning, the military officer in charge of an area in Patna District.

Nearly every house belonging to a Muslim in the countryside has been looted and burnt, and in hundreds of villages the Muslim population has been wiped out. It is impossible to give anything approaching a complete picture of the total destruction, but as a sample of what has happened all over the five districts, the following far from complete details about the holocaust in Patna District must suffice.

i. In Hilsa Police Station of the Patna Sub-Division, the Muslims of 83 villages out of 86 have been wiped out, and only three villages have escaped where the Muslims were in a strong position.
ii. All the villages in Barh Sub-Division except Barh Town and five villages have been burnt to the ground and the Muslims massacred.
iii. In the area covered by Police Station Silao, the citadel of Bilawwa Village alone, gallantly defended by its Muslim population, remains amidst the sack, rapine and destruction of the surrounding villages of Sabaid, Kehta, Maijara, Ben, Mandi, Andhwas, Kiryama, Barakal, Kerha, Deepnagar, Chandwara and host of others.
iv. In police station area of Phulwari, the villages of Bhulwara, Daryapur, Khaira Tali, Obeidullah Chak, Pansa, Bagpur, Salarpur, Mangli Chak, Khaldiha, Ismailpur, Hinduni, Nisarpur, Dhibha, Bhasola, Nathopur, Hassanpur have ceased

to exist.

v. In a surrounding area the villages of Ansara, Dharot, Damodar, Chinari, Bela Birra, Kalanur, Palli, Kako, Pinjora, Theta have been burnt and sacked.

Some idea of the loss of life may be obtained from the following villages, taken at random, from Gaya District.

a. Mauza Kansari
(P.S. Fatua) – 62 killed out of a total of 135
b. Bishen Gang
(P.S. Makhdumpur) – 43 killed out of a total of 51
c. Bishengang
(P.S. Choshi) – 50 killed out of a total of 93
d. Jalalpur
(P.S. Makhdumpur) –123 killed out of a total of 150
e. Nawabgang –All killed
f. Allahgang
(P.S. Makhdumpur) –All killed
g. Haryal
(P.S. Makhdumpur) –All killed

The following two things stand out in the carnage:

i. The extreme gallantry, heroism and bravery of the Muslim resistance. Wherever they could, the Muslims held out to the last, and at some places such as Nagar Nausa, Diawan, Baluwwa, a population of 1,500 or less, repulsed a mob of 20,000 to 50,000 for six days, and at some other places are still holding out. The women fought valianty by the side of their men and fell with them. In Bhi 1,500, after resisting a huge mob for six days retreated to a safe place with the loss of 18 heroes who had stayed behind to cover the retreat. In Nagar Nausa, the Muslims withstood a mob who had attacked on elephants and horses for five days and held out till the military arrived on the sixth day. The Muslims lost about 100 men in Nagar Nausa. In an epic of resistance at Chandwara (P.S. Silao) 14 persons faced an attack by an organised and armed mob of 5,000 and fought valiantly for six hours. 12 were killed and 2 escaped.
ii. Extreme cowardice of the Hindu mobs: They never dared [to] attack unless they outnumbered the defence by 100: 1, sometimes 10,000 against 5. At the least resistance, they would disperse and collect again, swelled to twice their previous number, newly armed and savagely equipped.

The extreme barbarity was of a piece with their cowardice. Some

evidence of their savagery is to be seen today in the nature of the casualties, admitted to the Patna hospitals. In one ward of the Patna Civil Hospital, some 50 boys and girls have been admitted, all below 8 years of age and some as tender as one month old, all bearing spear injuries. Similarly, there are, in another ward, 200 women bearing spear wounds and some of them very badly burnt.

Throughout the first six days of the massacre, the rioters were convinced that the Police would not fire on them and there was not the least shadow of doubt that the Hindu armed police actually aided and abetted the rioters, or at best maintained strict neutrality. In Gorayya Khari it was actually the armed police which disarmed the resisting Muslims on promise of security and later watched more than 1,100 of them massacred in cold blood. Only 33 escaped out of a total of 1,200. In another place constables escorted a column of refugees. When attacked by a mob, the Muslim A.S.I. fired but was overpowered and killed. It is alleged that the Hindu constables stood aside and watched the refugees [being] butchered.

The complete inactivity and partiality of the armed police is proved by the following :

a. In our interview with the Bihar Cabinet on 10-11-46, the Premier admitted that the firing [by the police], previous to the coming of the Army, had been grossly insufficient. This was also the opinion of Colonel Venning.
b. When the Army began firing, the Hindu mobs as well as the Hindu intelligentsia of Patna were outraged and surprised out of their wits, and they almost mobbed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was accused by the local leaders, including a Minister, of being responsible for it.

The Hindu officials in Bihar, including some of the highest, are directly involved in the present carnage.Mr. [Nagendrabhusan] Bakhshi, ICS, the Commissioner of Patna Division, summoned the Hindu Chairman of the Municipality and the Chairman of the Local Board, Barh, a few days prior to the outbreak and told them that he could not understand why the Hindus, who were wealthier, more powerful and more numerous than the Muslims, could not suppress and crush them.This fact reached the ears of K.B. Mahmud Husain, ex-MLA, who wrote a letter to Mr. Bakhshi protesting against such a provocative statement from a responsible officer, to which Mr. Bakhshi replied in writing that he had given this advice in his personal capacity.

Similarly, a Hindu Minister of the Bihar Government said to an Additional S.P. within hearing of a responsible Muslim that "there must be firing, but fire in the opposite direction".

Today when mob violence is lulled for the moment, and the immediate problem is to rescue and afford relief to the few Muslims that remain, the gross partiality of the administration is no less in evidence.

No facilities are being afforded for the rescue work which is impossible without military escort, the relief organisation is starved and haphazard, and the Muslim volunteers are being frowned upon and treated as criminals to be subjected to strict surveillance. Worst of all, the threatened Muslims who as a last resort have huddled themselves together in small pockets of resistance, are being ordered to yield up their arms, which is their only protection in their menacing and hostile surroundings, and to which they owe their survival amidst the holocaust. The few officials are doing their duty honestly but they are being constantly snubbed by their superiors and impudently defied by their inferiors.

In one of the worst areas, Monghyr, Mr. T.P. Singh, a senior officer, noted on the relief programme of the Muslim D.M. that it is on "too ambitious a scale" and must be curtailed. In Monghyr there are at present 5,000 refugees living under mango trees without a shred of warm clothing. There is no more convincing proof of the partiality of the administration than that uptill now, over a fortnight since the massacre began, not a single arrest has been made, not a single threat of punitive fine held out. Under this dispensation what possibility can there be of bringing home to the miscreants the enormity of their crimes or of holding out some hope of justice to the Muslims?

AREA OF DISTURBANCES

Area of the disturbances comprises the five Districts of Patna, Chapra, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Gaya, which, according to the 1941 Census, had a population of ten and a half lakh Muslims. The strength of the Muslims in this area was between 8 to 14 per cent.

Patna District was the cultural centre of the Muslims of Bihar and the Muslims of Patna District were generally well-to-do. This can be seen from the fact that the 13 per cent Muslims of Patna District owned 23 per cent of the land. The general level of culture and education was very high. Consequently, the complete massacre of Patna District Muslims coupled with the savage burning of the ancient libraries and looting of the ancient precious collections has destroyed for the Muslims of Bihar something more precious than life.

ESTIMATE OF CASUALTIES

It is impossible at present to give even an estimate of the casualties but it is our confirmed belief that at least 10,000 Muslims have been butchered in the five districts of Bihar. It is possible that the figures may stand as high as 80,000. Colonel Venning estimated that in the area under his

command, which comprises one of the four Sub-Divisions of Patna District, alone, at least 4,000 have been killed. Similarly Lal Mia, MLA (Bengal), on his return from Monghyr estimated the dead in Monghyr area at 15,000. He reports to have seen with his own eyes wells filled to the top with dead bodies in the single village of Lakhimpur (District Monghyr).

The work of carnage has been done so well that in comparison to the dead, the wounded and injured are infinitesimal. In [*sic* for among] the dead as well as the wounded, the women and children far outnumber the men: in a proportion of eight to one.

PRESENT PROBLEMS

1. There are at present some 50,000 refugees in Patna, of which [*sic* for whom] about 12,000 are in refugee camps and the rest [are] living with individuals. There is not a single Muslim house in Patna which is not sheltering refugees to its full capacity. 50,000 more are spread over to the larger towns, such as Monghyr and Bihar Sharif. A much larger number are collected together in rural pockets of resistance, such as Karai Par Sarai, Diawan, etc. Most of these refugees have lost almost all their possessions and have not even one warm covering to see them through the winter.

The immediate problem is to clothe, feed and protect them. Some 400 volunteers from outside Bihar and some local workers are doing their best, but in the chaos following the massacre, proper organisation is just taking shape.

The task, however, which embraces almost 1,50,000 refugees, is too vast for a handful of volunteers, which must be taken up by League high command at the highest level with full co-operation of the Government of India.

In the meanwhile, the Bihar Government frowns upon the entry of further volunteers from outside and is putting the maximum number of hindrances in the way of those who are already there.

RESCUE WORK

A very large number of Muslims are holding out in isolated outposts. Their life is threatened every moment. Their food supplies have run out and the Hindu shopkeepers refuse to open their shops for them. They are ill-clothed and living huddled together, sometimes 1000 in one *haveli* under the worst hygenic conditions. Cholera, typhoid and dysentry have broken out at many places.

Many Muslim young girls and women have been abducted and forcibly carried away by the rioters. They are imprisoned in Hindu houses in villages in the interior. There is information about the

whereabouts of some and close search would disclose others. But outside Patna, the whole interior is like a country occupied by the enemy. It is impossible to penetrate without military escort because even if our volunteers would hazard rescue parties, and many are willing, they would under the present circumstances almost certainly be butchered. In this, the time factor is obviously most important and no work is more urgent.

A large number of Muslims have been terrorised into calling themselves Hindus, wearing the Hindu thread and growing *bodi*. Some of them have escaped to tell their story. The work of forcible conversion is still in full swing. From everywhere reports are pouring in of women being stripped naked and dipped in the Ganges amidst the rejoicing of a lascivious crowd to satisfy the conditions of Hindu initiation, whilst venerable Muslims with beards plucked and head shaved are being compelled to do obeisance to idols in the temples and eat pig's flesh. In Hajipur (Muzaffarpur), for instance, the Muslims are now being forced to give Rs. 250 per person as protection fee and sign a declaration that they are no longer Muslims. Similar reports have come from Monghyr, Paphera and Chapra. In some places, the Muslims are also being forced to publish that declaration.

The *kharif* harvest will be ready for cutting in a week. The *rabi* sowing will begin in three weeks. The Muslims dare not go back to their lands and claim them. In the meantime, the Hindus are taking possession of their lands and cutting their harvests.

It is necessary to devise some schemes by which all this is not irretrievably lost. For instance, the Government could purchase the standing crops of Muslims involved at average price and take over the harvesting. This would also help the general procurement plan. Many Muslim families have been wiped out. What will become of their possessions? A trustee commission should be appointed to take charge of this property, decide between claimants, and finally if no claimant can be traced to dispose of it to the benefit of the community.

For all this, it is extremely necessary to bring the greatest possible pressure on the Bihar Government, who, left to themselves, would callously add to the miseries of the Muslims.

The local League organisation is totally paralysed. Besides, the local Muslims cannot make the least impression on the Congress administration.

Therefore, to bring some measure of relief, to organise the rescue and refugee work, it is absolutely necessary that one Muslim Member of the Executive Council and of the Committee of Action should be permanently stationed at Patna till things improve.

It was only due to the timely presence of Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din and Malik Firoz Khan Noon's influence with the military that things did not entirely break down and the Government paid some heed. Without the active assistance and presence of outside League leaders, Bihar Muslims are lost.

The Bihar Government is apathetic or actually hostile. It is only the strongest outside pressure which will compel them to bring some of the miscreants and murderers to justice. So far not a single arrest has been made, not a single punitive fee levied. Mass arrests and punitive fines are one of the most effective ways of restoring order and confidence. This must be done immediately. People like Murli Manohar Prashad and Jagat Narain Lal, MLAs, must be arrested and tried.

We demand immediately an independent inquiry into the Bihar massacre, including the conduct of the Ministry and the officials, by a Royal Commission of the highest judicial authority and special tribunals for the trial of criminals.

LONG-TERM PROBLEMS

Bihar Muslims have fought valiantly and like heroes. Islam is proud of them. But they have suffered a calamity unparalleled in recent history.

No Muslim in Bihar feels today that he is safe. They live under an unbearable apprehension of impending catastrophe. In every home, they ask "what is to become of us? How long will we be spared? How shall 10 stand against 90 drunk with triumph, intoxicated with blood, grimly planning for more?" Those who have been affected by the massacre may be divided thus:

1. Those who have been completely uprooted. They have nothing left. In some cases only one out of a family has survived. They have nowhere to go and must begin life again. Most of the 1, 50,000 refugees belong to this category. They shudder at the thought of going back to the places which for them are full of the most horrific memories.
2. Those who have been attacked but resisted and remained in their own villages or near their own villages.The Muslims in Bihar were always a tiny minority. But they had prestige, and this made life possible. That prestige is gone.
3. For those also who may go on living in the old surroundings but with insecurity everywhere and fear in their hearts, it is almost impossible.
4. The rest of the Muslims of Bihar, except those in Purnea District, where the Muslims are 40 per cent or those in Chhota Nagpur and parts of Santhal Parganas, where the predominance of

Adibasis transforms the situation.

All these live in constant peril. Any day they may be attacked, overwhelmed, massacred, whilst a criminal Government mocks at their helplessness.

SOLUTION

Subject to further discussion, it seems that classes one and two cannot be rehabilitated in their old sites. Class one is anyhow uprooted. In Bihar too if they live, they must begin their life anew. If possible, therefore, they should be shifted to Muslim majority areas.

As to the rest, it should be planned to concentrate the Muslim population of Bihar in strong centres, that is by transfer of population to the areas in Bihar like Purnea, Santhal Parganas and Chhota Nagpur.[3]

KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN[4]
Member, AIML Committee of Action

IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN MAMDOT
President, Punjab Muslim League

FIROZ KHAN NOON[5]
MIAN AMIR-UD-DIN
Mayor of Lahore

DAUD GHAZNAVI
MIAN MUMTAZ MOHAMMAD DAULTANA
Member, AIML Committee of Action

[1]Joseph Paul Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda in Nazi Germany, 1933-45.
[2]Refers to the Quit India movement launched by the Congress in August, 1942.
[3]See File *AFM 399* for other reports on the subject.
[4]See Annex for proceedings of the meeting of the AIML Committee of Action to deliberate the report.
[5]Also see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 1047-62, for a confidential report rendered by Noon.

Annex to Appendix II. 3
AFM/141-2
Proceedings of the meeting of the Committee of Action at 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, on 15 and 16 November 1946

[NEW DELHI,]
16 November 1946

PRESENT

1. Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Sahib, Chairman
2. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

3. Khawaja Nazimuddin Sahib
4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
5. Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait
6. Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhry
7. Mian Mumtaz Mohammed Daultana

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah was also present.

The Committee heard the report[1] of Khawaja Nazimuddin, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Amir ud-din and Mian Mumtaz Mohammed Daultana, who had just returned from a tour of the affected areas of Bihar, on the situation prevailing in that Province.

The following resolution was passed:

The Committee of Action is of the opinion that the organised and merciless destruction of life and property which has taken place in Bihar is without parallel anywhere in the world in peacetime. The Committee of Action is convinced that the Congress Ministry in Bihar and the Congress Party cannot escape direct responsibility for this planned and prepared tragedy.

All evidence at the disposal of the Committee points to the fact that there is no sign or prospect of a decrease in the terrible menace to the life and property of the Musalmans of Bihar, and the partisan manner in which the Bihar Ministry has trifled with the situation so far gives the Committee every reason to fear that the massacres may recur and spread to other parts of Bihar at any moment.

The Committee of Action definitely feels that the Governor of Bihar has not been able to discharge his special responsibilities in respect of the protection and safeguard of the minorities, and the maintenance of tranquillity and peace in the Province, notwithstanding his statutory obligations in this respect. Nor can the Ministry escape immediate responsibility for the instigation, unchecked continuation, spread and intensity of the massacres, loot and arson.

Under the unprecedented circumstances the Committee of Action calls upon the Governor-General to take immediate action by exercising all his powers under the Government of India Act, so as to deal effectively with the situation. Otherwise he will be failing in the duties and responsibilities that devolve upon him under the existing constitution.

The Committee of Action notes with consternation and surprise that so far no measures have been taken to round up the criminals responsible for inciting and organising these atrocities, and demands that they and the actual perpetrators of this tragedy be immediately brought to justice, irrespective of their position or status, and that special tribunals be constituted for this purpose, as the ordinary judicial machinery will not be able to cope with the situation.

Further, the Committee of Action demands immediately an independent inquiry into the Bihar massacres, including the conduct of the Ministry and the officials by a Commission of the highest judicial authority.

The Committee of Action pays tribute to the highest bravery of those Muslims of Bihar who herocially resisted against overwhelming superior odds, faced death valiantly against planned attack[s], and fought gallantly to the last, true to the noblest traditions of Islam.

The Committee place on record its deepest sympathy with the sufferers in this great calamity and appeals to Musalmans to give generous and unstinted help in every way to enable the Muslim League to succour and assist their Bihar brethren in distress".

[1]Appendix II. 3.

II. 4

Report by Meerut District Muslim League Inquiry Committee

F. 1107/356-61

[*Undated*] *February 1947*

After making a thorough inquiry on the spot we are in a position to state as follows:

INTRODUCTORY FACTS

The entire communal situation in Meerut District[1] for the past two months is an aftermath of the Garhmuktesar killing.[2] At the same time, as we shall be able to show in detail later, the happenings in Garh throw a good deal of light on the causes of, and responsibility for, various subsequent so-called isolated incidents in the District. There is now no gainsaying the fact that the Garhmuktesar affair was perpetrated under a pre-arranged scheme by well-organised and well-equipped agencies, and that such bodies as Rashtriya Sewak Sangh of Meerut, Lakhaoti College [and] Mahavir Dal took a leading part therein and that they were all along supported by influential

Hindu traders, Congressmen and others and were supplied with the necessary material for murder and arson. It will be apt to mention here that the testimony of respectable witnesses fully bears out the active participation of Seth Tara Chand of Hapur in that unfortunate massacre.

2. It is neither a secret nor does it require proof as to which community is now imbued with a militant spirit, who is now organised and more equipped with money and material to perpetrate communal outrage; nor do the isolated massacres throughout the District leave any doubt in an impartial mind as to the liability of the community responsible for an all-out killing of the members of another community. Hapur is at a considerable distance from Meerut; the rural population immediately surrounding the town is almost entirely Hindu. In the town itself the total Muslim population is only one-third as compared to the Hindu population. Moreover, Hapur is running one of the most flourishing grain markets in India, which is entirely in the hands of the Hindus where day-to-day dealings with the neighbouring village population have endowed them with a position of vast influence over the village-folk. Seth Tara Chand is the wealthiest and most influential among the Hindu traders of Hapur and he is the Chairman of the Municipal Board, Hapur.

Muslims of Hapur did not raise their small finger nor gave the slightest cause of complaint to either the Hindu community or the authorities during the anxious days when thousands of Hindus, out of whom there must have been some whose hands were red with the blood of innocent Muslims recently spilt at Garhmuktesar, were returning from the Ganges Fair. In the wake of Garhmuktesar came the month of *Moharram*. The Muslims of the District, having seen the attitude of the district officials and the aggressive mentality of the Hindus, felt that they were not safe from aggression and that the local authorities could not give [them] sufficient protection, decided to drop the *Moharram* processions in protest; hence no processions during the *Moharram* were taken out in Hapur, a thing which took place for the first time.

As had been shown above, the Muslims, being in minority and weak in financial position and having no influence, knowing the installation of a Hindu as District Magistrate and another Hindu as Superintendent of Police, also obeying their leaders to keep [the] peace at all costs, could not possibly think of committing any breach of [the] peace. On the other hand the local Government and the local district officials being Hindus, the Hindu community considered itself immune from all consequences and were thereby emboldened to contemplate the wiping-out of the Muslim population.

The worst enemy of the Muslims of Hapur has not been able to suggest, much less prove, that in [the] course of the communal riots under review, which actually took place on the 14th & 16th December 1946, the Muslims of Hapur received any outside help or backing. Although almost the whole trade and wealth at Hapur was in the hands of Hindus, there were a few Muslim businessmen who had flourishing business, especially in general merchandise, kerosine oil stores at Hapur, and there were two mills belonging to Muslims which were an eye-sore to the Hindu trading community of Hapur who were very anxious to somehow finish this source of income of the Muslims. It will not be out of place to compare the Hapur riots with the Garh riots and to point out that the same method of simultaneous arson and murder was employed at Hapur which had already been successfully used at Garhmuktesar. It cannot be a mere coincidence that simultaneous attacks on life and property were similar, both in Hapur and Garh, and that [the] same Seth Tara Chand, who is alleged to have taken leading part in Garhmukteser riots, is also alleged to have been responsible for inciting and promoting riots at Hapur.

There are two parties in Hapur, one led by Ganga Saran, Municipal Commissioner, and the other by Kidar Nath Kalaiwala and Babu Simmoliwala which had already earned notoriety for their anti-Muslim and aggressive attitude. Out of these, party members of one reside predominately in Khirki Bazar and the other in Pukka Bagh. These two *mohallas* were the worst scenes of arson and murder, and indiscriminate attacks on Muslims. The activities of these parties must have been within the knowledge of the police but no adequate action was taken to check the mischievous activities of these persons.

Mention must also be made of a meeting held on 25th October 1946 with Pandit Ram Chandra, President of Arya Samaj, in the chair. This meeting was held for observing Noakhali Day, at which most inflammatory speeches were delivered and highly exaggerated accounts of Noakhali were recounted, and the Hindus of Hapur were incited to retaliate. We understand that a detailed report of the meeting is in the possession of the police; yet another significant incident was the sudden disappearance of Hindu blacksmiths from their regular shops in Nai Abadi to which they have not returned uptil now. It is widely known that these blacksmiths are adept at preparing crude arms. It is almost certain that they had been shifted to such obscure corners where they could carry on their nefarious activities without fear of detection.

A closed-door meeting of the Hindus was held under the

presidentship of Seth Tara Chand on 10th December 1946, the day when the time of bonds for keeping the peace was due to expire. It is also reported that at that meeting a subscription of Rs.17,000 was raised and placed at the disposal of Seth Tara Chand. When Muslims heard of this meeting they considered it a danger to peace and conveyed their objection to Seth Tara Chand. Thereupon, in order to cover up the real designs of the meeting, Seth Tara Chand invited some Hindus and Muslims at his house on 11th December 1946. The Muslim invitees readily responded. Not only this; they also subscribed to the publication of a solemn affirmation of their determination to protect the life and property of the Hindus by all means and as a further gesture of goodwill on the part of Muslims, Seth Gulzar Ahmed invited many more Hindus and Muslims to a tea-party at his house on 13th December 1946, which continued up to 5 in the evening. But astonishingly enough the Hindus held another secret meeting in Pukka Bagh immediately thereafter.

Having completed their plans and having brought the Hindu aggressive mentality to its highest pitch, the ringleaders took advantage of an incident in which a good-looking young Hindu boy's hand was wounded by some other Hindu (as far as our information goes) in getting the name of the Secretary, Muslim League, Hapur, implicated in the [first] information report in order to try to throw some sort of blame on the Muslims. We are strengthened in our belief by the fact that, besides this solitary incident, not a single Hindu was injured. On the contrary, while this report was being lodged, six Muslims in Mohalla Kishen Ganj near Pukka Bagh were mercilessly beaten, and out of the Muslims so beaten one succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. That very night messages were sent to Hindu villages round about Hapur to launch attacks from several sides on Muslim localities in accordance with a pre-arranged plan at an appointed hour.

It was also brought to our notice that, in spite of the efforts of Muslims at communal harmony evidenced in the tea-party at the house of the Seth Gulzar Ahmed, the communal situation began to deteriorate quickly after the subsequent secret meeting of the Hindus in Pukka Bagh. In fact in the early parts of the night local police had positive apprehension of breach of [the] peace by the Hindus so much so that they [tele]phoned the authorities at Meerut about this communal situation at Hapur and probably about the immediate need of additional police and military arrangements.

DETAILS OF INCIDENTS

The signal for attack by the Hindus came early in the morning of

14th December 1946 in the form of siren blown by the mill of Seth Tara Chand. Soon after, a number of Muslim villagers were attacked and injured in Pukka Bagh. At the same time hordes of Hindus, khatiks, chammars, etc., were seen advancing from the east towards the Garh Darwaza and the Hindus [of] Mohalla Barabi launched another attack from the north-east on the Muslim population of Mirdhas. Yet another attack was opened from the north by the Hindu villagers and Hindu residents of Pukka Bagh and Burj Mohalla against the Muslim population of Atterpura and Ganj. In the south, thousands of Hindu villagers and local Hindu residents armed with deadly weapons surrounded the Muslim Bone Mill and Gelatine Mill. Simultaneously with these happenings another Hindu mob, collected in the interior of the Town, started looting and thereafter burning Muslim shops in Khirki Bazar, Chandi Road and Pukka Bagh. This part of the attack proved most successful [*sic*] and accounted for the most flourishing and valuable Muslim shops of the town. There is no doubt that the attacks from the other directions mentioned above would have ended in incalculable loss of life and property but for the fortunate possession of a gun by Seth Gulzar Ahmed, owner of the Bone Mill, the fear of which kept the rioters at bay for a considerably long time, till the police was forced to arrest a few of the rioters and this made them flee. Had the police taken early action, much loss of life and property would have been saved, but the police, under the directions of Mr. Audh Narain Singh, remained inactive for a considerably long time and even then did not take any deterrent action nor fired a single shot at any party of mischief-makers. Nearly all the persons arrested were found armed with spears, *gandasas* and the like. The Muslims, who were naturally anxious to put off [*sic* for out] the fire, were stopped by the police at the point of revolver. The underlying motive of this all-round attack was to stop the Muslims of one *mohalla* giving any relief to the Muslim residents of the other *mohalla* and turn Hapur into another Garhmuktesar. Muslims, however, were killed in different localities; some of the corpses were recovered while those of others are still untraceable. Strange to note that the time and method of attack was similar to that of Garh, and in the presence of the same Additional Superintendent of Police who was in charge of the *mela*, and with the same result that the rioters in broad daylight were killing, looting and burning but not a single shot was fired.

In addition to falsely implicating the Secretary, Muslim League, over the incident already mentioned, certain Hindus tried to put the huts of Hindus on fire, which had already been vacated, and we are

told that a Hindu was arrested in the act of putting [*sic* for setting] fire to a Hindu shop but that in one or two cases they succeeded without being found out.

We are glad to note that the Muslims of Hapur, in spite of great provocation, gave every possible protection to the life and property of those Hindus who were residents of the predominantly Muslim *mohallas*.

Having failed to achieve their desired object of exterminating the Muslim population in their attack of the 14th December 1946, the Hindus made another well-planned and organised attack on the 16th December 1946 at about 7 p.m. (when the curfew order was in force) from every side of the town. In this attack too, local Hindus had the support of the Hindus of outside villages. The attackers, in addition to being again armed with deadly weapons like *gandasas*, swords, spears and guns, used some explosive material and gun powder also. Along with this attack the electric light in Hapur was put off [*sic* for out] by the rioters and the entire town was thrown into pitch darkness [*sic*] and the attackers were guided by a strong searchlight from Brahi Mohalla, Kala Mahal. This attack also failed in its objective, partly due to the alertness of Muslims and partly due to the timely intervention of the police.

WHETHER THE RIOT WAS PRECONCERTED OR SPORADIC

There is no gainsaying the fact that the riot in Hapur started under a deep-laid and pre-concerted plan and we are strengthened in this belief by the following facts and indications:

i. Hindus of predominantly Hindu *mohallas* were made safe and secure by fixing iron gates and barbed wire. Hindus living in predominantly Muslim *mohallas* were removed therefrom to predominantly Hindu *mohallas*.
ii. Hindu blacksmiths skilled in the art of preparing deadly weapons were taken away from their residential quarters in Nai Abadi to some obscure places.
iii. Hindu-owned ration shops, numbers 3, 5, and 10, adjoining Muslim *mohallas* were removed to the heart of Hindu localities.
iv. Two secret meetings of Hindus were held just previous to the riots, one in the house of Seth Tara Chand and the other in Pukka Bagh, and the riot within Hapur and attack from outside villages on practically every Muslim *mohalla* started after the said meeting of the Hindus.
v. Knowing that Muslims will stick to their solemn affirmation, they were duped into making that affirmation while preparations for burning their property and killing them were in full swing

in the town and villages.

vi. The signal for riot and attacks was the siren of Seth Tara Chand's Mill which was admittedly sounded at an unusual hour on 14th December 1946.

vii. There is no other explanation for giving a communal colour by the Hindus to the incident in which a boy was hurt due to some private affair in spite of the fact that it was neither communal nor any Muslim was responsible for it.

viii. The fact that Hindus belonging to various villages and armed with deadly weapons of a uniform type were arrested by the police at various places of attack, has even compelled the district authorities to fix the responsibility for aggression on Hindus.

ix. The riots and all-round attacks were so simultaneous as to preclude all possibility of their happening due to momentary excitement.

EXTENT OF DAMAGE

The Muslims of Hapur have suffered incalculable loss in stock and property, amounting to six lakhs of rupees. Their flourishing shops have been burnt to ashes. Not a single case of arson can be pointed out to have been committed by the Muslims nor can it be said about Hapur that the Muslims have even retaliated. So not a single Hindu has been killed or seriously wounded.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

After the gruesome happenings at Garhmuktesar and having regard to the heavy numerical superiority of the Hindu population in the town and surrounding villages, as also the aggressive attitude displayed by the latter throughout, there could be no two opinions over the need of special protective measures for the Muslim population of Hapur. It is, however, apparent that no such steps were taken and the bonds for keeping [the] peace, although by itself a very weak measure, failed to achieve its purpose as they were directed equally against Hindus and Muslims. We are bound to say that doubtful steps of this nature encourage rather than discourage the aggressive and stronger party. It has already been seen that the continuous inactivity of police resulted in one-sided loss of Muslim life and property. So far as the actual riots were concerned, the police working under the direct supervision of Mr. A.N. Singh, A.S.P., who has already earned some notoriety in connection with the Garh massacre, totally failed to prevent arson and loot and murder due to its failure to fire a single shot on proper occasion. Not only this; the Muslims, who attempted to put out the fire in their shops, were prevented from moving further by the levelling of a revolver against

them by no less a person than the S.O. himself. Again, [on] the arrival of Mr. Ram Pershad, Circle Inspector, while Mr. Audh Narain Singh had been on duty in Hapur for two days, there was a recrudescence of organised Hindu aggression on the evening of the 16th December 1946, followed by a crop of false reports to the police by the Hindus implicating all the important Muslims of Hapur, with motives that are too apparent to be stated. Under these conditions, when the Hindus arrested in connection with the riots were enlarged on bail, can it be said that Muslim life and property in the town is still safe from further and worse depredations? We strongly maintain that the imposition of collective fines will not do. The only remedy is to mete out deterrent punishments to Hindu ring leaders in the town and villages.

DEMANDS

Having regard to the above facts and considerations and in the interest of public peace and tranquillity, we suggest a number of remedies and measures to be taken by the Government at an early date:

a. The Additional Supdt. of Police, Mr. Audh Narain Singh, who both at Garh and Hapur proved himself incapable of holding a responsible charge, be removed from this District without further delay.
b. That out of the two important posts in the District, i.e. of District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, one must remain with Muslims as a matter of necessary administrative policy.
c. Organisations such as Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and Mahavir Dal should be disbanded and declared unlawful.
d. A thorough investigation should be made both in the town and [in the] villages as to the ring leaders of the aggressive Hindu gangs to place useful information at the disposal of the police if and when required in this connection.
e. All the firearms in possession of Hindus in Hapur and surrounding villages should be confiscated and more licences for firearms be granted to responsible Muslims of Hapur and villages.
f. Additional police posts should be created in the town and villages with predominantly Muslim personnel, and rural communications improved.
g. Investigations of the cases should be given to special and impartial staff.
h. Adequate, full and real compensation should be given to Muslim sufferers in the riots.

i. The collective fine imposed on the Hindus is much too low. It should be raised to at least the amount of loss suffered by the Muslims of Hapur.
j. Prosecutions of the Hindus found responsible for and connected with the riots be launched in impartial and independent courts and tribunals, so that the wealthy Hindu rioters may not be able to use their influence.

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[1&2]See Nos. 15, 21 & 69, *TP*, IX, 30, 40 & 127-8.

APPENDIX III

REPORT BY ABDUL RASHID KHAN ON THE TRANSFER AND CONCENTRATION OF MUSLIM POPULATION IN OTHER STATES, PROVINCES AND CENTRAL COMPACT BLOCKS

F. 7/1-71

LUCKNOW,
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INTRODUCTION

Since the outbreak of communal riots in Calcutta and the unprecedented catastrophe of Bihar, the Muslim leadership must have realized the imperative necessity of safeguarding the Muslims in the minority provinces. The idea must be revolving in the minds of the custodians of Muslim masses in India as a result of Bihar and Garhmuktesar outrages as how to avert it and save the Muslims before such a colossal loss takes shape of a national loss. Some of the leaders have issued statements in the form of a suggestion to transfer or exchange Muslim population from the predominantly Hindu provinces to predominantly Muslim provinces or areas. At the outset this idea or programme appears to be impracticable but a thorough and keen study of the Muslim and Hindu population in India will certainly indicate a way to surmount this difficulty. Even if a smooth and practicable method is not found, at least it will be possible to devise something to achieve this end successfully by a long-range policy. If statistical data is placed before the big heads it will certainly indicate ways and means to give this proposal a practical shape in due course of time if adopted earnestly and systematically. I, with this idea in mind, have ventured to embark upon this gigantic work and have prepared a short and concise report relating to the population of Muslims in India especially in the minority provinces....

The imperative necessity of transfer of population contemplated in this Report is the result of communal riots, which are increasing every day with intensity as a result of wide propaganda of the Hindu leaders to kindle fire of hatred against Muslims in the hearts of Hindus as would be evident from the following few examples:

The communal riots as referred to above and their after-effects are continuously revolving in the mind of every Muslim in the country and a greater number of them, if not all, contemplates how to avert

these tragic happenings although due to lack of political aspirations and awakenings the common Muslim is not in a fit position to understand the long premeditated and prearranged plan of various Hindu organizations including Congress to suppress the Muslims. I, however, give below my own reading relating to the source of origin of these communal riots.

These communal riots are the result of the virtual Hindu crusade started a few years back in various forms under the patronage and support of highly placed Congress leaders as would be evident from the following few examples:

i. Acharya Kripalani's[1] statement released in 1939 clearly stated that all believers of Congress doctrines should explicitly follow Gandhi[an] Philosophy or in other words those, whether Hindus or non-Hindus, who do not believe in Gandhi[an] Philosophy, i.e. Gandhiji's views on politics, economy, society and spiritualism, cannot be true Congressmen, and hence they have no place in the Congress. This subtle propaganda, solely meant to shake the belief of illiterate Muslims, worked satisfactorily to some extent. Some of the Congress *Moulvis* resented and protested against this statement but they still remained [with]in the fold of Congress, God knows why, perhaps to achieve their personal interest with the result that they created split in the rank and file of common Muslims who could not organize themselves in advance against the over-looming and well-planned crusade of Hindus under the guidance of top rank Congress politicians. The Bihar tragedy was the outcome of this disruption alone because Bihari Muslims whose greater percentage is supposed to be nationalists suffered heavily and paid dearly as they had complete faith of [*sic* for in] their safety under Congress domination and did not organize, prepare and consolidate themselves for this emergency. The result was obvious and cannot be disputed. The scheme[2] of Dr. Mahmood, who was completely merged in Gandhism, for rural reforms in which children of all creeds were to be compulsorily taught Mr. Gandhi's philosophy, teachings, etc. which was meant solely to undermine Muslim children's religious belief, their morals and culture, during the last Congress regime in Bihar, did not serve [as] an eye-opener to the Bihar Muslims and they remained in the oblivion in spite of all this propaganda of the Hindu Congress.

ii. Just after the fall of the last Congress Ministries in the provinces,

Mr. Gandhi started writing articles in the *Harijan* in defence of Congress stand. In his first article under the caption *Fiction of Majority,* apparently he tried to convince the world and inwardly the Indian Muslims that the cry of majority was fictitious because the so-called majority was a pauper majority and ineffective being weak in military sense. This magic wand of the Hindu Mahatma deceived the Muslims in the minority provinces entirely and served the same purpose for which it was intended. The result of this was that Muslims remained [with]in the four walls of their original strength while the opponents (Hindus) made full preparations and started various organizations, such as Rashtriya Sewak Sangh, Mahabir Dal, Seva Dal, Congress Volunteer Corps and similar other organizations.

iii. The introduction of Vidya Mandir Scheme[3] under the patronage of Mr. Gandhi was the third instrument to hit the Musalmans and make their young generation weaker and weaker in their belief and traditional valour and marshalism.

iv. The introduction and declaration of *Vande Matram* as the national slogan of Congress was the fourth and most effective weapon. It served two purposes simultaneously—kindling of hatred and feelings of revenge against Muslims in the minds of Hindus since Hindus were aware of the origin of *Vande Matram*—and producing a feeling of helplessness and inferiority in the hearts of Muslims. *Vande Matram,* or Hail Mother, was the war cry of Bhavanada, the hero of the Bengali novel *Anand Math,* who raised a small army of Hindu fanatics in Bengal to kill Muslims of Bengal, an insignificant historical event.

v. The fifth weapon in this series was the introduction of Hindi against Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India. The underlying idea was to introduce Hindi and subsequently convert it into Sanskirt in order to give a severe blow to Urdu which contains Arabic and Persian words, the two Muslim languages of the world.

vi. The ban on Chapter 14 of *Satyarath Prakash* by Sind Government was very strongly and emphatically criticised by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Parshotamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U.P. [Legislative] Assembly, because in fact the intention of the Hindus was to give wide publicity to this book by force in the country so as to prepare Muslims to hear certain remarks against their beloved Prophet with the help of British bayonets

and force Hindu superiority over Muslims as well as kindle the fire of hatred in the hearts of common Hindu in the garb of interference in Hindu religion by a Muslim Government. This served the purpose intended and Hindus became more antagonist[ic] towards their Muslim countrymen all over India. In this programme nearly all the big heads except a few Congressites were involved.

vii. The last but not the least is the present propaganda of the All India Radio from where Hindi language, Congress propaganda, Muslim drawbacks such as atrocities by Muslims in Noakhali, etc., and Hindu supremacy such as Bihar tragedy are given wide publicity in order to:
   a. propagate Hindu philosophy, culture and religion;
   b. defame Muslim League or in other words Muslims in general since League represents 95 per cent Muslims in the eyes of the world;
   c. deceive the ignorant and straightforward Muslims of Frontier and Baluchistan; and
   d. make the Muslims realize their inferiority and short-comings and Hindu superiority and supremacy.

In view of these and several other factors the whole country is now in a turmoil and Hindus are blazing with the fire of hatred against Musalmans in general. The outcome of this hatred was the great Bihar tragedy, the massacre of a thousand helpless, defenceless and unarmed Muslims at Garhmuktesar by a great mob of 20 lakh Hindus and a number of other riots in U.P., Bombay, etc. etc. The Hindus are going ahead with the preparations for a civil war while Muslims are helplessly going down and doing nothing due to lack of hardy, sensible and straightforward leaders on the one hand and oppression at the hands of Hindu officials all over the country on the other. Nearly all our big leaders have become old and weak and can invest their brain alone and not the body while the young blood, the so-called progressive element, is either selfish, office-seeker or biased against its own colleagues with the result that the nation is being neglected, uncared for, and the dark age of misfortune is fast approaching ahead [*sic*]. Under the circumstances, the migration of Muslims from the minority provinces or in other words the danger zones, is absolutely necessary and unavoidable. This Report has therefore been prepared with this aspect in view.

[*One para omitted*][4]

Besides the practical difficulties resulting from the proposed transfer of population from one province to another it is a fact that

the people residing in the minority provinces, under no circumstances, would like to migrate unless and until they are forced to do so under the pressure of aggression and oppression at the hands of their neighbours representing the other community, e.g. Bihar and C.P. Muslims. Then and then alone the proverb, beggars have no choice, will apply and they will be compelled to migrate and seek shelter under the banner of their co-religionists in the majority provinces. In order to avoid this last recourse and so many other difficulties, which are being given wide publicity as an impossible and impracticable proposal by the Hindu leaders, an attempt has been made in this report to consolidate Muslim population in the minority provinces in one block preferably near the borders of East or West Pakistan or at such a central place where they can migrate easily without much loss of property, difficulty of language, ignorance of methods of agriculture according to weather, soil and climate etc. etc. U.P. and Hyderabad State are apparently the most suitable avenues to consolidate strong central blocks to start with primarily. U.P. besides having many historical and cultural aspects of Muslim empire in India possesses a number of such monuments and places of worship whose sanctity must be preserved by the Muslims at all costs. Moreover, it has got a majority of Muslims in certain portions of its length and breadth which may be utilised advantageously if need be. However, a full text of details will be provided at a suitable place [Chapter VIII] in this report.

Further, the intention of writing this report is to give a clear idea of the population of Muslims in various minority provinces particularly where there is no concentration and Muslims are inhabited over a large area scattered and spread over hundreds of miles without any support whatsoever. In order to minimise this menace of wholesale massacre like that of Bihar which was unparalleled in the history of India and was much more devastating than the great phenomenon, upheaval of the last decade (earthquake of 1934) in the far distant tracts of helpless persons, some opening must be made to transfer them to certain territorial and compact regions to safeguard their life, property and culture. In case the spadework, based on the above principle, is not started immediately as a preliminary measure, I am afraid, it will have very grave repercussions for the Muslim nation as a whole in this sub-continent in future. This system of migration will certainly put some difficulties in its initial stages but in course of time these drawbacks and difficulties will be surmounted. Irrespective of the fact whether the recommendations

contained in this Report will be fully accepted and implemented or not, I, at least, am confident that this will provide sufficient food for the leaders to consider this question of transfer of population in right earnest and take out from it whatever matter is useful for their programme of work.

[*Remaining paras omitted*][5]

Similarly the whole Report contains two tables of each province and state, one relating to 1941 census and the other representing the estimated data. The provinces adversely affected during the present upheaval have been taken up elaborately and in detail while the majority provinces though provided with their population figures etc., etc. have not been commented upon fully.

The country has been divided into territorial regions as under:

1. Eastern territory consisting of the Provinces of Bihar, Assam, Orissa, U.P. and Bengal.
2. Southern territory consisting of Madras, Western and Southern Orissa and Southern Bombay.
3. Western territory consisting of Northern Bombay, Gujrat and Kathiawar Agency.
4. Central territory consisting of North[ern] and Eastern C.P.

CHAPTER I

BIHAR PROVINCE (EASTERN TERRITORY)

This province, which was more heavily affected in the last 1942 uprising and 1946 (October-November) carnage, is the most important and unsupported block. Since this part of the country has suffered heavily in respect of Muslim population, a beginning has, therefore, been made from this block first.

The catastrophe reported from this province was second attempt of the other community to suppress and crush the Muslims, Central Provinces and Berar being the first during the last Hindu regime, as commented in this Report in the following pages.

The two tables, provided in the following pages, represent population of various communities inhabited in this Province as per 1941 Census Report of the Government of India and the second table indicates estimated population of different communities in accordance with the percentage variation arrived at during 1941 Census.

[*Tables omitted*][6]

The above tables indicate the district-wise population of each community in this province. This province is weakest point from

Muslim point of view in India in view of its huge population. This province is spread over an area of 69,745 square miles and is surrounded by Bengal on the eastern and southern sides and by U.P. on the western side. The northern area joins with the Nepal territory. It has got 16 districts and holds a population of approximately 3,35,96,500 Hindus and 50,02,300 Muslims plus 53,77,500 tribal people who are also a part of Hindus. This population of Muslims, therefore, represents 14.88 per cent of the Hindus. Numerically, Muslims are evidently at a great disadvantage since they are one against seven Hindus with the result that they paid dearly in the recent riots in five out of 16 districts of Bihar. The main districts which were affected heavily during this wholesale slaughter of innocent and helpless Muslims are Saran (Chupra), Patna, Gaya, Muzaffarpur and Monghyr. To avoid a reoccurrence of the last massacre it would be beneficial for the Muslims to have territorial zones of their concentrated population, as envisaged in the following paragraphs.

People residing in Champaran might cross the border and enter Gorakhpur and the newly-formed district of Deoria in U.P. The 20,87,458 (say 20,87,000) will help in supplementing the position of their brethren in Gorakhpore and Deoria districts, who are only four and a half lakh against 36 lakh Hindus, i.e. one-eight of the Hindus, without jeopardizing their interests in any way except some financial loss in the realization due to sale of landed properties. The people of Saran estimated to be 1,94,000 against 23,00,000 (1 to 12) Hindus is a great setback as is apparent from the recent tragic happenings in this district. They may leave the district and enter the districts of Ballia and Azamgarh and help 3,13,000 Muslims there in establishing their position against 27,31,000 Hindus of these two districts of U.P. The Muslims of Shahabad might cross the border and enter into Ghazipur and Ballia whichever is convenient. They will thus help the Ballia Muslims as well as the Muslims of Ghazipur who are only about one lakh against 9,60,000 Hindus.

The inhabitants of Palamau, nearly one lakh against five and a half lakh Hindus, should migrate into the district of Mirzapur which has a large area to accommodate these immigrants. The district of Mirzapur, which still retains some signs of Muslim culture, having the great and historic Fort of Chunar in its fold with a number of descendants of that brave race of Muslim conquerors in its vicinity, which enslaved the inhabitants of this great sub-continent for centuries, will be strengthened considerably in respect of Muslim population, which is estimated to be only 55,000 against 850,000

Hindus (1 to 7).[7] Benares district of U.P. also touches the borders of Palamau and Shahabad districts of Bihar, hence the immigrants entering into the adjoining districts of U.P. can also enter into Benares district according to convenience and facilities. The district of Ranchi is centrally located in Bihar and is equi-distant from Bengal and U.P. The migration process may be left at the discretion of the inhabitants or the leaders to choose in-between the two provinces or the central concentrated block of Muslims, formed round about Patna in the following pages.

The district of Purnea on the north-east border of Bihar possessing a population of 10,24,000 Muslims against 13,72,000 Hindus is quite self-sufficient for any emergency but if at all it is considered feasible to transfer its population into Bengal it will automatically strengthen the hands of the Muslims in Bengal. They can easily cross the border and enter into the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in Bengal where the Muslims are practically half of the Hindus. The area of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling is 1,192 and 3,050 square miles, respectively, and can accommodate these immigrants easily in view of the fact that other districts of Bengal having equal areas are more thickly populated than these two districts. It would be rather more convenient for the Muslims on the western parts of Purnea to join the Central territorial zone of Patna and at least three lakh out of 10 lakh may join at Patna to increase the Muslim strength from 18 to 21 lakh. The district of Santhal Parganas is a big district and touches the borders of Murshidabad, Birbhum and Burdwan. Except Murshidabad both the districts of Bengal i.e. Burdwan and Birghum are deficient in respect of Muslim population. Burdwan represents a figure of 15 lakh Hindus and 3,70,000 Muslims while Birbhum gives a figure of 7,20,000 Hindus and 3,01,000 Muslims. The 2,76,000 Muslims of Santhal Parganas can easily cross the border and enter Birbhum district and will thus make it a district of equal manpower of Hindus and Muslims in that district of Bengal[8]. The district is rather greater for crossing over to Burdwan and will equally serve no greater purpose since the position of Muslims after complete transfer of population will be nearly half of Hindus instead of one-fourth as at present. However, the matter must receive due consideration of the populace of Santhal Parganas and it should be entirely left at their discretion to choose between Birbhum and Burdwan. The district of Manbhum, having 12,86,000 Hindus and 1,40,000 Muslims (9 to 1) touches the borders of Bankura and Burdwan. The one and a half lakh Muslims of Manbhum should cross over to Bankura thus

increasing the population of Muslims there from 1 to 20 to 1 to 5. Singhbhum district of Bihar has got about 48,000 Muslims against 4,67,000 Hindus. Since the district of Midnapore in Bengal is the only adjoining district these 48,000 should migrate there. The 2,90,000 Muslims of Bhagalpur, who are 1 to 7 against Hindus might cross and enter Bengal in the district of Malda thus increasing the Muslim strength there from 7,55,000 to 10,45,000 against 5,02,000 Hindus.

The five remaining districts of Muzafarpur, Darbhanga, Patna, Gaya and Monghyr surround Patna except Hazaribagh. These districts have got about 18,09,000 Muslims against 1,29,05,500 Hindus spread over all these districts. They should therefore form a nucleus of Muslim concentrated population in Patna or round about Patna. This block will equalize their strength with those of the Hindus in Patna district itself and will certainly diminish chances of mass attack of Hindus due to the following reasons:

a. the strength of 21,00,000 (18,00,000 as above and 3,00,000 from Purnea district) at one place will always be an invincible force to combat; and
b. the district itself will get all support from a civilized administration in the capital of the province and no outrageous mob will ever try to attack and face the bullets of the police force as well as a bitter and tough response at the hands of those attacked.

In my opinion this process of migration will not hamper the progress of Bihar Muslims in various spheres of life such as cultivation, language and trade. Since it is a matter of only crossing the border of one district to another it should not create much complication of an unavoidable nature. It will safeguard the Muslim life, property and culture on the one hand and will simultaneously strengthen their brethren in the eastern districts of U.P. who will thus form a major minority in those parts with resources to combat untoward happenings in future. This nucleus of Muslim concentrated population will not only strengthen the hands of Muslims belonging to the adjoining parts of both the provinces but will also threaten others not to take any unwise steps leading towards civil war of a devastating nature. Rapid and large scale exodus of Bihar Muslims into Bengal, U.P. and Punjab has been reported. Even Mr. Gandhi holds that exchange of population should be adopted as a last step. This is now the most appropriate time to adopt this so-called last measure. In case the leaders and the League fails to take up this step in right earnest, the instinct of self-preservation

will force the Muslim masses to move to the safer zone, preferably in Pakistan zones.

The belt so formed in the eastern border of U.P. will become a substantial part of that great chain of Muslim concentrated population beginning from Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, Deoria, Gorakhpore, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Benares and Mirzapur. The formation of this belt will automatically form itself and Eastern Frontier at the border of U.P. and Bihar provinces and serve long range useful purpose after the declaration of Pakistan sovereign State. It is just possible that this block might take the shape of a Muslim autonomous state after a lapse of say 30 to 50 years, if Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam, the newly-formed organization of Muslim divines takes up its missionary work honestly and earnestly considering it their first and foremost sacred duty as a divine organization of Islam. The possibilities of willing conversions are not impossible since thousands of Hindus leave their religion regularly and come to the fold of Islam for the salvation of their souls.

Moreover, this block in itself will be equal in population and greater in area if compared with some of the world countries such as equal to European Turkey having 20,00,000, greater than Northern Ireland having 13,00,000 persons, greater than Hijaz having only 15,00,000 persons, greater than Syria, Armenia and Libya having 17,00,000, 13,00,000 and 11,00,000 respectively, equal to French Guinea having 20,00,000 and much greater in population and area [than] a number of countries and republics in Central America, West Indies and African countries etc. etc.

CHAPTER II
ASSAM

The following two tables give the population of various communities in each district of Assam province according to 1941 Census and estimated figures as at present [1946] on percentage variations:

[*Tables omitted*][9]

100 Muslims of Lushai Hills, a negligible figure, may go to Tipperah, the adjoining district of Bengal.

The Muslims of Sibsagar, amounting to 51,000, may come down to Nowgong and thus increase the strength of Muslims there from 2,50,000 to 3,01,000. Thus the districts of Nowgong, Kamrup, Goalpara, Darrang, Khasia-Jainti Hills, Garo Hills and Sylhet will form a Muslim block.

The 12,000 Muslims from the district of Sylhet, which is a surplus

Muslim district, should come down to Khasia-Jainti Hills district and settle there in order to make it a Muslim surplus district of Assam Province.

The tribal people inhabiting this vast province constitute a substantial population amounting to 27,21,000 but their religion has not been defined clearly anywhere. Even Mr. Yeats, the Census Commissioner of Government of India, has expressed his inability to classify these tribesmen. According to his statement they are Hindus, Muslims and Christians or in other words they possess no religion at all and hence they are harmless for about 900 Muslims, who reside in Sadiya Frontier Tract and are, in a way, a safeguard for the minor Muslim population in that district.

Similarly, Muslims of Lakhimpur district numbering only about 50,000 may cross the border and settle down either in Nowgong or Cachar district, whichever is convenient to them. At present Cachar district possesses an equal number of Hindus and Muslims and is quite safe for any emergency.

If somehow 8,00,000 Muslims from 13,00,000 surplus Muslims of Rangpur district of Bengal might cross the border and settle down in Goalpara district of Assam they will be equal in number in that province and will form one of the strongest Muslim block on the northern frontier of India as well as the northern frontier of Eastern Pakistan zone. To implement these proposals is a forlorn hope since Assam has got a prejudiced Hindu Government but even under these circumstances underground work can perform miracle provided Assam Muslims are themselves tolerant and considerate.

CHAPTER III (ORISSA)

The following two tables give the figures of population of various communities in the miniature province of Orissa which is an off-shoot of Bihar. The province covers a large area but is full of states with the exception of a few districts under British domination which are situated on the coast line except Sambalpore which is in the interior of the province.

[*Tables omitted*][10]

The Muslims of Balasore, Cuttock and Puri districts of this province constitute only 1,38,000 against a formidable rock of Hindu majority touching a high figure of 44,25,000. These Muslims represent only 3.1 per cent against 96.9 per cent Hindus. The number of Muslims though negligible is in great danger and in case their

position is not secured fully they are likely to perish and wiped off altogether from this province. The safest course still open to these Muslims is to migrate into Midnapore the nearest district of Bengal, thus increasing the Muslim population from 2,63,862 to 2,63,862 plus 48,000 immigrants from Singhbhum district of Bihar plus 1,38,000 from the above three districts of Orissa and bringing the strength of Muslims upto 4,49,862 against 28,69,940 Hindus in Midnapore.

The Muslims of Sambalpore about 5,250 against 10,00,000 Hindus must leave the district and enter into Bengal or Hyderabad according to their own choice and convenience.

The Muslims of Ganjam and Koraput numbering only about 7,000 against 17 lakh Hindus cannot remain in these parts in the face of present unsettled conditions of the country and the safest course for them is to enter the district of Warrangal in Hyderabad State.

This district can accommodate these 7,000 persons easily.

CHAPTER IV

BENGAL PROVINCE

[Tables omitted][11]

The Province, though possessing a majority of Muslims by about 75,00,000 persons, still some of the districts are much deficient in respect of Muslim population. These districts have been dealt with in the following paragraphs:

Burdwan- This district holds 15,07,738 Hindus and 3,70,370 Muslims. If half the Muslims of Santhal Parganas of Bihar are transferred to this district as already recommended in the first chapter, the existing strength will come to 3,70,370 plus 1,38,000 = 5,08,370, i.e. one-third of the Hindus. Moreover, the adjoining districts of Murshidabad and Nadia in Bengal, being Muslim majority districts, will serve as a safeguard for Muslim minority in Burdwan.

Birbhum- The population here is 28,69,740 Hindus and 2,63,860 Muslims. In case 1,38,000 of Santhal Parganas in Bihar already recommended above for transfer to Burdwan might find it more convenient to come down to this district and thus increase the Muslims from 2,63,862 to 4,01,862, i.e. one to seven against Hindus. Even this ratio is rather serious and must be supplemented by transferring about 4 to 5 lakh Muslims from Nadia and Murshidabad so as to remove the great deficiency and enabling the Muslims in this part to stand on their own legs in case of some serious incident.

Bankura- The district has got 11,64,888 Hindus and 60,048 Muslims. This low percentage of Muslims will be supplemented by the transfer of 1,40,000 Muslims from Manbhum district of Bihar

already referred to in the foregoing pages. The total strength of Muslims will thus be one-fifth of the Hindus, which percentage is rather low and must increase. At least 2,00,000 Muslims must migrate from the surplus districts of the eastern part of the province.

Hooghly- It has got 13,98,182 Hindus and 3,49,634 Muslims. Some Muslims should be transferred from Nadia and Jessore the adjoining districts. If this figure is somehow increased to its double, the district will be self-supporting in case of any emergency.

Calcutta- The present position of Muslims in this district is 28.5 per cent while those of Hindus is 71.5 per cent. This low percentage can be reduced to a greater extent by transferring the surplus Muslims from Jessore the adjoining district of Calcutta. This addition will reduce [*sic*] the percentage from 28.5 per cent to 43.0 per cent which I think, is a good figure to meet with any emergency.

Khulna- The position is that Hindus are 10,75,470 and Muslims 3,95,120. This population may be increased by transferring a substantial part of 9,00,000 and 17,69,000 surplus Muslims from Faridpur and Bakarganj districts, respectively. This additional number of Muslims if migrated into Khulna by crossing the borders only will also help, to a great extent, the deficiency of Muslims in Calcutta and 24-Parganas.

24-Parganas- This district possesses a ratio of 1 to 2 Muslims—Hindus, i.e. 26 lakh Hindus and 13 lakh Muslims. The proposals advanced for Khulna will apply to this district also.

Howrah- This district is also a deficit district in respect of Muslim strength and has got 13,98,000 Hindus and 3,49,000 Muslims. The transfer from Faridpur and Bakarganj in this district also will ease the Howrah situation.

Darjeeling-Has got 1,94,000 Hindus and 9,900 Muslims. If only 2 Lakh Muslims from Purnea in Bihar might cross the border as already recommended in Chapter I, the district will be a Muslim surplus area.

Jalpaiguri-Has got 5,79,000 Hindus and 2,64,000 Muslims. The remaining 5 lakh Muslims of Purnea in Bihar should cross over to Jalpaiguri with the result that this district will become one of the thickly-populated areas relating to Muslim populace.

Midnapore- This district is situated on the south-east of Bengal and is a coastal district having 28,69,940 Hindus and 2,63,862 Muslims. The strength will presumably be increased by an addition of 48,000 Muslim immigrants from Bihar as already incorporated in the foregoing pages and 1,38,000 immigrants from the three districts of

Orissa, detailed above. Even this addition will bring the total strength to 4,49,862 Muslims against 28,69,940 Hindus, i.e. one-sixth only. This figure must be supplemented by the transfer of at least 10 lakh from Tipperah, five lakh from Noakhali, four lakh from Pabna and five lakh from Dacca thus increasing the Muslim strength there to 28,49,862. These immigrants from other districts of Bengal and Orissa may be absorbed in coal and iron mines as well as in other industrial concerns. Since the mineral resources of this district could not be exploited in the past, the Home Government of Bengal should devise means to exploit these resources by patronizing the financiers, grant of subsidies to private enterprise and by floating companies of public shares. These concerns will be inlets for absorbing the huge labour unit of these immigrants.

The province of Bengal is thickly populated and possesses larger number of Muslims in all the districts in the eastern, northern and Central parts. The above plan, if given effect to, will reduce the percentage of Hindus in the Western and Southern Bengal and the province on the whole will be a much bigger one in respect of Muslim manpower. I think the easiest course to transfer surplus Muslims from eastern Bengal to Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, 24-Parganas and Midnapore is to force Muslim financiers to establish industrial concerns in these districts which should be solely monopolized by Muslims and efforts should be made to get Muslim labour unit from East Bengal to these districts. The second alternative to implement these recommendations is that Government should locate certain divisional offices in these districts to attract Muslims from all over the province since their percentage in Bengal Government service is much less than the Hindus.

The transfer of Muslim populace from Orissa will also help to increase the strength of Muslims in these deficit districts of Bengal.

CHAPTER V
MADRAS PRESIDENCY

This province is spread over the whole tail-end of India and has got 25 big districts. The province is the second largest province in respect of Hindu population in India. It is a great problem to transfer the meagre Muslim minority from this most thickly-populated province to some safe place either within the province or outside it. Detailed proposals are, however, given in the following paragraphs:

The two tables below give the community-wise population in different districts of Madras Presidency. As usual the first table represents figures based on 1941 Census while those given in the

second table represent estimated present population.

[*Tables omitted*][12]

The Muslims of Vizigapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Kistna districts might cross over to Hyderabad State in the Warrangal district which joins with the borders of nearly all the districts except Vizigapatam. The population of Muslims in these districts amounting 1,79,000 against 84, 59,000 Hindus is too insignificant and must consolidate at a safe place. The population of Warrangal is 13,22,000 and an addition of 1,79,000 will increase it to 15,81,300 thereby increasing the strength of Muslims in that district of Hyderabad State. If the State so likes, these 1, 79,000 plus 7000 immigrants from Madras and Orissa provinces can be absorbed in the coal-fields of Singareni, Kamaram, Madhavaram located in Warrangal district as well as in other industries and commercial concerns besides cultivation.

The Muslims of Guntur about 1,94,000 against 19,05,000 Hindus may cross the border and enter Nalgonda district of Nizam's State and increase the populace there from 13,51,500 to 15,45,500.

The Muslims of Kurnool numbering 1,83,592 against 9,26,700 Hindus might cross the border and enter Mahbubnagar district of Nizam's territory thus increasing the population from 11,53,500 to 13,37,100 which strength can easily be accommodated in such a big district as Mahbubnagar. South Arcott and Chingleput numbering 7,02,300 against 1,07,20,000 Hindus of these districts should form a territorial zone of concentrated Muslim population in the district of Madras proper and its vicinity thereby increasing 1,05,270 Muslims of Madras to a strength of about 8,07,600. This Central block will be a self-supporting unit in this great Presidency.

The 83,700 Muslims of Salem might cross the border and enter into Bangalore district of Mysore state and settle there with the Muslims who are a sufficiently major minority in the state.

The Muslim inhabitants of Trichnopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly and Ramnand amounting to 5,11,000 against 82,24,000 Hindus in these districts should cross their respective borders and settle down in the district of Tanjore and increase the Muslim populace there from 1,77,216 to 6,88,500 against 23,91,000 Hindus in that district. This compact territorial block of about 7,00,000 Muslims will be a safe Muslim zone in case of any danger of a mass attack.

The districts of Coimbatore, Nilgiris and South Kanara have got a population of 3, 22,800 Muslims and 41,61, 300 Hindus. Since all the districts join the Malabar district these 3,22,800 men should migrate into Malabar thereby increasing the Muslim manpower there from 14,18,068 to 17,41,000 against 26,17,000 Hindus in Malabar district.

The most salient feature of this re-organization and readjustment of districts and its population is that on both the coasts of India, i.e. south-east and south-west, there will be a substantial strength of Muslims and that they will not be severed from international commercial connections.

CHAPTER VI

BOMBAY

This Presidency is spread over the whole western coast of India. It has got 21 districts with a population of about 1,85,07,400 Hindus and 22,95,700 Muslims, i.e. 8 per cent Muslims and the rest Hindus and others. It is the result of this low percentage of Musalmans that the communal riots in Ahmedabad and Bombay proper have not yet ceased although more than eight months in case of former and five months in the case of the latter have elapsed. Had there been a substantial Muslim percentage in the Province, these riots[13] would never have occurred. It is now an admitted fact that only those provinces and states have been subjected to Hindu aggression where Muslims are in a great minority while on the other hand where they are in a majority or even equal and half of Hindus, no such incident has at all been reported. Is it not a very significant fact?

As usual, the following two tables indicate the community-wise figure of population in various districts of this Presidency. The first table gives figures of 1941 Census while the second table represents present estimated data.

[*Tables omitted*][14]

The Muslims of Kanara, Dharwar and Belgaum forming a population of approximately 3,42, 000 against 25,67,000 Hindus might leave their respective districts and settle in Raichur district of Nizam's Dominion, which is the adjoining district of the state.

The 1,30,000 Muslims against 10,04,000 Hindus in Bijapur can easily cross the border of their district and enter in Gulbarga district of Nizam's territory and thus increase the strength of population there from approximately 13,91,000 to 15,21,000.

The Muslims of Sholapur consisting of 95,580 persons only against 9,82,000 Hindus may go to Osmanabad the adjoining district in the Nizam's Dominion thereby increasing its strength from 7,93,500 to 8,89,100.

The Muslims of Ahmednagar estimated to be 66,204 only against a substantial number of 10,50,624 Hindus may cross the border and enter into Nizam's State either in the district of Beer or Aurangabad. It would be better if they enter Beer which has got a population of

only 7,83,000 and is a big district.

Muslims residing in Nasik, East Khandesh and West Khandesh amounting to 2,80,000 against 26,07,000 [Hindus] should enter Aurangabad district of Nizam's territory and increase the total population there from 11,36,300 to 14,16,200.

The Muslims of Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Poona, Surat, Thana and Satara and Bombay suburban, who form a total strength of 4,21,800 against 56,49,000 Hindus in these districts should form a consolidated block of their own in the district of Bombay suburban. These Muslims will be self-supporting to a greater extent in comparison to any individual Hindu district of this block on the one hand and will serve as a backbone to the 2,86,500 Muslims of Bombay proper against a majority of 11,63,500 Hindus of that international city of India.

The Muslims of Ahmedabad, Ahmedabad city, Broach and Panch Mahal and Kaira should consolidate themselves in one district preferably in Ahmedabad. The total population of 6,69,000 Muslims against 34,83,000 Hindus, if consolidated in Ahmedabad, will form a community of nearly equal numerical strength with any single Hindu district and will thereby reduce all chances of major communal riots except minor clashes occurring frequently in day to day life of a big commercial city.

It would be rather more advantageous if the Muslims of Thana, Broach-Panchmahal settle down in Surat because it appears to be imperative in the interest of trade connections. Thus there will be three consolidated blocks of Muslim concentrated population in Bombay province as under:

i. Ahmedabad block consisting of Ahmedabad, Ahmedabad City and Kaira districts.
ii. Surat block consisting of Surat, Broach-Panchmahal and Thana.
iii. Bombay block consisting of Ratnagiri, Satara, Kolaba, Poona and Bombay suburban.

In view of its coastline of international importance the reorganization plan of Bombay Presidency is a complicated problem except in the case of districts which join the borders of Hyderabad State and are situated in the interior of the Presidency rather than on the coastline such as Surat, Thana and Bombay proper.

CHAPTER VII
CENTRAL PROVINCES & BERAR

The recent atrocities committed by the majority community in Bihar are the second instalment of the well-organized programme of the other party to suppress the Muslims in the minority provinces

thereby injuring the Muslim India as a whole and reducing their national strength gradually and slowly. The first instalment was already experienced in C.P. during the last Congress Ministry as would be evident from some of the incidents out of a series of tyranny and oppression meted out by the Muslims in C.P. The second and third instalment was the Bihar tragedy and Garhmuktesar massacre. A few incidents of tyranny in C.P. during the last Congress regime are given below to justify migration from this province.

a. The Muslims of Jubbulpore were deliberately and ruthlessly killed by a Hindu *Holi* procession in 1938 and the accused while at the point of being committed to Sessions were released under orders of the then Premier of C.P. who just then occupied the Premier's chair after Dr. Khare's forced exit.
b. The unconditional release of the condemned Hindus who murdered a girl by poisoning in a betel as a result of communal hatred, was ordered by the Congress Government in Hoshangabad.
c. As a result of the murder of one Hindu in Biswa village of Berar 160 Muslims comprising the entire Muslim population of the village were arrested indiscriminately under special orders of Premier Pandit [Ravi Shankar] Shukla and were subjected to harsh and inhuman treatment during their custody.
d. Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Sharif the Muslim Minister of C.P. was turned out of office since he granted reprieve to a 3 years' imprisonment passed on a charge of ravishing a girl of labour class by a Muslim. But a Hindu Minister, Mr. D.P. Misra, who himself was involved in a rape and abduction case of a minor Muslim girl, received full support of the Congress high command to continue in his responsible office.

In view of the above-cited incidents and the low percentage of Muslims in that province which represents 6 per cent Muslims only, it is imperative to re-organize the Muslim populace in the province immediately. The following two tables give data relating to community-wise population of each district in the Central Provinces and Berar. The first relates to statistical data already published by the Government of India as a result of the last Census (1941) and the second represents estimated figures based on the percentage variations envisaged in Government of India's 1941 All-India Census Report.

[*Tables omitted*][15]

The Muslims of Chanda, Drug and Raipur comprising of about 48,800 only against a formidable Hindu majority should at all costs leave the province and enter Nizam's territory in Adilabad district and thus increase the strength of the populace there from 8,73,000 to 9,21,800. The labour unit of these immigrants can easily be absorbed in the local fields of Tandur and Antaigaor in that district.

The Muslims of Nimar district, only 63,300 in number against 3,46,500 Hindus in that district, should cross the border and enter the district of Buldana in Berar and increase the Muslim strength there from 81,000 against 7,36,400 Hindus to 1,44,300 Muslims thus making the Muslim strength as one against five Hindus.

The Muslims of Betul only 8,600 in number against 2,69,700 Hindus should cross the border and enter Amraoti district of Berar thereby increasing Muslim populace to 1,12,500 against 8,58,000 Hindus there.

The 20,700 Muslims against 4,43,000 Hindus in Wardha should cross the border and enter Yeotmal district of Berar. The community-wise position in Yeotmal will thus be 77,700 Muslims against 6,80,544 Hindus. This is a very low and poor percentage but the Muslim strength in the adjoining districts of Nizam as well as the extraordinary powers of a Muslim ruler in the vicinity will presumably safeguard the Muslim life and property of Berar Muslims.

The Muslims of Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur and Mandla comprising of 1,42,500 only against 41,42,000 Hindus in these districts should migrate into Nagpur and form a Central block of Muslim concentrated population thereby increasing the strength of Muslims in Nagpur from 60,490 to 2,13,00 against 9,66,000 Hindus, i.e. about 25 per cent of Hindus. This block having this substantial strength of Muslims in a compact area will be a self-supporting unit. Moreover, the minority will be safe in and round about the capital city of the province where immediate help in case of any emergency will be handy for political reasons.

The number of Muslims in Saugor and Jubbulpore cannot join the Central block due to long distance and inadequate space hence they should migrate into Jhansi the adjoining district of the United Provinces. The 1,18,000 Muslims of these two districts against 15,36,000 Hindus of the locality will always be in grave peril and a source of consternation for the Muslims of India lest they may not be wiped off altogether in case of a country-wide civil strife between the two major communities of this sub-continent. Their transfer will help 45,000 Muslims who inhabit the Jhansi district against a great majority of 7,45,000 Hindus. They will thus become one-fourth of the

Hindus.

The province is the second weakest zone of Muslim population, the first being Bihar, hence it is imperative to take up either reorganization of its Muslim population or wholesale migration into Hyderabad State, Berar and United Provinces, otherwise they are likely to pay dearly in the future like their brethren in Bihar.

CHAPTER VIII
UNITED PROVINCES

The following two tables indicate the data relating to community-wise population in the province.

[*Tables omitted*][16]

The provinces, like C.P. and Bihar, also suffered heavily in the past regime as well as during the present regime as would be evident from the following few descriptions.

The Muslim blood became a cheap commodity in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence cry which took the form of Chauri Chaura[17] and Garhmuktesar[18] happenings in the past when a number of butchers who purchased cows from Hindu cultivators in Garh were attacked and killed for no fault of theirs. The ruthless happenings of the recent Garhmuktesar fair, and riots in Agra, Jhansi, Aligarh, Meerut, Hapur, Bareilly, Allahabad and Benares will speak for themselves. The Garhmuktesar affair was not an ordinary incident but an unprecedented tragedy in the history of the province. As a result of these happenings it is imperative to reorganize the province as a whole. It is no use calculating on the wholesale transfer of Muslim population to Punjab the adjoining province since it is impracticable because the length and breadth of this model land of India does not permit wholesale transference. Moreover, the province is supposed to produce Muslim intelligentsia of the Muslim nation in India as would be evident from *who is who* in India and the capabilities of some of the top rank leaders of Muslim nation in India. The province holds the standard Muslim culture, architect[ure] and language (Urdu). It has got certain other aspects as well such as Taj Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandra, etc. etc. the sanctity of which must, at all costs be preserved by the Muslims in India. Under these circumstances the possible solution is not the transfer of population but reorganization of the province itself systematically. Some of the suggestions are, therefore, given below for consideration and application, if deemed feasible. The above two tables indicate

community-wise population during 1941 Census and the present estimated population.

The eastern block consisting of the districts of Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, Gorakhpore, Azamgarh, Ballia, Ghazipur, Benares and Mirzapur has already been dealt with in Chapter I and may be referred to.

The most significant thing is that the Muslim population is concentrated in urban areas and the rural percentage is too meagre but scattered over a large area in every district.

The labour unit in the districts of Oudh comprising Unao, Lucknow, Rai Bareilly, Sitapur, Hardoi, Lakhimpur, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Barabanki should come over to the urban areas. Of course, the cultivators cannot leave but their position will not be too unsafe in the face of urban concentration. Moreover the transference has already been started and the populace is now already disposing of its holdings and coming to the cities. Their connection with the trade and services as a parallel occupation to cultivation will not be too detrimental to the national life of the Musalmans in this block. The 3,500 Muslims of Almora and Nainital might concentrate in Nainital where there is much scope for their absorption.

Similarly, the rural population of Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Fatehpur might come over to urban areas and increase the strength of their brethren in the cities. They will be able to find suitable openings for their engagement in urban areas at the point of slight tolerance of the Muslims in urban areas.

Etawah Muslims representing only 58,000 against 8,98,000 Hindus are no doubt quite unsafe. Of course, if 2,60,000 Muslims of Gwalior who have already been forced to leave the state, cross the distance of about 35 miles only and enter Etawah, the Etawah Muslim population will be safe otherwise the Muslims of Etawah are forced to migrate into Agra or some nearby district such as Etah.

Mainpuri people must leave and settle in Agra or Aligarh districts since they are a meagre minority in the district.

Similarly the 87,000 Muslims against 8,00,000 Hindus of Muttra must also cross the border and settle in Agra: These immigrants plus Agra Muslims will thus form more than 25 per cent of the Hindus in Agra district and will be able to avert any catastrophe of a devastating nature.

The Rohilkhand block comprising Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Badaun, Moradabad and Bijnor can take care of itself. Efforts should, however, be made to consolidate the rural population round

about the urban areas.

The Garhwal people numbering 5,500 only must come down and settle in Bijnor district which represents a substantial population of Muslims there. They will thus form 65 per cent of the Hindus.

Aligarh district is the weakest link in the chain of western districts of the province. The population must be supplemented by transferring at least one lakh from Moradabad where there are 6,12,000 Muslims against 8,62,000 Hindus. This addition will thus become one-fourth of the Hindus and will be a safeguard for the great Muslim Institution the University. In order to attract these one lakh Muslims, efforts should be made to erect an oil and a cotton mill, owned solely by the University itself, which will eliminate all chances of objection from the administration.

Meerut district is the second weak point in this range, which joins with the southern borders of Punjab. The Muslim cultivators should form blocks of several nearby villages at one village and thus eliminate chances of untoward happenings in future like that of Garh and Hapur. These concentrations have already commenced in that district voluntarily as well as with the help of political organization.

The western chain of the province represents the second wheat belt of the country, first being Punjab, hence migration in the adjoining district of the Punjab will not be beneficial in the interest of Muslim nation as a whole. Moreover, the most significant thing is that the Muslim population will form itself another belt of Muslim concentrated population much wealthier and prosperous at the south-eastern border of North Pakistan zone.

In this belt the districts of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Bulandshahr are self-supporting and can take care of themselves easily. Besides some of the population of Saharanpur can cross into Ambala district also if need be at some later stage.

CHAPTER IX

PUNJAB PROVINCE

The following tables indicate community-wise population on the basis of 1941 census and estimated figures as at present:

[Tables omitted][19]

The seven districts of Punjab—Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Kangra and Simla are deficit in respect of Muslim population as compared to Hindus.

There is no help for Gurgaon and Rohtak except that some of the Muslims from the adjoining states in Rajputana might find it feasible to enter Gurgaon and subsequently to Rohtak, if at all they are forced

to leave their homes in the state. The oppression of Muslims in Hindu states has already commenced in the states of Datia and Gwalior and the Muslims belonging to these two states are now migrating in large numbers to the adjoining districts of U.P. Similar oppressive treatment will, presumably, be met by the Muslims of other Hindu states in Rajputana and Central India in future.

The population of Hissar represents 3,02,000 Muslims and 6,91,000 Hindus. The adjoining district of Ferozepore has got a surplus Muslim population of 4,05,500 and a substantial portion of this surplus can easily be transferred to Hissar by crossing the border only.

Karnal-This district has got seven lakh Hindus and three lakh Muslims. Efforts should be made to transfer about three lakh Muslims from Ludhiana and Jullundur.

Ambala-Similarly there is a deficit of 1,50,000 Muslims in this district. One lakh Muslims out of three lakh proposed to be transferred to Karnal from Jullundur and Ludhiana should settle down in Ambala. I think there is ample wasteland in this district which can be utilised with advantage by these settlers. The border touching Saharanpur district of U.P. can be utilised for growing the sugarcane crop—a cash crop—and these settlers generally cultivators, would certainly like to grow this commodity provided they get land at cheap rates and other implements from the Punjab Agricultural Department. There is a dearth of sugarcane in Punjab and the inhabitants always cry loud for more sugar supplies from U.P. and Bihar, the only two sugar producing provinces of India.

There are 30,000 Hindus and 7,000 Muslims in Simla. A few thousand if transferred from three lakh surplus Muslims of Gurdaspur district, will find it quite advantageous to settle down in this famous hill resort of India.

There is a great difference of population between Hindus and Muslims in the district of Kangra, best known as Kangra Valley. Hindus have got a surplus of eight lakh. If two lakh Muslims from Gurdaspur and three lakh from Sialkot are transferred to this hilly area they will then become a match for Hindu majority in difficult times which are not far off now in view of present unsettled conditions of the country, wide political differences of both the great organizations—Congress and League—and Hindu leaders efforts to dominate Punjab somehow or the other. If resources of copper, which are available in Kangra Valley, are fully exploited these men from Gurdaspur and Sialkot will easily be absorbed and would be too willing to take up the enterprise for the betterment of their own

prospects.

The proposals and recommendations made in the foregoing paragraphs cannot be implemented at this stage easily unless a Muslim ministry is established in the province and efforts are made to exploit the hidden resources of the country on this side of the province. Voluntary transference on the part of the Muslims of the proposed districts will be rather difficult, if not impracticable, unless and until some attraction in the form of financial gains and prospective employments, is provided by the state itself. Of course, it is just possible for the Punjab Committee of Action to do something in this direction as a preliminary measure by providing some kind of incentive in these deficit areas of the province for the populace (Muslims) to migrate there willingly.

CHAPTER X
NWFP

As usual the following two tables indicate community-wise population in each district of this province.

[*Tables omitted*] [20]

This province needs no reorganization or readjustment of its districts except that mineral resources of the land should be exploited fully in Kohat and Shirani Hills to make it a richer and wealthier province as well as to provide attraction for the immigrants from the border districts of the Punjab, who are bound to come over to this province as a result of inflation of population in the Punjab and achievement of better prospects. Here, too, a stable Muslim Ministry is needed immediately to make the northern Pakistan frontier stronger, richer and self-supporting, economically, industrially and agriculturally, if possible.

CHAPTER XI
SIND

The following two tables indicate district-wise population of various communities as usual.

[*Tables omitted*][21]

All the districts of this province are greatly surplus in respect of Muslim population and need no reorganization or readjustment of their population. Since a stable Muslim Ministry is in the making, the resources of the country will surely be exploited by those having the reins in their own hands.

CHAPTER XII
BALUCHISTAN

As usual two tables below give details of district-wise and community-wise population in British Baluchistan:

[*Tables omitted*][22]

The province as a whole is a predominantly Muslim populated land and needs no reorganization and readjustment except exploitation of mineral resources such as petroleum, natural gas and chromite etc. etc. which are reported to be available in this mountainous country.

CHAPTER XIII
MINOR ADMINISTRATIONS

The following two tables indicate district-wise population of various communities as usual in various smaller Administrations under British India:

[*Tables omitted*][23]

DELHI

This province can take care of itself since it has got a substantial Muslim population amounting to three lakh against five and a half lakh Hindus and has got Punjab on its western, northern and southern sides and Meerut and Bulandshahr districts of U.P. on the south-eastern sides, which are also self-supporting Muslim districts of that Province.

AJMER-MERWARA

The Muslim population is only 25 per cent of the Hindus in this Administration but this population will surely be supplemented in due course of time on account of migration of Muslims from the adjoining Hindu states spread over all the sides of this Administration.

COORG

The 15,000 Muslims of Coorg Administration might cross over to Malabar Muslim block, if they so desire or migrate into the districts of Mysore or Banglore districts of Mysore State.

ANDAMANS & NICOBAR

These two Islands are quite self-sufficient and need no reorganization or readjustment.

[*Map of Hyderabad Deccan omitted*][24]

CHAPTER XIV

HYDERABAD STATE

The population of the state is 1,74,82,000 of which 1,42,41,000 are Hindus, 22,44,000 Muslims, 2,31,000 Christians and the rest tribes and others. The Muslims represent only 16 per cent of the Hindus.

The immigration of 13,99,292 Muslims from Madras province, 9,13,780 from Bombay and 48,800 from C.P. will increase the Muslim strength in the State from 22,44,000 to about 46,05,100 i.e. about 32% or say one-third of the Hindus. If the Nizam still recollects the hard times of *Pari Masu* movement of Arya Satyagrha, well-organised under the leadership of the C.P. Speaker, who obtained Mr. Gandhi's advice every now and then during the movement, which also resulted in a number of communal riots all over the country consequent to the observation of Hyderabad Day, he will certainly be thankful to this immigration process and would welcome it. The plan, if given effect to, will certainly establish the Muslim kingdom in Hyderabad when the state will get power of paramountcy after the British quit India as has already been declared in the historic debate on India in the Parliament. The matter needs careful thinking and negotiations between the Nizam and the Muslim leadership of the country. The Law in the State, classifying *Mulki* or *Ghair-Mulki* should have to be amended consequent to the acceptance of this migration process and Muslims from outside should have to be declared by the state as naturalised *Mulkis* to enable them to enjoy privileges of the state with other inhabitants of the land.

A map of Hyderabad state has been provided on the opposite page with the location of districts and their population etc. etc. [omitted]

MYSORE STATE

This state has got a Muslim population of 5,14,000 against 71,97,000 Hindus. The addition of 83,700 Muslims from the adjoining district of Salem in Madras Presidency will increase the number of Muslims to roughly 6,00,000 i.e. one-twelfth of the Hindus. This number is too meagre but there is no help except that Muslims from all over the state should consolidate themselves round about Mysore or Bangalore districts in order to eliminate chance of mass attack and organized repression from Hindus. Besides, the threat of proposed consolidated strong Muslim block of 17,00,000 across the border of the state in the Malabar coast will serve as a suitable check and Mysore Hindus will not dare to take any unwise or drastic steps to attack and harm these Musalmans on a mass scale.

CHAPTER XV

STATEMENTS OF POPULATION IN EACH STATE AND STATE AGENCY OF INDIA

This relates to population of various communities in Indian States and State Agencies on the basis of 1941 census.

[*Two tables omitted*][25]

INDIAN STATES

The rulers of various Indian states will look after the safety of their Muslim subjects in their respective states in the interest of the state but repression like that of Jaipur, Gwalior and Datia, if repeated in any other state, will automatically force the Muslims:

i. to seek shelter either in the nearby or the adjoining Muslim States;
ii. to migrate in the nearest province of Hindustan, where there is a substantial Muslim strength; or
iii. to cross over to the distant regions of Pakistan.

For want of time, detailed population of Muslims and Hindus and others in various individual States and Agencies has not been provided in this Report. Figures for some of the major states, which according to the recommendations contained in this Report, will play a prominent part in the reorganization and readjustment of population given in the above two tables. If need be, these details will be furnished in the supplementary Report on Indian states.[26]

STATEMENTS OF POPULATION IN EACH PROVINCE AND STATE IN INDIA

[*Two tables omitted*][27]

CHAPTER XVI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To sum up I give below a summary of the recommendations contained in this Report:

BIHAR

i. The population of Eastern Bihar should migrate into Western Bengal to make up the deficiency of Muslims in that part of Bengal as well as to save the Bihar Muslims in case of a civil war or communal riot of such intensity as that of October-November 1946.
ii. The transfer of Muslims from the Western Bihar to Eastern U.P. has been suggested to save Bihar Muslims as well as to form a compact territorial block of Muslims in Eastern U.P.
iii. The formation of a Central block has been recommended to concentrate Muslims in and round about Patna district to save them from an organized communal riot.

ASSAM

Recommendations have been made:

i. To concentrate the Muslims of Assam in the northern districts of the province where Muslims are in a majority.
ii. To migrate the Muslims from the surrounding districts to settle down in Sylhet district, which is a Muslim surplus district of the Province.
iii. To transfer eight lakh Muslims, if possible, from Rangpur a district in East Bengal to increase the Muslim percentage in Khasia-Jainti Hills, Garo Hills and Goalpara districts of Assam.

BENGAL

It has been suggested to supplement Muslim population of Western Bengal from the transfer of Bihar and Orissa Muslims and to transfer a sufficient number of surplus Muslims from Eastern Bengal to Central and Western Bengal, i.e. Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

ORISSA

The Muslims inhabited in the north-eastern part of Orissa should cross over to Midnapore in Bengal and those living in south western Orissa to cross over to Hyderabad State.

MADRAS

i. To migrate Muslims from northern districts of Madras to Hyderabad State.
ii. To form two central territorial blocks of Muslims, one in and round about Madras district and the other in Tanjore district of the Presidency.
iii. To arrange for the migration of Muslims in the western districts of the Presidency to Mysore State and Malabar district of the Presidency itself to form a concentrated block in Malabar thus to occupy a certain part of western and eastern coasts of India, which is imperative.

BOMBAY

i. To transfer some of the population from eastern Bombay to Hyderabad State.
ii. To form central territorial blocks in Bombay suburban and Surat districts in order to retain international trade connections.
iii. To form a third block in this Presidency round about Ahmedabad City.

C.P. & BERAR

i. To transfer Muslims of southern C.P. to Hyderabad State.
ii. To transfer western districts' Muslims to Berar, the would-be part of Hyderabad State.
iii. To form a central concentrated block in and round about

Nagpur, the capital of the Province.

iv. To transfer Muslims of northern C.P. i.e. Jubbulpore and Saugor districts to Jhansi district of U.P.

UNITED PROVINCES

No transfer has been suggested for the Muslims of this province. After the formation of an eastern block as envisaged as the result of migration from Bihar the only other suggestion made in this report is to consolidate rural population in and round about urban cities and to transfer Muslims of Etawah, Mainpuri and Muttra districts to Agra district. It has also been suggested that in case Gwalior Muslims migrate into Etawah, as is being done by them at present, there will be no necessity to transfer Etawah populace to Agra.

PUNJAB

To supplement the population in Ambala Division, suggestions have been made to transfer surplus Muslims from Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur and Sialkot to Hissar, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Simla and Kangra.

SIND

No suggestions have been made for reorganization of Sind Province in respect of population except exploitation of mineral resources of the land still unknown for want of capital, experts, and enterprise.

N.W.F.P.

Similarly, nothing has been recommended for reorganization of this Province except exploitation of mineral resources.

BALUCHISTAN

The above two suggestions (no reorganization) have also been repeated for this.

COORG ADMINISTRATION

It has been recommended to migrate Muslims of this Administration to Mysore State or Malabar Muslim concentrated block.

AJMER-MERWARA ADMINISTRATION

In Ajmer-Merwara the meagre minority of Muslims will presumably be supplemented by the migration of State Muslims of Rajputana.

DELHI

The province of Delhi is self-supporting and needs no readjustment or reorganization.

This report has offered two suggestions, the one relating to transfer of populace from one district of a province to another district or districts in another province lying in the same contiguity

and formation of central blocks of Muslim concentrated population. The latter plan, if completed at all, will enable these blocks in course of time to form themselves in autonomous states under the wave of democracy now sweeping over the backward countries of the world even.

The adjustment of immigrants will certainly put obstacles in the initial stages but a systematic and long range plan will, no doubt, prove an effective measure to tide over these drawbacks. Industrial revolution is in the making and it is expected that the whole country will be industrially revolutionized as a result of industrial development and post-war reconstruction. All provinces of India are getting financial help from the Government of India besides their own budgeted grant for post-war reconstruction schemes. Bengal will be one of the provinces to get a major part of this subsidy. The post-war development schemes in Bengal and establishment of industrial concerns will solve considerably the problem of absorption of these immigrants. The coal fields may be developed and the labour unit of these immigrants may be utilised with advantage there. The wasteland may be allotted to these immigrants on free lease basis in its initial stages and the cost realized by small instalments after five years, the period which is supposed to convert a wasteland into a cultivated area. The adoption of latter course is being contemplated by Sind Government for the rehabilitation of the immigrants from Bihar and recently an announcement has appeared in the Press to accommodate about 60,000 Bihar Muslims in Tharparkar district of Sind.

The industrial concerns to be established in Bengal and Sind should not be monopolized by financers but should be established on public capital and the small share made available to the public all over the country to invite investment of common Muslims in order to raise the capital considerably. The investment between rupees five and 100 will attract at least 20 per cent of the 10 crore Muslims of India, if the industrial concerns so established are supported by the League. I am sure this arrangement will get a public investment of at least one hundred million of capital to establish prospective industrial concerns in Bengal primarily.

The Punjab is already on the march towards industrial and agricultural development. It can further improve the wealth of the province and thereby the Muslim nation by developing sandy and wastelands into cultivated soil in the districts of Multan and Montgomery, the predominantly Muslim areas. Such lands are being utilized with advantage by the Governments of Bahawalpur and Khairpur Muslim States where such land is spread over the whole length and breadth of the states.

The province of Sind is also developing agriculturally as a result of Sukkur Barrage scheme. In case the Indus water is preserved at some other point it will enable the province to develop cultivated land in abundance. Moreover, this development will also help the adjoining province of Baluchistan which has got very good land provided ample water supply is arranged permanently. The Sibi district of Baluchistan, which is getting its water supply from Sukkur Barrage canals, is doing very well in respect of wheat production in considerable quantities of a very superior quality and Usta Mohammad, a neglected and one of the smallest villages has recently been converted into a town having big granary depots and godowns.

Detailed figures and location of 190 Indian states have not been provided in this Report since detailed data is not available at present in any Library hence no estimate can be made for each individual state for want of the same but efforts are, however, being made to get hold of this information somehow. A supplementary Report[28] on the Indian states will follow, if demanded, in this connection. This supplementary Report will also contain figures of tribal areas on the North-West Frontier of India, which are a part of world statistics and not the Indian empire.

I also propose to bring out a third Report in this series which will deal in detail the Eastern, Western Pakistan, the Muslim compact territorial blocks and Hyderabad State in respect of agriculture, economy, industry and mineral resources of the country. This Report will also justify whether it is economically possible to accommodate inflated population in various blocks as a result of migration dealt with in this Report.

In the end, I, once again emphasise the necessity for transfer and concentration of Muslim population in view of today's war cry of Mr. [L. B.] Bhopatkar[29] in his presidential address delivered at Gorakhpore wherein he invited all non-Muslims to form a united and joint front against the Muslims. Of course, the guarded language used apparently indicated forewarned preparations against Muslim aggression but internally he meant to prepare Hindus and other non-Muslims for a country-wide attack on the unorganized and defenseless Muslims. I think this address is an ultimatum for the Muslims and in case the Muslims take it as a mere combination of words they are likely to suffer the consequences of their folly. The high command and the Committee of Action must adopt something either on the basis of the recommendations contained in this Report or something else for the transfer and concentration of Muslim population in the minority provinces without a day's

delay otherwise the nation will suffer heavily and the leaders will repent for their slack and delayed action and programme.
[ABDUL RASHID KHAN]

[PS.] Efforts have been made to incorporate such suggestions in this Report for transfer and migration of Muslims which are based on the principle of similar land for cultivation, same language and mode of living in the blocks proposed for settlement of immigrants.

[1]General Secretary and Member of the Working Committee of the Congress at the time.
[2]The mass literacy movement started by Dr. Syed Mahmood in Bihar, when he was the Provincial Minister for Education during 1937-9, featured instruction in Gandhian teachings for all students regardless of their religious beliefs or socio-cultural mores.
[3]Enunciated by the Congress Government of C.P. & Berar in the publication, *Vidya Mandir Scheme: A Way to the Spread of Free and Compulsory Mass Education Within a Fixed Period*, Nagpur, 1938, the scheme aimed at implementing the Zakir Hussain Committee report on Basic National Education, also called the Wardha Scheme, and its principal objective was to inculcate strict adherence to *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and the spirit of nationalism in the students. Muslims perceived the scheme as an attempt on the part of the Congress to foist Hindu thought and culture on them. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1992, 397, for Jinnah's statement on the subject.
[4]Relates to the 1941 population census. See F. 7/8, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]Relates to maps and chart on population data. See F. 7/12-4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See F. 7/16, *QAP*. Not printed.
[7]Ratio not correct.
[8]Statement not correct.
[9]See F. 7/22, *QAP*. Not printed.
[10]See ibid., 24. Not printed.
[11]See ibid., 26-7. Not printed.
[12]See ibid., 33. Not printed.
[13]See Report on Bombay Riots, 1946-1947, Appendix V, Vol. I, Part II, 65-123.
[14]See F. 7/37, *QAP*. Not printed.
[15]See ibid., 42. Not printed.
[16]See ibid., 45-6. Not printed.
[17]At village Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur District of eastern U.P., a violent mob set fire to a police station on 5 February 1922, as a result of which one sub-inspector and twenty-one constables were burnt to death. Following this tragic incident, the Congress Working Committee, meeting in Bardoli, suspended all further civil disobedience. See A.M. & S.G. Zaidi, ed., *Encylopaedia of the Indian National Congress: India at the Cross Roads*, Vol. VIII, New Delhi, 1980, 488-92.
[18]See No. 324.
[19]See F. 7/50-1, *QAP*. Not printed.
[20]See ibid., 54. Not printed.
[21]See ibid., 55. Not printed
[22]See ibid., 54. Not printed.
[23]See ibid., 57. Not printed.
[24]See ibid., 59. Not printed.
[25]See ibid., 62-3. Not printed.
[26]See Appendix VI, Vol. I, Part II, 124-9.
[27]See F. 7/65-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[28]See note 26 above.
[29]President, All India Hindu Mahasabha.

APPENDIX IV

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S BOYCOTT OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

IV. 1

Note by Archibald Wavell of an Interview with M. A. Jinnah[1]

SECRET *19 November 1946*

1. I referred to his letter of November 17th,[2] and said that I did not see how I could postpone the meeting of the Constituent Assembly any longer. There seemed to be no chance of communal tension being less in a few months time, and H.M.G. was clear that their policy should proceed. I said that I was sure the right policy for the Muslim League was to come into the Constituent Assembly and negotiate with the Congress. Their ultimate sanction was to leave the Constituent Assembly if they could not obtain satisfaction.

They had the guarantee that Provinces would meet in Sections; on the question of procedure the intentions of H.M.G.'s Statement were quite clear, but it was of course impossible for them to force a method of procedure on the Constituent Assembly; and all they could do would be to refuse to recognise a constitution which was not arrived at in accordance with their essential requirements. As I had told Mr. Jinnah many times before, all these matters ultimately rested on agreement between the parties concerned, the Congress could never make a constitution for the whole of India without the Muslim League; nor could the Muslim League force a constitution on Assam or any other Province in Section B and C against their consent.

I said that the only alternative to agreement was civil war, which was likely to be disastrous for the Muslims and would lead to the break-up of the Indian Army. The British could not remain indefinitely in India until the parties had reached agreement.

2. Mr. Jinnah replied with one of his usual long statements, accusing us of putting Muslims gradually under Hindu rule, and so forth. His whole theme was that a settlement between the two communities was "quite" impossible, and that we should never succeed in getting it. If we were going, we had better go at once. If we were going to stay to see a fair settlement, we should draw up our own constitution and make an award. I said that that would be of no value unless we were going to stop to see it enforced.

We went over all the old ground again, Pakistan and all. Jinnah asserted at one moment that he had never rejected the smaller Pakistan suggested by the Mission, though he had insisted on Calcutta.

3. Mr. Jinnah then went on to Bihar, and made it the subject of a lengthy tirade against the Congress. He said the massacre of Muslims had been completely organised by the Congress leaders, and so on. His theme during this part of the interview was that the whole object of Congress was not to work the present Constitution but to destroy the power and prestige of the existing method of Government. He said "They are fooling the world". (I heartily agreed with a great deal of what Mr. Jinnah said on this point, though I could hardly say so.)

4. He then went back to his theme that agreement was quite impossible, that it was no use their coming into the Constituent Assembly, that the Muslims were being ground down, and that we could not help. He thought we should give them their own bit of country, let it be as small as we liked, but it must be their own, and they would live on one meal a day, etc., etc.

5. He then enumerated the alternatives in front of the British Government, as follows:

(a) To get the two communities to agree, which was quite impossible and had better be abandoned at once.
(b) To divide the country between the two communities in any way we liked and then clear out.
(c) To continue to rule, or else to give up the task and clear out at once. He described this as "Hold the baby or throw it up".

6. I said that I could not agree that an agreement between the two communities was impossible, and instanced the Punjab Government which had governed itself for nearly ten years with a considerable degree of success.

Jinnah went back to the history of Akbar and Aurangzeb to prove that any agreement was impossible; and, as regards the Punjab, said that it had not really worked, and that the appointment of a *chaprassi* became a major communal issue, and so forth.

7. He then said that to call the Constituent Assembly would be the greatest possible mistake, and would lead to terrible disaster, and that it would be difficult to control events in the Muslim Provinces, which he had succeeded in doing up till then.

He then embarked on a long statement of self-justification, how he had never said anything to cause communal tension, whereas

Gandhi and the Congress leaders said it every day; he instanced the attack on himself by the Premier of the C.P. lately.

8. We then got back to Bihar, and he tried to justify and increased the figures of 30,000 killed he had given. He said that Congress organizers had already gone to destroy all the evidence in case of an enquiry. He spoke of the refugee problem and said that the Governor should make a separate organisation quite independent of the Ministry, who do nothing.

9. On this question he spoke about an exchange of population, but had obviously not thought it out at all. I said that an exchange of population might be a possibility, but that like everything else it could only be done by agreement and negotiation.

10. After nearly an hour and a half of this, we were obviously going to get no further. Jinnah, who was quite friendly, said that if I must insist on calling the Constituent Assembly, the disasters that would follow would be upon my head and that of H.M.G.

He finished by saying "You cannot even get agreement on a single matter in your Executive Council". I said that on the contrary in all the meetings we had held so far there had been no disagreement of any kind.

This ended an unsatisfactory interview, though I doubt if Mr. Jinnah really wants civil war any more than anyone else. I think that he is probably no longer entirely in control of events on the Muslim side.

[1]No. 57, *TP*, IX, 108-10.
[2]No. 312.

IV. 2

Statement By M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW DELHI,
21 November 1946

"I deeply regret that the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government have decided to summon the Constituent Assembly on 9th of December. In my opinion it is one more blunder of very grave and serious character. It is quite obvious that the Viceroy is blind to the present serious situation and the realities facing him and is entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and is

appeasing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League and other organisations and elements in the national life of the country.

In these circumstances it is obvious that no representative of the Muslim League will participate in the Constituent Assembly and the Bombay Resolution of the Muslim League Council passed on July 29[2] stands. By forcing this meeting of the Constituent Assembly the matter has been further exasperated and a situation has been created which will lead to serious consequences.

I want to make it clear that no representative of the Muslim League should attend the Constituent Assembly summoned to meet on the 9th of December 1946". –API.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2461-2.
[2]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.

IV. 3

Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 1048/10-11

[NEW DELHI,
22 November 1946]

LIAQUAT ALI'S REPLY TO NEHRU[1]

"I greatly regret that Pandit Nehru should have thought fit to indulge in an incontinent outburst against his Muslim League's colleagues in the Government in the course of his speech[2] at the Subjects Committee meeting of the Congress at Meerut on Thursday," says Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister[Member] in the Interim Government, in a statement in New Delhi on Friday.

"He is reported to have said that ever since its entry into the Government, the League has pursued its aim to enlist British support, and that after coming to the Government the League had been endeavouring to establish itself as the King's party in the Government. It is most distasteful to me to have to enter into a public controversy with a colleague, but I cannot allow Pandit Nehru's statements to go unchallenged inasmuch as they amount to a complete travesty of truth and are mischievous.

SPECIAL POWERS NOT INVOKED

Since the Muslim League entered the Interim Government, its representatives in it have not invoked, on a single occasion, the special powers of the Governor-General, or asked for his or His Majesty's

Government's intervention in any matter. I challenge Pandit Nehru to cite a single instance to substantiate his allegations.

If Pandit Nehru's discomfiture is due to the fact that the Muslim League bloc has refused to recognize the fiction of his 'leadership' of the Government, then I can only sympathize with him. The Viceroy has made it clear in his public declarations that the Interim Government has been formed under the present constitution which does not provide for any such leadership of the Government or for any position analogous to that of a Prime Minister.

NO PRIVILEGED POSITION

When the Congress came into the Government formed on September 2, 1946, with its Muslim satellites, it created a fiction that Pandit Nehru was the 'Prime Minister' or 'Leader' of the Government. Even now, the Hindu Press and even that Government organization, All-India Radio, which should have been conducted on non-partisan lines, have been describing Pandit Nehru as Vice-President of the Government, as if the present Vice-President has any special position, powers or privileges different from those enjoyed by other members of the Government, or by the long line of former Vice-Presidents who had been appointed to that post by the Governor-General in earlier times in the same manner as he has appointed Pandit Nehru. The only function of the Vice-President is to preside over a meeting of the Cabinet when the Governor-General is unable to be present.

EXISTING CONSTITUTION

The impression which Congress propaganda is seeking to create in the world abroad that the present Interim Government is Pandit Nehru's Government and that he is the *de facto* head of this Government is nothing short of a fraud on world opinion.

The attempt to turn this fiction into a fact by the sheer weight of propaganda is designed to bring about a change in the existing constitution and to prejudge the future constitution which has still to be devised on an agreed basis. The Muslim League cannot be a party to this and it is for this reason that we have refused to tolerate the fiction.[3] We cannot permit any change of this nature to be brought about during the interim period when the existing constitution is still in force, nor can we allow the future to be prejudged."-API.

[1]The *Hindustan Times*, 23 November 1946.
[2]See No. 71, *TP*, IX, 131-4.

IV. 4

Report on a Press Conference held by M. A. Jinnah[1]

KARACHI,
25 November 1946

Addressing a Press Conference, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said: "In view of the horrible slaughter in the various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities." Mr. Jinnah made this statement in reply to a question seeking proposals for the restoration of peaceful atmosphere in India.

He added:"The Viceroy—because he alone can do it—as the representative of the Crown and the Governor-General with the powers that are vested in him, should adopt every means and measure to restore firstly peace and order.

In the present conditions there is no room for reason, intelligence and fair play. Negotiations in these conditions can hardly yield fruitful results and produce a settlement satisfactory to both parties."

In reply to a question about the acceptance of the long-term plan of the British Cabinet Mission by the Muslim League, as a condition precedent to their entry in the Interim Government, mentioned in the Viceroy's letter[2] to Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah said:

"It is quite clear, as I have already said, that the Congress has not and never had accepted the long-term plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th May,[3] and clarified by their statement of 25th May.[4]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself has made it clear in his letter to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, which I quoted in my letter[5] to the Viceroy, and so has Mr. Gandhi. These pronouncements were made as recently as 30th September and 23rd October.

Further, I have never, for a single moment, conveyed to the Viceroy anything by way of assurances or otherwise, except that the long-term plan could only be considered and decided by the Council of the All India Muslim League.

From the very beginning until we nominated our five representatives I told the Viceroy that the settlement of the long-term plan could only be taken up when a proper friendly atmosphere was created between the two major organizations.

CONGRESS INTRANSIGENCE

The Congress has not budged an inch and the Viceroy repeatedly made it clear to me that it was no use discussing this matter further with any hope of persuading the Congress to make an unequivocal statement accepting the long-term plan as embodied in the statements of 16th and 25th May."

Questioned what the Muslim League proposed to do with regard to the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah remarked:

"We hope we shall be able to live. But I do not see how any one could have persisted in this idea to go on with the Constituent Assembly in these circumstances and more especially in the terribly explosive atmosphere that has been created by the wholesale massacre in different parts of the country and particularly in Bihar.

It is sheer recklessness and folly to pursue this path and I regret to say that the Congress leaders and the Congress annual session at Meerut have done their best to add more fuel to the fire."

Mr. Jinnah referred to the speeches made at the Meerut session of the Congress and said:

"As regards the recent fulminations[6] of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru against the Muslim League and false accusations, I can only say that there is not an iota of foundation for it.

NEHRU'S OATHS

Pandit Nehru in assuming his office took two oaths. One of them was an oath of allegiance to King Emperor and he was playing to the gallery when he calls us the King's party and accuses that we are helping the imperialistic British Government. It is utterly untrue.

Secondly even a man of the meanest intelligence can understand that he himself took the oath and was sworn in a categorical manner as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. It is as plain as a pike staff and it has been repeatedly made clear, especially in the broadcast of the Viceroy on September 2, [24 August][7] that he has formed this Interim Government under the present constitution, the Act of 1919, which is in operation.

He also made it clear that he would give maximum freedom to the members of the Executive Council in the day-to-day administration. It is a sheer flight of imagination and fiction to call it a cabinet, a national government, or even a coalition.

MERE FICTION

Even the Congress Working Committee is called cabinet and sometimes I see in some quarters the Muslim League Working Committee is

called a cabinet. By giving a name you do not make it a cabinet in the constitutional or legal sense. Nor can you vest it with powers of a real cabinet by including [*sic*] in fiction, myth and imagination.

It is obvious that Members of the Executive Council have been selected community-wise. It can, therefore, only function in terms of the Government of India Act of 1919 so far as the day-to-day administration is concerned. Such limited powers and opportunities as there are in the day-to-day administration can be utilised for the good of the peoples generally. We have gone there only for that purpose but there comes the wishful thinking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He wants to shut his eyes in ostrich-like manner and think that the Government of India Act of 1919 does not exist.

In the flight of his imagination he thinks this is a truly national Government responsible to the people and electorate. Not only he imagines that he can function in that way, but he expects everybody else to do so.

The real truth is that if he can only come down to the earth and think coolly and calmly, he must understand that he is neither the Prime Minister nor is it a Nehru Government; he is only a Member for the External Affairs and Commonwealth Department.

LEAGUE MUST RESIST

So long as Pandit Nehru and the Congress think that by the instrumentality of such powers as are vested in the Interim Government, by means of his majority or by machination and manoeuvres, they can torpedo the Pakistan demand or do things bit by bit which will prejudice or militate against a settlement of the future constitution, the Muslim League must resist every step and every measure that is taken with an eye to make more and more difficult the settlement of the future constitution.

Pandit Nehru and the Congress expect the Muslim League nominees or the Muslim League to act according to their orders as a subservient body. That again is an impossible position for us to accept.

We cannot take orders either from Pandit Nehru or from the Congress, and so long as the policy of the Congress is to torpedo the Pakistan demand, both by working inside the Executive Council and outside, and so long as the Congress does not recognise the Muslim League on a completely equal footing, it is difficult for us not to resist and combat the first and as to the second we cannot be expected to occupy a subservient or subordinate position under the Congress."

WHAT CABINET MEANS

When his attention was drawn to the fact that the Viceroy himself had called it a cabinet in his official correspondence, Mr. Jinnah remarked: "Yes, the Viceroy was pressed that it is no use calling it an Interim Government and Pandit Nehru was very keen on his word 'cabinet.' And the Viceroy saw no real objection if it pleased Pandit Nehru when they assumed office. Little things please little minds and you cannot turn a donkey into an elephant by calling it an elephant."

Asked by a pressman about his reaction to Sardar Patel's speech at the Meerut session of the Congress, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"Sardar Patel is a strong man as they said and therefore he uses strong language but words do not break bones. If he means by using the phrase 'the sword will be met with the sword' that the minorities should be butchered by majority all over India, it is an appalling prospect. All I can say is that he does not seem to realise that any one who encourages this sort of thing is the greatest enemy of every community.

Where has Sardar Patel got his sword? The Congress Ministries and those who are sitting now as Members of the Executive Council will not be able to function if they were not under the protection of the British bayonets."-API.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2464-8.
[2]See No. 495, *TP*, VIII, 780.
[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol.XIII, 419-29.
[4]Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.
[5]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 979-80.
[6]See No. 71, *TP*, IX, 131-4.
[7]See Annex to Enclosure 1 to Appendix I.10.

IV. 5

Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell

F. 21/31-2

NEW DELHI,
26 November 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

With reference to our conversation today, in the course of which you conveyed HMG's invitation to some of us[2] to visit London this week, I have consulted my colleagues and we have given careful thought to the proposal. I need hardly say that we are grateful to

H.M.G. for their invitation, but we feel we cannot, at this stage, go to London. We would be agreeable to consultations with the representatives of the British Government in India.

It would appear that the proposal involves a reopening and a reconsideration of the various decisions arrived at since the visit of the British Cabinet Delegation to India. The Muslim League accepted places in the Government on the very clear understanding that they also accepted the long-term proposals contained in the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16. Indeed they could not join the Government otherwise. But now the League have announced very definitely that they will not participate in the Constituent Assembly. We attach, as you are aware, great importance to the holding of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly on the date fixed, namely December 9. The invitation to us to go to London appears to us to re-open the whole problem which was settled to a large extent by the Cabinet Mission's statement and the formation of the Interim Government. Any impression in the public mind that these decisions are reopened would, in our opinion, be fatal. It was because we felt that it was necessary in the public interest to emphasise that problems have been finally settled that we insisted on the holding of the Constituent Assembly on the date fixed for it. Even this date, it must be remembered, was five months after the election of the members. Any further postponement in the present context would, in all probability result in the abandonment of the plan and create a feeling of uncertainty all round which is not only undesirable but actually, at the present juncture, would encourage various forms of violent propaganda.

It is difficult enough at this stage for us to leave the country even for a short while. We have also to prepare for the Constituent Assembly meeting which will take place in less than two weeks. If any useful purpose would have been served by our going out now, we should have done so in spite of these difficulties. We are convinced, however, that our leaving India now would mean that at the instance of the League the Cabinet Mission's plan is going to be abandoned or substantially varied and that we are parties to it. It would mean giving in to the League's intransigence and incitement to violence and this would have disastrous consequences. The first thing to be certain about is that plan agreed to will be implemented and that there will be a continuity about policy. There has been suspicion enough. Any addition to it will wreck the whole scheme and make it difficult to replace it by another. We feel, therefore, that we cannot, at this stage, proceed to London, but we would welcome, whenever

necessary, consultations with the representatives of the British Government in India. A brief visit now on our part to England cannot bear fruit. It is likely to have a contrary result. We, therefore, regret we are unable to accept H.M.G.'s invitation[3] conveyed to us through you. I trust you will convey the contents of this letter to HMG.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

His Excellency Field Marshal Viscount Wavell,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
New Delhi

[1]Text also telegraphed to Pethick-Lawrence. See No. 100, note 2, *TP*, IX, 186-7.
[2]Liaquat Ali Khan and Baldev Singh were also invited. See No. 99, *TP*, IX, 186.
[3]Wavell informed Liaquat Ali Khan that the Congress had declined the invitation to the proposed talks in London. See Telegram, F. 21/46, *QAP*. Not printed.

IV. 6

Clement Attlee to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, F.21/33

MOST IMMEDIATE *27 November 1946*

[No.] 20717
Your 2488-S[1] and 2489-S.[2]

Please convey the following to Jawaharlal Nehru from Prime Minister.

Begins: I very much hope that you will agree to come to London since it is not possible at present time for me or my colleagues who have already been absent more than three months on Indian affairs this year to go to India. The object of our talks would be to try and ensure a successful meeting of the Constituent Assembly on December 9th. There is no intention of abandoning either decisions or Assembly to meet or plan put forward by Cabinet Delegation. It is our desire to see that this is implemented in full and not any desire to abandon or alter it that has prompted us to ask you and your colleagues to come to London. All three members of Cabinet Delegation individually and collectively have asked me to urge upon you the supreme importance of this opportunity

of our meeting and discussing situation before any further untoward actions take place in India.

We ask you to help in this way to make rapid and smooth progress towards the goal of Indian freedom, an objective which we share whole-heartedly with people of India. *Ends.*[3]

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]See No. 99, *TP*, IX, 186.
[2]See Appendix IV. 4 which was repeated to Pethick-Lawrence.
[3]A copy of this message was sent by G.E.B. Abell to Liaquat Ali Khan on 29 November saying that Nehru had since agreed to go to London. See No. 123, note 2, *TP*, IX, 216. Also see Telegram, F. 21/44. *QAP*. Not printed.

IV. 7

Jawaharlal Nehru to Clement Attlee

F. 21/34

NEW DELHI,
28 November 1946

Please convey the following message to the Prime Minister from Jawaharlal Nehru:

Begins: I am grateful to you for your message[1] and appreciate your desire to ensure a successful meeting of the Constituent Assembly on December ninth and onwards. We are all anxious that the Constituent Assembly should meet on the date fixed and should proceed harmoniously to fulfil its task and we shall do our utmost to this and in cooperation with others. As we have repeatedly stated we accept the Cabinet Delegation's plan in its entirety. In regard to a certain interpretation we made our position perfectly clear to the Delegation and we have proceeded accordingly since then. We have further stated that in the event of different interpretations the matter should be referred to the Federal Court and we shall abide by Court's decision. It appears from the statements made on behalf of British Government in Parliament yesterday that only point to be considered is this interpretation. In regard to this our position is quite clear and we are completely committed to it. We are unable to change it and have no authority to do so. Hence our visiting London for this purpose is not necessary.

The first session of the Constituent Assembly will deal with matters of procedure and appointment of Committees. The question

of interpretation as regards subsequent activities will not arise at this stage. It is therefore easily possible for all to cooperate in this session and if necessity arises to refer any matters over which agreement has not been reached to Federal Court.

It would be more suitable and convenient for us to visit London if necessary after first brief session of the Constituent Assembly. This would allow more time for consultations.

In view of these considerations and also because of great difficulty in leaving India at present we feel that our visit to London now would serve no useful purpose; but if in spite of this or because you wish to consider other matters you desire us to come, we shall endeavour to do so. But we shall have to return by December 9 in time for the Constituent Assembly. *Ends.*

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]Appendix IV. 6.

IV. 8

Clement Attlee to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, F. 21/35

MOST IMMEDIATE

[INDIA OFFICE,]
28 November 1946

Your telegram 2509-S.[1] Please convey following reply from Prime Minister to Pandit Nehru:

Thank you for your message.I note what you say about position of Congress, but nonetheless we feel that a visit by you before Constituent Assembly meets would be of great value and we appreciate your willingness to meet us in this matter. Arrangements will be made to enable you to return by December 9th.

[1]Telegraphing text of Appendix IV. 7 to Pethick-Lawrence.

IV. 9

Liaquat Ali Khan to Archibald Wavell

F. 21/41-a

NEW DELHI,
29 November 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

Your Private Secretary told me on the phone that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh had changed their previous decision and were now going to London.[1] We should like to know if you or His Majesty's Government have given any assurances or told the Congress anything other than what you had told me on Tuesday last, i.e. that His Majesty's Government were perturbed about the general communal situation in the country, the friction inside the Interim Government among its members as was evident from some public statements[2] made by some of the members and the decision of the Muslim League President[3] that no Muslim League member should attend the Constituent Assembly scheduled to meet on the 9th of December; and that His Majesty's Government had asked you to invite on their behalf two representatives of the Congress, two representatives of the Muslim League and one Sikh representative to go to London immediately for discussion and that you also have been asked to go.

I think you will appreciate that it is only fair that the representatives of the Muslim League should know the exact position before they embark on this journey to London.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See Telegram, F. 21/44, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 71, *TP*, IX, 131-4.
[3]Appendix IV. 2.

IV. 10

G. E. B. Abell to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 21/42

[NEW DELHI,
29 November 1946]

[My dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,]

H. E. asks me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of today[1] and to say that nothing further has been said to the Congress about their going to London than the message[2] from the Prime Minister of which you have received a copy; and the message sent by the Prime Minister[3] on receipt of Pandit Nehru's answer[4] which indicates that arrangements would be made for Pandit Nehru to return by the 9th of December.

[Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL]

[1]Appendix IV.9.
[2]Appendix IV. 6.
[3]Appendix IV. 8.
[4]Appendix IV. 7.

IV. 11

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, F. 21/40

EXPRESS

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
29 November 1946

I have received from Government House Karachi copy of Prime Minister Attlee's message[1] to Pandit Nehru at 9 p.m. Have already telephoned your Private Secretary Mr. Abell conveying my reaction. These terms were never mentioned by Your Excellency to Liaquat Ali Khan. Cannot accept new position taken by Attlee after our acceptance. Unless it is made clear that all aspects present situation in light of all

that has happened will be open for consideration discussion it will not be possible for me go London. Please wire reply.[2]

JINNAH

[1]Appendix IV. 8.
[2]Appendix IV. 14.

IV. 12

M. A. Jinnah to Clement Attlee

Telegram, F. 21/39

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
29 November 1946

Your message[1] to Pandit Nehru without disclosing his communication[2] to you delivered to me at nine tonight is new position after we had accepted invitation go to London. We cannot agree [to] confine only to matters mentioned in your message to Pandit Nehru in light of what has already taken place which has created entirely new situation. Unless it is open to us to discuss whole situation it will be no use my going London. Please wire clarify position immediately.[3]

JINNAH

[1]Appendix IV. 8.
[2]Appendix IV. 7.
[3]Appendix IV. 13.

IV. 13

Clement Attlee to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 21/38

MOST IMMEDIATE

[VICEROY'S HOUSE,]
NEW DELHI,
30 November 1946

[No.] 2534-S. Following telegram, No. 20947 dated November 29th from Secretary of State.[1]

Begins: Your No. 2531-S.[2] Please convey the following personal message from Prime Minister to Mr. Jinnah by most urgent means.

Begins: I trust that you will come to London. Your refusal must be based on a misunderstanding of my telegram[3] to Nehru. There is nothing in it to prejudice a full consideration of all points of view. *Ends.*

If Liaquat is in Delhi, please show to him. He might help to persuade Mr. Jinnah.

VICEROY

[1]Repeated by Viceroy to Governor of Sind.
[2]Telegraphic message from Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence saying Jinnah and Liaquat had refused the invitation to visit London. See No. 121, *TP*, IX, 215.
[3]Appendix IV. 6.

IV. 14

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 21/43

MOST IMMEDIATE

NEW DELHI,
30 November 1946

Governor Sind
Karachi

[No.] 2535-S. Following for Mr. Jinnah.

"Your telegram.[1] I hope you will reconsider decision not to go to London. Following telegram (No. 2536-S[2] *en clair*) gives the text of Nehru's message to Prime Minister which you asked to see. This is being published today."

VICEROY

[1]Appendix IV. 11.
[2]Appendix IV. 7.

IV. I5

M. A. Jinnah to Clement Attlee

Telegram, F. 21/58

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
30 November 1946

Mr. Attlee
Prime Minister
London

I thank you for your message[1] received this morning. After your clarifications and assurances[2] I have decided leave for London tomorrow.

JINNAH

[1]Appendix IV. 13.

IV. 16

Extract from a Note on Woodrow Wyatt's Conversation with M. A. Jinnah[1]

[LONDON,
3 December 1946]

[*Para 1 omitted*][2]

2. He [Jinnah] is still harping on the unfairness of the Cabinet Mission's interpretation of paragraph eight of the Statement of June 16.[3] He feels very bitterly that he should have been allowed to form a Government when Congress turned down the short-term plan.

3. He vehemently sticks to the view that Congress have never accepted the long-term plan, never meant to accept it and never will accept it. Nor do they ever intend to reach a settlement in India. He says repeatedly that all they are after is to seize power. He makes it clear that for his part, he will do all he can to prevent that.

4. He now refers to the Cabinet Mission plan as a fraud and a humbug. Nothing can be done until it is put out of the way. He has no intention whatsoever of going back to India by December 9.

5. He has now returned to the proposition that only the creation of Pakistan can deal with the situation. Any lingering thoughts that he

had at Simla of a central government with three subjects appear to have gone for ever.

6. I asked him the direct question: "If Congress were now to say without equivocation that they accepted the Cabinet Mission plan, together with the grouping system in its entirety, would you feel that there were still some possibilities in the Constituent Assembly and the Cabinet Mission Plan?" His answer was most decisively "No", that it was not even worth discussing the proposition. "You don't realise", he said, "how far the situation has gone in India since you were there". His theme song on this issue is what he calls the deliberate butchery of Muslims by Hindus in Bihar.

7. When asked for a constructive proposition, he said that the only thing that could be done immediately was to restore law and order. Congress were not in the Interim Government to co-operate, only to seize power. They must all co-operate, particularly the British, in restoring law and order. There must be a period of tranquility in which the poor could feel secure in their homes, before anything further could be done. Then, for Pakistan.

[*Remaining paras omitted*][4]

[1]No. 145, *TP*, IX, 246-7.
[2]Unimportant.
[3]Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, Vol. XIII, 445-6.
[4]Unimportant.

IV. 17

Extract from a Note by F. W. Pethick-Lawrence of his Interview with M. A. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

[LONDON,
3 December 1946]

I then got him on to the question of a compromise solution of the Constituent Assembly. He said that no effective compromise was possible. He was convinced that the Congress had never accepted the Statement of May 16th and that they had no intention whatever of using the Constituent Assembly to produce the federal system which the Mission had envisaged. The statements at Meerut by Nehru[2] illustrated his attitude to the Muslim League which really was to crush the League and to obtain more and more power, and finally to

pass any constitution that it liked and to be supreme in India.

I said that if the Muslim League did not come into the Constituent Assembly they would be forfeiting the esteem of the world and that world opinion was of sufficient importance in the final result to turn the scale. Mr. Jinnah said that he realized the value of world opinion but had also his own supporters in India to think of and that they were determined not [to] be submerged in the Hindu nation. I said that it was a grave responsibility that he was taking in precipitating a conflict without even trying to get a settlement. He said that he did not want to be led on from one thing to another and it was better to resist now than to be gradually overwhelmed. I said it was a grave responsibility for him to take.

Liaquat Ali Khan said that the responsibility was not really that of the Muslim League or even the Congress, but of H.M.G. It was for H.M.G. to decide whether they were going to give way to Congress all along the line. If they were going to yield to Congress in the last resort and agree to any constitution which Congress evolved from the Constituent Assembly, and to take the line that both the majority in India and world opinion would not tolerate resistance to Congress proposals, then it would be much better that this should be known at once. It was quite wrong for H.M.G. to maintain nominal rule in India and all the time be giving way in greater degree to Congress. Mr. Jinnah emphasized this and pointed to a number of instances where, in his opinion, Congress were trying to establish their supremacy. In fact, however, the instances he gave were ones in which Congress had had to bow in the end to the view of the Viceroy or the Governors. I did not succeed in shaking Jinnah in his standpoint. I felt that he was very bitter and determined, though in terms our interview was quite friendly.

[1]No. 146, *TP*, IX, 247-8.
[2]See No. 71, *TP*, IX, 131-4.

IV. 18

Record of Meeting at the India Office[1]

SECRET

LONDON,
4 December 1946

Those present were: F.W. Pethick-Lawrence, A.V. Alexander, Sir S. Cripps, M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

The Secretary of State opened the discussion by saying that on the reconstitution of the Interim Government the Viceroy had expected the Muslim League Council to be summoned with a view to their deciding to attend the Constituent Assembly. Sir Stafford Cripps said the Constituent Assembly would meet on the 9th December and presumably the Muslim League would not be represented. Assuming the issue about procedure in the Sections was put to the Federal Court, and their decision was favourable to the interpretation of the Muslim League and the Cabinet Mission, what would follow?

Mr. Jinnah replied in the first place that the Muslim League could not be a party to such a reference, and secondly he could not anticipate what decision his Council would take. He thought that the interpretation was a matter for H.M.G. rather than for the Federal Court. In general he feared that there was no longer any real chance of effect being given to the 16th May Plan by agreement, and in accordance with the spirit and letter of its fundamentals. The temper of his people was now such that he could give no assurances, nor could he undertake to make any recommendation to his Council. (This matter was referred to again at the end of the meeting).

The Secretary of State asked whether, seeing how grievous was the alternative to a settlement, and on the assumption that the other party would concede something, there was not some contribution that the League could make. Sir Stafford Cripps said that the experience of recent months showed that the dangers in the event of there being no settlement had been underestimated rather than overestimated. Mr. Alexander asked whether, in the event of the Federal Court giving a favourable decision and Congress being committed to act upon it, the position of the Muslim League would not be more satisfactory in the eyes of the world and preferable to the alternative of a breakdown if they participated in the Constituent Assembly.

To these arguments Mr. Jinnah replied that it was better to get the

atmosphere right first, and that it would be unwise to plunge India into constitution-making in the present atmosphere. He had ceased to hope that the Constituent Assembly would produce any satisfaction or bring any appeasement. Considering the small majorities in Sections B and C, the Congress would probably succeed in raising obstacles at that stage, even on the basis of a favourable decision from the Federal Court. In any case, the whole matter had eventually to go to the Constituent Assembly itself, and he feared the Congress would find means of mutilating the constitution so far as it contained what they did not want in regard to the Groups. A *fait accompli* would then be presented and he doubted whether H. M. G. and Parliament would find themselves in any position to resist it.

Sir Stafford Cripps thought that this would not be the position if the Constituent Assembly were shown to have gone outside its competence, and Mr. Alexander felt that if the Constituent Assembly mutilated the work of the Sections in the manner suggested, H. M. G. would be fully justified in refusing to recognize what had happened.

Mr. Liaquat Ali asked what would follow if the decision of the Federal Court were unfavourable. Sir Stafford Cripps replied that in the first place the League would no doubt take up the attitude that this was not the basis upon which they said they would take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly, and secondly, the British attitude would be that as this decision was contrary to the meaning of the Cabinet Mission the scheme was no longer valid and the original intention of it had been vitiated.

In answer to Mr. Liaquat Ali, Sir Stafford Cripps said we had always stood by our interpretation, but Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali dissented as to this.

Mr. Alexander pointed out that the actual handing over of sovereignty would require the authority of Parliament, and Parliament would, he believed, react to any attempt by the majority party to use its majority to override the rights of a minority under the plan. Mr. Jinnah was sceptical whether, if India through the Constituent Assembly decided to set up an independent sovereign republic, much attention would be paid to the authority of Parliament. If, as he now understood, the function of Parliament in the event of India deciding to go out of the Commonwealth was simply that of registering the decisions of the Constituent Assembly, the position would be much more difficult and serious than he had previously supposed. He appreciated that, in the end it would be a matter of free choice for India to stay in the Commonwealth or not, but it was

important when the free choice was exercised. He was concerned to understand that the Muslims (who did not want to leave the Commonwealth) could be forced out of it by a majority vote in the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Liaquat Ali asked what H.M.G. would do if the two conditions on which they had said they would recognize the work of the Constituent Assembly were not satisfied, and if accordingly they felt unable to recommend the outcome of the Constituent Assembly to Parliament. Sir Stafford Cripps said that obviously H.M.G. would then have to negotiate for arrangements that they could regard as satisfactory. But Mr. Liaquat Ali pressed the point and wanted to know what would be the position if such negotiations were unsuccessful. He said that they had had no satisfactory reply as to how H.M.G. were going to see that the plan of the 16th May was carried out, nor as to what would happen if the decision of the Federal Court were unsatisfactory. He did not put very high the chance of successful negotiations in the event of the Constituent Assembly producing a result which H.M.G. could not recommend, and it had not been made clear to him what the next step would be.

Mr. Alexander urged that it would put the Muslims wrong in world opinion if they failed to cooperate in the work of the Constituent Assembly on the assumption that it was proceeding in accordance with our intentions and theirs.

Mr. Liaquat Ali said that H.M.G. were shirking a responsibility in not seeing that the machinery worked as intended and that something like an umpire was required. Sir Stafford Cripps said we had no responsibility for the future constitution of India, and we could not police the procedure. Our responsibility was for the government of India while the present constitution was still in force and pending agreement among Indians upon a new one. While we had responsibility for the present government of India, we could not clear out of India, as Mr. Liaquat Ali had suggested. But it was Indians who must be responsible for the future constitution. Mr. Jinnah asked whether in that case H.M.G. could interfere in the event of the majority overriding the minority in the Constituent Assembly. Sir Stafford Cripps replied that H.M.G. would make a recommendation to Parliament as to the new constitution, only if the two stated conditions were satisfied, and Mr. Alexander said that it would be for Parliament to make up its mind whether the conditions were satisfied or not; if H.M.G. became aware that a mutilation of the plan of the 16th May was taking place, the Constituent Assembly might be warned as to the

difficulties that would arise at the Parliamentary stage. Mr. Jinnah, however, felt that a breach of the rules must be dealt with authoritatively and at once, and he did not feel that the decision which rested with Parliament at the final stage would operate as a check upon the majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Viceroy invited the League representatives to deal with Pandit Nehru's charge that the League members had failed to cooperate in the work of the Interim Government.

Mr. Liaquat Ali said that the Interim Government was only a coalition in the sense that it contained representatives of different parties, and it was not a combination in the full sense. There had been no occasion of friction so far in the meetings of the Interim Government, and questions had been looked at from the point of view of the general interest. But he did not and could not accept the view that the present Government was virtually an independent Government in which the responsibility lay otherwise than in accordance with the present Act, nor could he accept the leadership of Pandit Nehru. Sir Stafford Cripps described the nature of the National Government in the United Kingdom during the war; it was a combination of two groups under two heads and it appeared that the present Interim Government was a coalition in much the same sense as the British National Government had been. Mr. Liaquat Ali said that this was substantially what he had offered to Pandit Nehru, but without satisfying him.

The Viceroy said that he had encouraged his colleagues to meet informally outside the formal meetings of the whole Government. Pandit Nehru had maintained that Muslims had objected to this, but Mr. Liaquat Ali denied it. All they refused to do was to attend the so-called "Cabinet meetings" over which Pandit Nehru purported to preside as Premier, and the decisions of which were to go by majority. The Muslims had gone into the Government of India under the present constitution and their cooperation must be conditioned by that. He could not give any countenance to the aim of the Congress, which was to convert the present form of government into an independent executive whereby the constitutional position would be prejudiced.

Discussion took place as to the understanding upon which the Muslim League members had entered the Interim Government. At no time had the Viceroy said that Mr. Jinnah had given an undertaking to call his Council together to revise their attitude as to collaboration in the long term plan. But in inviting Mr. Jinnah to submit names for appointment to the Interim Government he had

said in writing[2] that the invitation was on the understanding that the Muslim League Council would be called, and it was in response to such an invitation that Mr. Jinnah had submitted names.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Sir Stafford Cripps put two questions to the League representatives:

1. Supposing the Congress now accepted the implication of our interpretation of the procedure relating to Sections in the 16th May plan, would the Muslim League then be prepared to be represented in the Constituent Assembly?
2. If the Federal Court decided favourably on this matter, would the Muslim League be prepared to do this?

Mr. Jinnah replied that the matter must go to his Council and he would take it to his Council. As to whether he would make a recommendation to his Council, he could only say that he must explain the whole position to them and put them in a position to come to a decision in the light of all the facts of the case as he saw them. Having regard to doubt and fears he had already expressed as to what might happen at later stages, he could not make a categorical recommendation in the sense of giving assurance that all difficulties had been cleared away and that he could advise them to go ahead without misgiving. But he thought that if the matter were put before them in the way he contemplated, the chances were that they might accept.

[1]No. 154, *TP*, IX, 262-5.
[2]See Appendix I.19.

IV. 19

Note of Conversation between A. V. Alexander, M. A. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

CLARIDGE'S HOTEL,
[LONDON,]
5 December 1946

TOP SECRET

Mr. Alexander said that he had come to see Mr. Jinnah because he felt concerned at the position in which the talks had been left the day before, and in the hope that it might be possible to find some means by which the Muslim League could agree to take their place in the Constituent Assembly. He emphasized the peril to millions of Indian

lives of all parties in the coming months if some agreement was not reached. He asked Mr. Jinnah whether it would not be possible for him to recommend to the Muslim League that they should come into the Constituent Assembly provided that Congress gave a firm assurance that they would abide by any decisions which the Federal Court might give on points of interpretation of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May which might be referred to them.

Mr. Alexander reminded Mr. Jinnah that it was the view of Sir Stafford Cripps as a lawyer that any Court would interpret the Statement of 16th May in the same sense as it was interpreted by the Muslim League and by the Cabinet Mission themselves.

Mr. Jinnah said that he could not agree to the reference of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May to the Federal Court for interpretation. The Statement was not a legal document and it was for the Cabinet Mission themselves to say what its intentions were. The real trouble was that Congress had never accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The letter[2] from [the] Congress which the Cabinet Mission had decided to treat as an acceptance of their proposals was not in fact an acceptance at all. Mr. Jinnah proceeded to quote various letters and statements of representatives of Congress both before and since the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 25th May[3] in which the Congress had mad it clear that their interpretation of certain of its provisions, in particular the provisions relating to Sections and Grouping, which differed from the interpretation of the Muslim League and from the express intentions of the Cabinet Mission themselves. Congress had gone further and had stated publicly that it was their intention to increase the number of the subjects which were reserved in the proposals of May 16th to the Central Government. Mr. Jinnah also stated that the speeches of Congress leaders made it clear they did not consider themselves bound by anything beyond entering into the Constituent Assembly. He argued that the Congress majority could carry what it liked and on many of the points like extending the scope of reserved subjects, the minority could not claim them as major communal issues and they would therefore be without protection.

Mr. Jinnah said that until both sides accepted without qualification the proposals in the Statement of 16th May for the Constituent Assembly there could be no Constituent Assembly: it had no legal validity. The Congress had not accepted the proposals of 16th May and therefore there could be no Constituent Assembly. For the Muslim League to agree to meet in the Constituent Assembly

on the condition that certain points in the provisions of the Statement of 16th May would be referred to the Federal Court for interpretation would be to consent to the first of a series of mutilations of the Cabinet Mission's scheme. The Cabinet Mission should state firmly that the Constituent Assembly could only meet on the condition that all parties accepted unequivocally the provisions of the Statement of 16th May with the interpretations that the Cabinet Mission themselves intended.

Mr. Jinnah agreed entirely with what Mr. Alexander had said about the danger to Indian lives of the present situation and he agreed about the supreme importance of averting this. But for the Muslim League to consent to come into the Constituent Assembly so long as Congress maintained their present attitude towards it would not achieve this result.

Mr. Alexander said that he fully understood Mr. Jinnah's point of view, but he was so profoundly disturbed at the present prospects for the Indian people that he was extremely anxious to see if there was any possibility whatever of bringing the Congress and Muslim League closer together. Would the Muslim League be prepared to come into the Constituent Assembly if the Congress withdrew their proposal for referring certain points in the Statement of 16th May to the Federal Court for interpretation?

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League could not agree to come into the Constituent Assembly on this basis because he was convinced that the Congress did not intend to work the scheme as intended by the Cabinet Mission. There would be a series of mutilations of the scheme. There was in particular the express Congress intention to increase the number of subjects to be dealt with at the Centre.

Mr. Jinnah said finally that he wished strongly to urge that no decision should now be taken in haste because the situation was extremely critical. Mr. Alexander said that he for his part did not need to be reminded of that.

[1]No. 158, *TP*, IX, 280-1.
[2]Annex II to Appendix I. 41, Vol. XIII, 466-70.
[3]Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.

IV. 20

Record of Meeting at the India Office[1]

SECRET LONDON,
6 December 1946

Those present were: F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, Sir S. Cripps, A. V. Alexander, Archibald Wavell, M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

Mr. Alexander opened the discussion by asking whether—quite apart from the possibility of ruling by the Federal Court on the question of procedure in the Sections—supposing there were an agreement on the part of Congress to accept H.M.G's view of the meaning of the document of the 16th May, the Muslim League would then be able to agree to take part in the Constituent Assembly. In fact, whether a contribution might be expected from the Muslim League in return for a concession on the part of the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah replied that he had already explained his position at the last meeting,[2] and that he could not add anything to what he had then said as to the manner in which he would put the matter before his Council.

Sir Stafford Cripps emphasized the importance of having something which could be held out to the other side as affording some prospect of an accord being brought about. Could not Mr. Jinnah say that as far as he personally was concerned he thought the arrangement reasonable, and could not he recommend it on that basis?

Mr. Jinnah replied to this that such action would mean that he agreed, and it would prejudice the position of his Council. The procedure in the Sections was only one point and there were others which troubled him seriously.

The Viceroy referred to the last talk he had had with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on this subject in Delhi.[3] Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan emphasized that fact that he had pressed for some guarantee on the part of H.M.G. that there would be due observance of the procedure in the Constituent Assembly. The Viceroy said he had made it clear that he could not pledge H. M. G. on this subject and that their attitude would have to be determined on a particular issue as it arose and when the circumstances in which an alleged breach occurred could be judged.

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that the need for a guarantee of the procedure had always been part of their case. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

emphasized the difficult position of a minority party and its need of some means for making sure that scheme would be worked in a certain way when the majority party had made reservations as to its interpretation of an essential feature.

Mr. Jinnah asked what could be done to ensure the observance of the fundamental terms of the arrangement if H.M.G. could not guarantee it.

The Secretary of State thought that the Congress had given no grounds for supposing that they would not observe the fundamentals, and that it would be very difficult for H.M.G. to take up a position based on the supposition that an intention not to observe the fundamentals had been disclosed. As to this, the Muslim League representatives referred to statements of Congress leaders, relating for example to expanding the list of Union subjects, as evidence of such an intention.

Mr. Alexander asked what Mr. Jinnah had in mind as to the possibility of check on either party if it went off the rails. Was he thinking of some independent authority to which complaints might be referred for settlement?

Mr. Jinnah said that if H.M.G. could not guarantee the arrangement, could there not be an *ad hoc* tribunal of three or some standing judicial body?

The Secretary of State thought the Federal Court would be the best body for such a purpose, and Sir Stafford Cripps said that the Federal Court was presided over by a British Chief Justice, but that it would be very difficult to get agreement on another tribunal with an impartial, and particularly with a British, Chairman.

Mr. Jinnah said they would consider this proposition further.

The Secretary of State said it was desirable to be clear as to the scope and functions of any such procedure for settlement. To this Mr. Jinnah replied that supposing the Statement of May 16th could be treated as an agreement between the parties, the function of the tribunal would be to interpret any differences that might arise upon it as an agreement, and to give effect to it as something binding upon the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Alexander said he understood there were only two main points outstanding:

1. the difference as to voting in the Sections;
2. procedure for settling disputes about departures from the scheme in the Statement of the 16th May, regarded as the agreement.

There was no dissent as to this on the part of Mr. Jinnah.

The Secretary of State said the Congress were afraid that procedure in the Sections might operate unfairly so as to prejudice the decisions of Provinces about the Groups when formed. Presumably, if some arrangement were made to check abuses by the Congress majority at the Centre, the same would have to apply in the Sections where the Muslim League had majorities. Mr. Jinnah said he regarded this as already covered because the arbitral procedure if agreed to would cover the whole ground of the scheme in the document of the 16th May. The Secretary of State said what he had in mind were matters of equity rather than of legality, because abuses could be conceived which would arise outside the strict terms of the document of the 16th May. Sir Stafford Cripps doubted whether the Secretary of State's point was susceptible of arrangement in advance. Settlement by arbitration could only operate within the terms of the agreement. For any abuses that might arise otherwise, a check would operate from the fact that one party had the majority at the Centre and the other had it in the Sections.

The Secretary of State said it was hoped that all four Indian representatives would meet the Prime Minister and his colleagues at 10, Downing Street that evening at 6 p.m. Mr. Jinnah was prepared to attend such a meeting but only on the understanding that he would not be in a position to commit himself in any way, and must be free to place the situation before his Council in whatever way he considered right and proper. In reply the Secretary of State said it was realized that neither party would be in a position to commit itself.

[1]No. 164, *TP*, IX, 290-92.
[2]Appendix IV. 18.
[3]See No. 70, *TP*, IX, 128-31.

IV. 21

Statement by His Majesty's Government[1]

F. 21/68-70

[LONDON,
6 December 1946]

The conversations held by His Majesty's Government with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah , Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening, as Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh are returning to India tomorrow morning.

The object of conversations has been to obtain the participation and co-operation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly. It was not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached.

The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of paragraph 19(v) and (viii)[2] of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16th[3] relating to the Meetings in Sections which run as follows:

> *Paragraph* 19(v) "These Sections shall proceed to settle provincial constitutions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall also decide whether any Group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below".
>
> *Paragraph 19 (viii)* "As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the legislature of the Province after the first General Election under the new constitution".

The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decision of the Sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslims League, but the Congress have put forward a different view.[4] They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement, read as a whole, is that the provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions.

His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of May 16th means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the Statement

as so interpreted must therefore be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16th, for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

It is however clear that other Questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16th may arise, and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such decision so that the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

On the matter immediately in dispute His Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that the way may be open for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If, in spite of this re-affirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for the decision of the Federal Court, such reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the Sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known.

There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly, except upon the basis of an agreed procedure. Should a Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not of course contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country.

[1]Copy sent by India Office, London, to Mumtaz Hassan, Private Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan. See F. 21/67, *QAP*. Not printed.

[2]Sub-paras (v) and (viii) of paragraph 19, as reproduced here, carry quite a few variations of punctuation. The word "new" before "legislature" in the second sentence of sub-para (viii) stands omitted. The version given in No. 166, *TP*, IX, 295-6 suffers from the same errors.

[3]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.

[4]See Annex II to Appendix I. 41, ibid., 466-70.

IV. 22

Record of Meeting held at 10 Downing Street[1]

SECRET

[LONDON,]
6 December 1946

Those present were Clement Attlee (in the Chair), F.W. Pethick-Lawrence, Sir S. Cripps, A.V. Alexander, Archibald Wavell, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, M.A.Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Baldev Singh; F.F. Turnbull (Secretary)

The Prime Minister said that the Government had asked the Indian leaders to come to London on this flying visit in the hope that they might be able to assist in settling the differences which had arisen between the parties in regard to the Constituent Assembly.

The present British Government had made a declaration that it was for India to decide its own constitution. That declaration had been hailed in all parts of the world as a great step and one without precedent in history. It had been generally acclaimed in Parliament. The ironical position now was that progress was hung upon the much smaller question of agreement between Indians as to methods of procedure. World opinion would think this a very curious situation. The British Government had done everything possible in this matter. Three Ministers had spent three and a half months in India and had laboured earnestly to get an agreement. In the end they had themselves to put forward what they considered should achieve the greatest possible measure of agreement in the Statement of May 16th.[2] Instructed opinion all over the world thought that this Statement was well devised. It seemed to most people that the differences of interpretation were not very large. If there was to be peaceful handing over of power in India it could only be done by agreement, goodwill and give and take between the parties in India. This was the only method by which constitutions could be made.

All those present at the meeting were persons in very responsible positions and stood in world affairs for the democratic way of life. India represented the leading exponent of democratic methods in Asia. The successful foundation of a new constitution by democratic processes would affect the whole future of the world, not only in Europe but in Asia.

The British Government had done their part. They had secured acceptance in this country for a line of policy urged for many years by leading Indians. They were entitled now to ask for Indian

cooperation. In the present series of meetings they had been unable to get acceptance by either side of the view held by the other. They proposed therefore to issue tonight a Statement.

The Prime Minister then read the text of the Statement which will be found annexed to I.C.L. (46) II.[3]

After the Statement had been read, Mr. Jinnah asked what the position would be if the Federal Court took a different view of the interpretation of the document from that held by H.M.G. The Minister without Portfolio said that H.M.G. would then have to consider the position. Mr. Jinnah said that he must make it clear that a decision by the Federal Court would not be binding on the Muslim League. It seemed to him that the Constituent Assembly would decide by a large Hindu majority to refer the matter to the Federal Court and would be bound by the Federal Court's ruling. The Muslim League could not, therefore, be a party to such a reference as they were not prepared to be bound by it. Apart from this he was not in a position to say anything on behalf of the Muslim League but he would certainly consider the position with his Council. He thanked the British Government for doing their best to secure agreement.

Pandit Nehru said that the Congress would, of course, require time to consider the Statement which had been read and he could not give any answer, though there were certain things he would wish to say.

The Statement was, he considered, an amendment of the Statement of May 16th and went beyond it. The Congress had proceeded on the basis of that Statement throughout. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy would bear out his statement that Congress had from the very beginning pointed out that they discussed it on a certain basis. Subsequently they were told that no amendment or change would be made. Now this elucidation took the Statement a stage further. Clearly it created a new situation for the Congress. He did not know what their response would have been if this Statement had been made originally.

The new Statement quoted paragraph 19(v) and 19(viii), but not paragraph 15 of the Statement of May 16th. Taken together these paragraphs might bear a different interpretation from that which paragraph 19 would bear by itself.

The Prime Minister said that it was not at all clear to him on what grounds that view was advanced. Paragraph 15 dealt with fundamental principles to be embodied in the constitution. Paragraph 19 dealt with the methods of arriving at decisions about the constitution. These appeared to be quite different and separate things, and the principles laid down for one need not be the same as those for the other. Pandit

Nehru said that the view of Congress was that, taken together, these two sections might mean something different. Any statement by H.M.G. must obviously be carefully considered by the Congress. The Prime Minister observed that the present Statement dealt only with the interpretation of the document of May 16th. The Congress themselves had placed an interpretation on it. He could not see why an interpretation by H.M.G. extended the document if an interpretation by Congress did not do so. Pandit Nehru replied that H.M.G. as the authors of the document were capable of extending it while the Congress could not do so.

Pandit Nehru said that he did not know what the reaction of the Constituent Assembly would be. Normally speaking, a body such as that resented outside pressure and reacted from it. Compulsion destroyed cooperation. The attitude of various groups and Provinces had been strongly expressed. The Sikhs, for example, had held strong views and the Congress were personally involved in this question of interpretation. He could assure Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that all on the Congress side were anxious to find ways out honourable for both parties because they did not wish to waste the rest of their lives in conflict. They could not conceive of any constitution imposed over one part of the country by another. It was not surprising that they had to face difficulties. He did not take a dismal view of the past or the future and he thought that an unnecessarily dismal view had been taken. There was great danger of solving one difficulty and raising others of vast dimensions in the process. To some extent it was true that this was a conflict between Indian points of view but he was convinced that, unless Indians had a free hand, other difficulties would arise. Indians must have the burden of deciding and bearing the consequences themselves.

Pandit Nehru concluded by thanking H.M.G. for their courtesy in asking him to this country.

The Prime Minister said that he would like to make three comments on what Pandit Nehru had said. Firstly, he could not admit that any additions had been made to the Statement of May 16th. Secondly, the present Statement could not be termed 'pressure from outside' on the Constituent Assembly. The British Government were throughout in the position of persons who are trying to assist an agreement between Indians. Thirdly, he could not agree that there was any sort of coercion on the Constituent Assembly except that of working within an agreed framework. There always had to be a framework within which such a body would work.

Sardar Baldev Singh said that the new Statement would worsen the position of the Sikh community. If there was majority voting in

Group B and not voting by Provinces, the four Sikh representatives would be in an even less influential position. This would have a bad reaction on the Sikhs who had only been persuaded to join the Interim Government and accept the Cabinet Mission's Statement with great difficulty. He feared that the Federal Court was now likely to take the same view as H.M.G. and that the Sikhs might take steps which would be very embarrassing for him personally and for his other colleagues. He would, however, try his best to persuade his people to give the Constituent Assembly a trial.

The President of the Board of Trade said that the Statement did not, of course, in any way prohibit some special arrangement being made by general agreement. He had always understood that the other parties were ready to deal generously with the Sikh position.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he endorsed everything said by his leader, Mr. Jinnah. There had always been a desire in the Muslim League to solve the communal problem in a cooperative spirit. He was grateful for the patience and courtesy shown by the British Ministers and it was his earnest desire that India should attain independence peacefully.

The Secretary of State said that he hoped that the Indian leaders would look at this new Statement with an open mind. It was not designed to take a partial view and was framed with goodwill towards all parties. There was no change in it from what the Cabinet Mission had said all along.

The Minister without Portfolio thanked the Indian representatives for coming to this country and said that there was nothing in the Statement which had been read which went beyond what was contained in the Statements of May 16th and 25th.[4]

The President of the Board of Trade said that if the desire for cooperation which all present had expressed could only be translated into some actual form of deeds, the difficulties would be overcome. Basically, he felt that the trouble was suspicion which had grown up over past years. If the oppositional attitude could be changed to a coalitional attitude, these difficulties could be ironed out. His Excellency the Viceroy said that ever since he had held his present office he had tried to bring the parties together and he would continue to do his best to this end. He sincerely trusted that they might be able to arrive at a solution to the present difficulties.

[1]No. 167, *TP*, IX, 297-300.
[2]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[3]Appendix IV. 21.
[4]Appendix I. 22, Vol. XIII, 434-6.

IV. 23

Note of Conversation between M. A. Jinnah and Woodrow Wyatt[1]
9 December 1946

I. Jinnah is generally very pleased with Friday night's statement.[2] He was very keen to say how honest he had always been, and he was glad that the Government had been honest about the interpretation.

2. I asked him what he thought the reaction of the Council of the Muslim League would be in the event of the Constituent Assembly now referring the grouping dispute to the Federal Court, the Federal Court giving the same decision as the British Government and Congress then agreeing to abide by that decision. He said that he could not tell exactly what their reaction would be, but he would certainly endeavour to persuade them to come into the Constituent Assembly if the Federal Court's decision went the Muslim League way and Congress agreed to accept it.

3. He thinks, however, that even if this point is settled and out of the way, Congress will certainly raise other points and he was not altogether pleased with that part of Friday night's statement which said that other points over which there were disputes over interpretation could be referred to the Federal Court. He says very vehemently that Congress do not intend to settle, either with the Muslim League, or the British Government. They will undoubtedly raise more and more points of this kind at the Constituent Assembly which will probably mean that at some point the Muslim League will have to come out.

4. He talked for a long time about Congress activities in (a) getting British officials out of their jobs (he instanced in particular the Civil Aviation Board) and (b) the putting of their own supporters into official positions and turning out Muslims.

He thinks that Congress are organizing very thoroughly and comprehensively to seize power by physical means if necessary. He complained about 25,000 I.N.A men on the Congress pay roll and with their offices next door to Congress offices all over the country. He attributes it particularly to his own folly that the Muslim League had not organised on a similar scale.

5. I told him that I thought that in my view, if Congress and the Muslim League continued not to agree for much longer, it was unlikely that the British would remain with their officials and troops for any appreciable period in India. At this he was shocked and startled, and for a moment could think of nothing to say. Then he said: "Well, I don't mind if the British go straight away—tomorrow—but it

would be most unfair if they for some time before going, because by that time Congress would have entrenched themselves into so many official positions and would have prepared their organisation in the country so elaborately that the Muslim League would be unable to stand up against them. If the British went today, the Muslim League could hold their own".

6. Finally, he thought that although he was inclined to give it a trial, the Constituent Assembly would not function properly, and the only solution was, as ever, Pakistan.

[1]No. 178, *TP*, IX, 312-3.
[2]Appendix IV. 21.

IV. 24

Note by F. W. Pethick-Lawrence of his Conversation with M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan at the India Office[1]

LONDON,
13 December 1946

I started by saying to Mr. Jinnah that I hoped that he would now see his way to getting the Muslim League to come into the Constituent Assembly. Mr. Jinnah said that he did not see on what ground he could do so. Congress had not accepted the interpretation in our Statement of December 6th[2] and unless and until that matter was finally disposed of there would be nothing which would induce the Muslim League to come in.

I then said that I understood from what he had said a week ago at the final meeting in Downing Street[3] that he would at any rate summon the Muslim League Council and discuss the matter with them. Mr. Jinnah said that he had not said anything which would justify me in coming to that view of his remarks. We pursued the matter further but I got no indication whatever from Mr. Jinnah that he would be likely to summon the Council, still less that he would recommend entry into the Constituent Assembly. I told him that it would be a little difficult for Congress to eat their words, but I urged him to bring his people in on the assumption that our view would in fact prevail, but I failed to move him from his standpoint.

We then discussed a number of other matters including the question of the Interim Government. Both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali

said they had been prepared to co-operate in all legitimate ways in the Executive Council and when I pointed out to him that it was unfortunate that Mr. Jinnah had used the words that it was not a coalition, Mr. Jinnah said that he did not mind words, what he really disapproved of was the obvious intention to create a body which would gradually assume full power before the new Constitution was actually framed. Reference was then made by Mr. Liaquat Ali to the question of forming coalitions in the Provinces. He said they were quite willing to do so in the Muslim majority Provinces provided similar coalitions were set up in the Hindu majority Provinces, but Congress had refused this approach and Mr. Jinnah said that both in Bengal and in Sind attempts had been made by the Muslim League immediately after the elections to form coalitions but Congress had insisted on standing out. Mr. Jinnah then raised the question of Bihar and said that he recognised the transfer of populations was a difficult and long-term policy, but he thought something might be done immediately with regard to the refugees who had crossed the border and in whose daily life it was quite common for them to go across from one side to the other. He was also emphatic that an enquiry ought to be held into the events in Bihar. The impression I gained from the interview as a whole was that Mr. Jinnah had not been moved by the Cabinet announcement of December 6th towards greater co-operation, and that he still demanded that the next move should come from Congress in the shape of an acceptance of our interpretation of the Statement of May 16th.

In the course of our conversation I pointed out to Mr. Jinnah that inside the areas covered by the North-West and North-East Sections he would have precisely the same difficulties to contend with as Congress were having with the Muslim League in the whole of India and that he could not contemplate there forceful compulsion of unwilling components to accept Muslim League rule.

[1]No. 191, *TP*, IX, 344-5.
[2]Appendix IV. 21.
[3]See Appendix IV. 22.

IV. 25

Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to W. Muller of the BBC

F. 21/78-80

LONDON,
13 December 1946

I know that the people of America are deeply interested in India. I send you my cordial greetings on behalf of Muslim India and I feel we have your good wishes. As you know, of the many races, creeds and religions that inhabit the vast subcontinent of India, there are two major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims. 100 million Muslims cannot be characterized as a minority. We are 70 millions in the North-Western and North-Eastern zones of India; we constitute a majority of 70 per cent against the Caste-Hindus in these homelands of ours.

We want the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan because that is the only practical solution, which will secure freedom for both Hindus and Muslims and the achievement of stable and enduring governments of Hindustan and Pakistan, which I am confident will settle down as friends and neighbours like Canada and the United States and other sovereign States both in North and South America.

Hindu India and Muslim India must be separated because the two nations are entirely distinct and different and, in some matters, antagonistic to each other. Let me tell you some of the differences. We differ in our history, culture, language, architecture, music, laws jurisprudence, calendar and our entire social fabric and code of life.

One India is impossible of realization. It will inevitably mean that the Muslims will be transferred from the domination of the British to the Caste-Hindu rule—a position that Muslims will never accept. As an all-India minority, we shall be under the rule of the permanent Hindu majority of about 3 to 1, which will virtually mean one nation ruling another by means of the ballot-box. The writ and fiat of such a government will neither command respect, nor acceptance and allegiance and such a government will, therefore, be impossible. It can only function by force but will never secure the willing approval and sanction of the 100 million Muslims. Unless the gravity of this aspect of the problem is realized and

tackled frankly and boldly by the British Government, chaos is inevitable which must have serious repercussions and endanger the world peace.

Our scheme of division of India gives Hindus three-fourths of the country and the Muslims secure a dominant voice in the remaining one quarter of India, thereby giving the two nations scope and opportunity to develop in accordance with their own culture and ideology, so as to contribute to the peace and advancement of the world as a whole.

Muslims desire freedom more than anyone else because love for freedom, fraternity and liberty is the life-blood of their existence—but freedom must mean freedom both from British exploitation and Hindu domination. 100 million Muslims will never agree merely to a change of masters.

IV. 26

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

[KINGSWAY HALL,
LONDON,]
13 December 1946

"I am glad that I have been given this opportunity of giving you facts about India. It is a long story. It seems during the few days we have been here now, I notice from your press that the British were asleep during the last seven or eight months while the Labour Government was handling the problem of India. Now I see there is a change. That is a very good sign indeed. I quite understand that an average publisher is busy in his own affairs and does not have time or knowledge to form a conclusion. Therefore the press does not help you very much.

GROUPING CLAUSE

I am glad that the British people have awakened a bit. It is the tradition of the British nation that they only wake up when there is something dangerous." said Mr. Jinnah.

"The Cabinet Mission came to India in March and tried to understand the situation there and after lots of conversations and discussions they put forward what is known as a long-term and a short-term scheme. The Congress did not accept the long-term proposals in fact. They accepted on their own terms with reservations

and with their own interpretation of one of the most fundamental and basic points—known as the Grouping Clause.

To our disappointment the Cabinet Mission took an attitude, which to say the least, was most amazing. What did they do? They accepted what I would have characterized as non-acceptable and they passed out to the world and actually misled the British Parliament that the Congress had accepted the long-term scheme."

ORIGINAL PROPOSAL

Mr. Jinnah said: "They said in effect: Our original proposal is five-five-two but now we must make it five-five-three or five Muslims, five Hindus, one Sikh, one Christian and one Parsi. This was intended really to placate the Congress. The cause is difficult for an average Englishman to understand unless he has been in India for a long time. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy evidently thought that if they had one Parsi then it might appease the Congress because there was every likelihood that the Parsi would support them. When that was suggested, the Congress turned it down again. Then we were told that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy would announce their own proposals. These were made known on June 16[2] and were known as the short-term scheme. We were also told that this was final and that it was up to the Congress to accept or not and to the Muslim League to do the same. Ladies and gentlemen, you will be surprised to hear that the Congress did not accept. That was [5:5:4]". Mr. Jinnah continued: "When the names were announced, the Congress said: 'We do not accept the nominees you have chosen. We want this substituted and that substituted.' The Congress also said: 'We do not accept that there should be any safeguard for Musalmans!' With regard to what? With regard to any major communal issue. An assurance was given—and it applied to both and not only to Muslims—that if there was any major communal issue upon which there was disagreement and if the majority of Muslim or Hindu members were opposed to it then it should not be forced. They also said: 'We cannot accept it on various grounds. We are not going to accept the short-term scheme which you have announced to the world as final', and they rejected it on June 25.[3] On the same day we accepted it.[4] Then there was another amazing fact. I have not yet been able to understand exactly—what was the influence which made the Cabinet Delegation not only scrap it on grounds which in my judgment—and I think it is the judgment of many impartial men—was nothing but a perversion of the true meaning of the construction of para 8.

CABINET MISSION SAID 'NO'

"They said: 'Now we shall begin afresh; when we complained that this was most unjust and unfair. We added, 'in that case postpone the long-term plan.' The Cabinet Mission said: 'No—preparations had gone too far ahead and they must proceed.' That was an interpretation revolting and repugnant to common sense. On that construction the Congress had accepted the long-term and rejected the short-term.

Believe me, I am telling the truth—we think an amicable and peaceful settlement is far better even if we have to sacrifice something substantial for it." This statement was greeted with loud applause. Mr. Jinnah continued: "We thought that we would make our sacrifice on the altar by achieving the freedom of all of us. Let me tell you the Congress has been adamant. It has not budged an inch. Unfortunately for our country and our people they are going headlong on a mad career. They (Congress) are responsible for obstructing the freedoms of the peoples of India." Mr. Jinnah said, "What is it we want? What are our utmost demands. The answer is—Pakistan." There were shouts of *Zindabad* from the audience. Mr. Jinnah went on to explain what he meant by Pakistan. "What is Pakistan?" he said. "What is so terrible about it? How is it going to harm the Hindus or prejudice them?

SO-CALLED ONE INDIA IS BRITISH-MADE

"In the north-west and north-east zones of India which are our homeland and where we are in a majority of 70 per cent against Caste-Hindus we say we want a separate state of our own. There we can live according to our own notions of life. The differences between Hindus and Muslims are so fundamental that there is nothing that matters in life upon which we agree." Mr. Jinnah went on: "It is well known to any student of history that our heroes, our culture, our language, our music, our architecture, our jurisprudence, our social life are absolutely different and distinct. We are told that India has been one for a long time. I tell you that the so-called one India is British-made. It was made by the sword. It can only be held by the sword as it has been held. Do not be misled by anyone saying that India is one and why, therefore, should it not continue to be one. What do we want? I tell you—Pakistan. Pakistan presupposes that Hindustan should also be a free state.

LET US LIVE AS GOOD NEIGHBOURS

"What would Hindus lose? Look at the map. They would have three-quarters of India. They would have the best parts. They would have a population of nearly 200 million. Pakistan is certainly not the

best part of India. We should have a population of 100 million, all Muslims. What is the objection to these proposals of ours? We should be free. Let me say these are big States. How many States are there in this world with a population of 100 million? You see it is not a small thing. Let us live as good neighbours with the Hindus just as America lives in a friendly way with Canada, as do many of the States in North and South America. Unfortunately Europe has not shown this spirit, but nevertheless is it not a big proposition to suggest that the whole of Europe should be one and that there should be one government? I know many idealists who desire it. But they also desire that the whole world should be one and that there should be one government.

Their attitude was 'we must scrap the thing and begin afresh'. But I want you to understand that the Congress did not even accept the long-term plan and yet it was passed off as their acceptance. It is very difficult for me in my language to speak about it to you this evening. It was betrayal of the Muslim League and Musalmans—betrayal number one. Then what did we find? It was postponed for a month. Preparations for the Constituent Assembly, however, were to go ahead. Naturally we protested. We issued statements.[5] I do not know whether they reached you here or not, but we made our decision clearly.

LANDSLIDE

"About the end of July[6] a proposal was sent for the Interim Government a fresh one. I do not want to worry you about the details of it but it was a fundamentally and entirely different one. It was a landslide as far as the Muslim League was concerned, a going down a descent and such that we were unable to accept. In the meantime we were making it clear that the Congress had not accepted the long-term scheme, but ours was a voice in the wilderness. On July 18,[7] your Parliament met and on the floor of the House of Commons a version was given to you which is half true and misleading. It concealed the true state of affairs, but nothing happened.

We had to consider this very serious position with which we were faced. We called a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and met on July 29.[8] In the meantime, pronouncements of Congress leaders were made known and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's[9] was the worst of the lot. They said: 'We are going to the sovereign Constituent Assembly. We will decide what we think proper.' As to the scope of the proposed Union, it was confined only to three matters.

NO FAIR PLAY

"They were foreign affairs, defence and communications. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it clear that it was [for] the Constituent Assembly to take any decision they liked. We have no alternative except to withdraw our assent, that we had given on June 6.[10] But we said that later on we were willing to consider a change in the formula of the Indian government and our assent to the proposal embodied in the Statement of June 16, which were the final proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. We came to the conclusion that there was no room for reason, intelligence or fair play."

Throwing wide his arms in a characteristic gesture of despair, Mr. Jinnah said: "I am sorry to say that your Delegation has throughout at every critical stage really worked under the mortal fear of incurring the displeasure of the Congress. Why?" He answered his own question by adding, "because the Congress at every critical stage now, as then, has the fundamental policy that they would resort to mass civil disobedience at any moment they thought necessary. We have made concessions. We have given up a lot for these reasons."

HINDUS WANT THE WHOLE

"It is a noble idea," said Mr. Jinnah, but he dropped his voice dramatically to add in a whisper "but such ideals are not achieved easily. Then I say what is the objection to it (Pakistan)? The only objection is that Hindus want the whole. If the whole is agreed to them, then we are reduced to nothing but minority. Therefore, the problem is—is Britain going to stand with its bayonets and hand over authority to the Hindu majority? If that happens, you will have lost every cent of honour, integrity and fair play. Democracy is alien to the Hindu society. I do not want to show any disrespect for any other society. But the Hindu society is caste-ridden and caste-bound. The Untouchables have no place socially, economically or anyway at all.

DEMOCRACY IS IN BLOOD OF MUSLIMS

"Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood. I give you an example. Very often when I go to a mosque my chauffeur stands side by side with me. Musalmans believe in fraternity, equality and liberty. How can a minority put a stop to a majority. It is bunkum. We are not putting a stop to a

majority but we are entitled to establish our government".

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 466-74.
[2]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 32, Vol. XIII, 445-6.
[3]See Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 478-9.
[4]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 41, ibid., 460-1.
[5]See Appendix I. 53, ibid., 486-9.
[6]See Appendix I. 55, ibid., 491-2.
[7]See Appendix I to No. 317, *TP*, VIII, 515-7. Also see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 817-35.
[8]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[9]Also see S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 260-4.
[10]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 25, Vol. XIII, 438-9.

IV. 27

Statement by M. A. Jinnah at a Press Conference[1]

F.21/77-87

[LONDON,]
14 December 1946

Muslim League President Mohammad Ali Jinnah at a press conference in London today indicated that if the Indian Congress Party unequivocally accepted the British Government interpretation of the controversial grouping clauses in the Cabinet Mission's constitutional proposals of May 16,[2] he would certainly have to call his Council. Jinnah added that he could not of course say whether his Council, as a result, would decide to enter the Constituent Assembly at Delhi, which has already met without the Muslim League to start its task of framing a constitution for independent India.

Jinnah, whose main pronouncements were contained in answers to questions, reaffirmed Pakistan as the goal of the Muslim League, agreed with conservative leader Winston Churchill's predictions that things would get worse in India "if Britain did not act boldly and frankly" and answered the question as to whether he were once a Congressman by retorting that "once I belonged to a preparatory school".

Jinnah was asked by one pressman his impression of the two-day India debate[3] held in the House of Commons this week on the insistence of Churchill and some of his opposition friends. "My impression of the debate generally" he answered "is that light

is dawning on the tremendous mess that has already been made and I think Parliament is in a better position now with regard to some of the facts than they were during all these previous months."

Asked if he thought the debate a good thing Jinnah said that he did. To a questioner who asked if the Muslim League's political goal was complete independence Jinnah responded, "what do you think we are fighting for? The goal of complete independence is Pakistan—certainly."

The Muslim leader, who was accompanied at the conference by his colleague Liaquat Ali Khan, was asked to give his reaction to the paragraph in the India statement of the British Government on December 6[4] to the effect that it did not contemplate forcing upon minorities any constitution in the framing of which these minorities were unrepresented.

The questioner asked, "that was not an answer to Jinnah's suggestion that His Majesty's Government had not said what its position would be if the Indian Federal Court, to which points of contention between the Indian parties may be submitted, did not interpret the controversial grouping clauses in the same way as Britain"—which is also Jinnah's interpretation.

Jinnah, in course of his answer, said, "suppose the Federal Court decides against the interpretation of His Majesty's Government, then what will His Majesty's Government do with regard to the Constituent Assembly? Is it to proceed on the basis of an interpretation given by the Federal Court contrary to the interpretation of His Majesty's Government? In that case the Muslim League could never accept it."

A pressman said there was a feeling in London that the Muslim League was not prepared to submit the principal question separating the parties to the Federal Court. Jinnah said, "if you ask me why we have always been averse to being a party to reference to the Federal Court on this point it is because the authors themselves (the Cabinet Mission and British Government are the authors of the statement of May 16 be referred to)" ought to know what the proposals are. Some mediator come[s] and say[s,] 'now you have not agreed. We will make a proposal. If you both accept it you can go ahead'. One party says they do not accept. One party says they only accept on conditions. The other party says that is not acceptance— "it is merely a counter-offer". Jinnah said "they could not agree that a Court should decide whose interpretation was correct. I say it is not a matter for a Court". He declared: "the mediator making the proposal should know what he means and should say, if there is

any doubt in anyone's mind 'I will make it clear".

Jinnah added that "besides, this was a fundamental, basic point—it was the very foundation of the scheme. "It is not a justiciable issue" he averred. "I tell you I will trust no court to decide on a point like this", he said, adding that it was a matter for agreement.

One pressman put a dual question. "If the Congress accepts grouping as laid down in by the British Government", he asked, "would the Muslim League be willing to take part in the Constituent Assembly and in that case would it be willing to agree with Congress that the Assembly was a sovereign and autonomous body not subject to outside interference?" Jinnah answered the first part by saying that if Congress unequivocally accepted the His Majesty's Government interpretation of 6th December, certainly he would have to call his Council. He indicated that he could not anticipate the decision of the Muslim League Council. Jinnah thanked the questioner for the second point. "It is all very well to talk in this loose way on the position of the Constituent Assembly", he said going on to tell his audience that Congress with 292 supporters—there might be a few less—in the Assembly certainly had "a brute majority".

"Whereas the Muslim number is 79" he said adding "that is what people understand where they talk of democracy. As between Hindus and Muslims there is no such thing as democracy. It is a majority of one nation than can overrule the unanimous decision of any other nation because they are 79 and Congress are 293. In the perilous position that the Muslims will be" observed Jinnah "we do not want any outside interference in the sense that somebody should tinker with us but there must be some provision within scheme itself which will prevent brute majority taking the bit in its mouth and running away. But to treat it as a sovereign Constituent Assembly, taking decision after decision and then presenting the poor Muslim minority, the British Government and the world with a *fait accompli*—there is the real danger."

"Does that mean that the Muslim minority wants to continue a veto on progress" asked a questioner. "That is often said but it is absurd" answered Jinnah. "Unless the majority of one nation can take what decisions it likes, the moment you don't agree you are exercising your veto and you are intransigent. In that case a majority is to grind down a minority completely and the minority has no remedy".

Jinnah asked his audience if it had ever known anywhere in the world of a constitution that worked successfully without being framed

with the willing assent of the major elements that lived in the land? "Even the machinery will not work unless it has the goodwill, cooperation and honest desire of the people. Here we cannot agree to set up a constituent machinery by agreement. That is the stage we are at."

"It is somebody else's suggestion and we don't agree on that even" continued Jinnah. When people said the Muslims were placing a veto on the advance of the majority he asked, "What majority do you mean? If you mean the Hindus", said Jinnah "we wish them Godspeed. Go ahead—establish your Hindustan; frame your constitution for Hindus. Leave us alone and we shall frame a constitution for Pakistan".

Asked if he were advocating a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, Jinnah said he had always done so. "I have always advocated and I still think it is the only solution—that the British Government, the sooner it decides the better, should divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan and leave the six provinces which are in sections B and C of the Cabinet Mission proposals to settle their own constitution in a separate Constituent Assembly. The remaining provinces in India which are in Section A should frame their own constitution in their own Constituent Assembly. That is the only way to solve this complex problem of India's future constitution".

Jinnah opened his press conference by a long statement which covered much of the ground continued in his speech[5] at the Kingsway Hall meeting last night and observed that the Muslim League time and again had been let down in course of the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission and British Government .

He proceeded to give an historical survey from the Muslim League point of view of the events leading up to his present visit to take part in the hurriedly arranged constitutional talks at No. 10 Downing Street—the Prime Minister's official residence—just over a week ago.

Referring to Congress and Muslim League participation in the present provisional government he said that "Congress had made its intentions clear—that whatever the constitution they were going to act as a cabinet with a joint and collective responsibility and a responsibility only to the legislature where they have an overwhelming majority and to no outside authority which we say we cannot allow that" declared Jinnah, "we are criticized as the King's party and the agents of British imperialism".[6]

Jinnah added that while the question of the framing of the future constitution was still a matter unsettled as regards machinery and

the basic principles of that machinery, this Interim Government "would go ahead with measures administrative and legislative which will torpedo completely our demand for Pakistan and separation".

Jinnah related the history of negotiations leading to the Muslim League's reversal[7] at the end of July of its acceptance of both short and long term British proposals for settlement. Coming to the London negotiations with Congress leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission he reminded his hearers of the British Government's statement[8] and affirming interpreting the British Cabinet Mission's intentions on grouping as expressed in May 16 declaration. "The question is whether Congress accepts these proposals clearly and unequivocally and whether they have not done so? His Majesty's Government took legal advice. I really cannot understand why they adopted that course. After all, they are the authors of these proposals and it is up to them to say this is what we mean and what we say. Now it is for the parties to consider their respective positions and give their answers whether they accept the interpretation or do not accept it".

Jinnah made the point that the Government statement of May 16 suggested that if the Indian political parties intended to refer the chief points at issue to the Federal Court "it will then be reasonable that the meetings of the sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decisions of the Federal Court are known".

Jinnah said he did not know whether Congress would consider it reasonable to postpone the meeting of the sections of the Constituent Assembly until the decision of the Federal Court was known. "So we are now hung up" he observed. "Until they knew finally whether the Congress had unequivocally accepted His Majesty's Government's interpretation of the disputed clauses in the Cabinet Mission proposals", asked Jinnah, "what useful purpose would be served summoning the Council of the All India Muslim League? Because what can they consider where"? He asked "that is the position at the present moment".

[1]Cabled by Fraser Wighton, Reuter's political correspondent.
[2]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, note 2, 481-2.
[4]Appendix IV. 21.
[5]Appendix IV. 26.
[6]See No. 71, *TP*, IX, 131-4.
[7]Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[8]See note 5 above.

IV. 28

Statement by M. A. Jinnah at a Press Conference

[*Extract*][1]

KARACHI,
21 December 1946

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said at a press conference that unless and until the Congress unequivocally accepted the interpretation of December 6, of His Majesty's Government,[2] there was no occasion for him to call a meeting of the Muslim League Council to revise its previous decision.

His statement was in reply to a question bringing to his notice the remarks of Sir Stafford Cripps in the course of the debate in the House of Commons[3] that Mr. Jinnah was prepared to put the matter before the Muslim League Council with a view to ascertain whether on the basis of the Statement of December 6 the League was now prepared to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah said, "if it was reported that Sir Stafford Cripps said in the course of the debate that after the Statement of December 6 the Muslim League would call the Council meeting, that was not exactly what he said, but I have made it quite clear both to the British Government in the course of our discussions and in my press conference which I gave a few days before my departure from London that unless and until the Congress unequivocally accepts the interpretation which has been categorically and definitely put upon the Statement of May 16,[4] there is no occasion for me to call the Council meeting. What can I put before the Council until the Congress have agreed to the Statement of May 16 and December 6? Of course, it will then be for the Council to decide what action we should adopt."

Mr. Jinnah said it was not true that any change was made in the Statement of December 6 after it was read out to him and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru by the British Premier Mr. Clement Attlee. "It is not true that anything was added afterwards." He said, "It is possible that Pandit Nehru did not quite catch the last part."

Asked for his reaction to Mahatma Gandhi's advice[5] to Assam to withdraw from the Constituent Assembly after it went into Sections Mr. Jinnah said, "Gandhi says different things at different times. Of course he is suffering from impenetrable darkness and one does not know how to take what he says from time to time.

I am sorry I have to criticize Mr. Gandhi, but he himself admitted that I was carrying on negotiations with Pandit Nehru in Delhi, he had gone back on it on the ground that he had made a blunder, and that he was getting weak. It is now difficult to attach importance to what Mr. Gandhi says."

Question: In B and C groups , will the minority representatives have the same privileges and rights on issues affecting their interests as Muslims will have in framing the Union Constitution? What is the status of provincial units in framing the group constitution?

Mr. Jinnah: "I am not here to interpret. The Statement of May 16 is there, as also the interpretation of December 6."

FAREWELL TO BRITISH

When Mr. Jinnah was asked what would be his solution in the absence of any understanding on this point, he said "my own opinion is that the only solution for India's problem is Pakistan which will finally enable us to establish stable and independent Government[s] of Pakistan and Hindustan and I am confident that we shall then obtain conditions which will enable us to live as good friendly neighbours.

I think we shall be able to say farewell to the British as quickly as possible. Then we shall be in a position to tell any aggressor, whoever it may be, 'Hands off India'. That has been my view and is so today."

Giving his impressions of the London Conference, Mr. Jinnah said "at long last truth is dawning on the British statesmen, the public and the Press".

Mr. Jinnah at the outset remarked that Sir Stafford Cripps had not been correctly reported and he had given neither Sir Stafford nor any other British Minister any undertaking that he would convene the Council to consider the December 6 Statement, with a view to advising the League to enter the Constituent Assembly. (From our own correspondent)

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, IV, 2498-2500.
[2]Appendix IV. 21.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, note 1, 501.
[4]See Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[5]See No. 219, *TP*, IX, 403-5.

IV. 29

Record of Conversation between Arthur Henderson and M. A. Jinnah[1]

SECRET

KARACHI,
21 January 1947

Our talk was mainly concerned with the Congress Resolution[2] accepting H.M.G.'s interpretation with regard to the voting in the Sections. Jinnah maintained the resolution did not constitute an acceptance. He stressed the use in the Resolution of the word "advise". He approached it as if it were a legal agreement between two parties. He would not agree when I suggested a resolution should not be examined on such a basis. He also considered the reference in the resolution about submitting other differences to the Federal Court as evidence of non-acceptance.

He also made the point that reference to "parts of a Province" and to the Sikhs was further evidence of non-acceptance.

He considers that Gandhi's advice to Assam[3] not to go into the Sections was evidence of non-acceptance.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly he argued that its proceedings were invalid as one of the parties to the contract, namely the Muslim League, were absent. He accused H.M.G. of policy of drift and said responsibility would be entirely theirs for what might transpire. They should be firm and end the present farce of the Constituent Assembly.

Although he was very restrained in manner he was very critical of Congress. He considers that it is impossible to co-operate with them.

I formed the definite impression that the passing of the Congress Resolution has not influenced him in the slightest degree, and that consequently he will not advise this [?his] Council at its meeting on the 29th to enter the Constituent Assembly on this ground.

As regard the services, at the end of the talk he said that so far as the Muslim Provinces were concerned, they would wish to retain their officials, but that he would agree to a measure of compensation being paid to those who wished to go. He said that such Provinces would not in any circumstances join the proposed all-India administrative services.

[1]Enclosure to No. 344, *TP*, IX, 613-4.
[2]Annex.
[3]See No. 219, *TP*, IX, 403-5.

Annex to Appendix IV. 29

Resolution Adopted by the All India Congress Committee[1]

DELHI,
6 January 1947

The following resolution was passed:

ENDORSEMENT OF THE STATEMENT OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE HELD ON DECEMBER 22, 1946[2]

The AICC having considered the events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut Session of the Congress in November last, the statement issued by the British Government on December 6, 1946,[3] and the statement of the Working Committee of December 22, 1946, advises Congressmen as follows:

[1]. The AICC endorses the statement of the Working Committee of December 22, 1946 and expresses its agreement with the views contained therein.

[2]. While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question of interpretation in dispute such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to recent announcements made on behalf of the British Government. A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given.

[3]. The AICC is firmly of opinion that the Constitution for a free independent India should be framed by the people of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible. There must be no interference whatsoever by any external authority, and no compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province.

[4]. The AICC realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some provinces, notably Assam, the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's scheme of May 16, 1946, and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their statement of December 6, 1946. The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned, a principle which the British Government have themselves recognized.

[5]. The AICC is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned and with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying

interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the sections. It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardized. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the AICC therefore directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy.

[1]A.M. & S. G. Zaidi, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: India Wins Freedom*, Vol. XIII, New Delhi, 1981, 109-10.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 222, *TP*, IX, 409-13.
[3]Appendix IV. 21.

IV. 30

Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

NEW DELHI,
[*24 January 1947*]

A.I.C.C. DECISION NEGATIVES DECEMBER 6TH STATEMENT

There has lately been considerable propaganda from a certain quarter to the effect that the Congress by the resolution of the A.I.C.C. of January 6th[2] has accepted the British Government's interpretation, contained in their Statement of December 6th,[3] of those fundamental principles and points of procedure regarding which Congress had put forward its own interpretations not in accord with the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16th.[4]

The Muslim League is also being accused of intransigence for not having rescinded its decision of July 22nd [29th], 1946[5] and for not participating in the Constituent Assembly when it re-assembled on January 20th.

In the Constituent Assembly itself, Congress is taking decisions unilaterally on issues of far-reaching constitutional importance although at this stage it was authorized by the Statement of May 16th only to "settle preliminaries".

Threats have also been uttered on the floor of the Assembly that Congress would proceed with the work of constitution-making although as many as 76 million out of 80 million Muslims of British India may continue to remain unrepresented on that body.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is meeting in a few days and will undoubtedly express its considered opinion on the development which have taken place since the British Government's Statement of December 6th, following the London talks.

Meanwhile, I would like to point out that the A.I.C.C. resolution of January 6th has completely negatived the principle of decision by simple majority vote in the Sections by insisting on a veto for "a Province" or a "part of a Province" (clearly meaning N.W.F.P. and Assam) in Sections B and C, and to the small minority of Sikhs in Section B.

In the course of his speech at the A.I.C.C., Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also categorically denied that Congress had agreed in the past or would agree in the future to a reference to the Federal Court of other questions of interpretation, by either side, as they arose from time to time.

If the Congress still maintains that it has accepted the Cabinet Mission's Plan as again interpreted by the British Government's Statement of December 6th, I would ask it to answer the following questions publicly and in unambiguous terms:

[1.] Does the Congress agree that the Sections sitting as a whole and by simple majority vote shall decide whether there are to be Groups and also settle the Group Constitutions?

[2.] Does the Congress accept that the Constitutions of the Provinces shall be settled by the Sections concerned sitting as a whole and taking decisions by simple majority vote?

[3.] Does the Congress agree that Section C will settle the Constitution for the Province of Assam shall be elected according to the Constitution so settled, and that Assam will exercise its right of remaining in the Group or opting out by a vote of that new Legislature?

[4.] Does the Congress recognize the right of Section B to settle the Constitution of the North West Frontier Province by a simple majority vote of the Section as a whole, and that a new Legislature of the N.W.F.P. shall be elected under the Constitution so settled, this new Legislature alone being competent to decide whether the Province is to remain in Group B or opt out?

[5.] Does Congress agree that Section B, sitting as a whole by simple majority vote, shall settle the Constitution for the Punjab and the Group Constitution, if there is any, affecting all communities concerned, including the Sikhs, and that such a constitution for the Punjab and for the Group shall be final, subject to the approval of Parliament in terms laid down by the Cabinet Mission in their Statement of May 25th, regarding safeguards for minorities and the Sikhs as a community shall have no right of vote?

[6.] Does the Congress agree that either side shall have the right to refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court and that its decisions shall be accepted by both sides?

If the Congress has really accepted the British Government's Statement of December 6th it should have no difficulty in answering these questions in an honest and straightforward manner and without juggling with words.[7]

[1]M. Rafique Afzal, ed., *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan*, Lahore, 1987, 53-5.
[2]Annex to Appendix IV. 29.
[3]Appendix IV. 21.
[4]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[5]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[6]See Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.
[7]See No. 314, *TP*, IX, 562 for the Congress position on grouping.

IV. 31

Resolution by All India Muslim League Working Committee

AFM/142

KARACHI,
31 January 1947

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have given careful consideration to the Statement issued by His Majesty's Government on December 6, 1946.[1] The resolutions passed thereafter by the Congress Working Committee on December 22, 1946[2] and by the All India Congress Committee on January 6, 1947,[3] the speeches delivered by responsible leaders of the Congress at the AICC session referred to above, and the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly during its two sessions so far held, and record their views as follows:

By their Statement of December 6, His Majesty's Government

admitted that the interpretation which the Muslim League had always put on paragraphs 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16[4] was the correct one and accorded with the intention of the Cabinet Mission and His Majesty's Government. By the Statement it was also proved that the Congress, on the other hand, had "put forward a different view" and therefore had not accepted what His Majesty's Government themselves described as "this fundamental point," namely that decision in the Sections, including questions relating to the settling of the constitutions of provinces included in each Group, "should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections".

His Majesty's Government furthermore added that "this Statement, as so interpreted, must therefore be considered an essential part of the Scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament". Accordingly, in their Statement of December 6, they urged the Congress to accept "this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission", or, in the alternative, to refer the point to the Federal Court at a very early date.

In their Statement of December 6, His Majesty's Government also affirmed that the Congress had agreed that other questions of interpretation on the Statement of May 16 which might arise might be referred by either side to the Federal Court, whose decisions should be accepted, and, on the assumption that the Congress had agreed to this procedure, His Majesty's Government asked the Muslim League also to agree to it in order to ensure that "the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission's Plan".

"Thirdly, His Majesty's Government, in the last paragraph of their Statement of December 6, reiterated the fact that "there has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except on the basis of the agreed procedure", and they repeated the assurance: "Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government would not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country".

The meaning and the application of this assurance was further clarified by Sir Stafford Cripps in his speech in the House of

Commons on December 12, 1946, when he said: "but the Government also had to envisage the possibility in the clause in the final paragraph of the Statement. This was perhaps a statement of the obvious—that if the Muslim League could not be persuaded to come into the Constituent Assembly, then parts of the country where they were in a majority could not be held to be bound by the results".

The situation created by the issue of this Statement by His Majesty's Government was that the onus of taking the next step fell on the Congress and they were called upon:

i. to accept honestly and unequivocally the correct interpretation of paragraphs 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, which interpretation had been already accepted by the Muslim League, or to refer the point to the Federal Court.
ii. To reaffirm that they accepted the procedure for the settling of other questions of interpretation that might arise, so that the decision should accord with the basic and fundamental principles of the Scheme of 16th May, 1946, namely, that either side could refer such questions to the Federal Court whose decisions would be binding on all concerned; and
iii. To postpone the session of the Constituent Assembly which had been called for the December 9, 1946, pending settlement of the dispute over fundamental points of principle and procedure which had been brought to the fore by the Statement of December 6 and the correct interpretation of which the Congress had not accepted, as was made clear in that Statement, there being no prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly without such agreement, particularly on the part of the Congress.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League regret to note that the Congress have reacted to the situation created by the Statement of December 6 in a manner which shows that they are determined to adhere to their own views and interpretations of fundamental provisions in the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, which militate against clearly expressed intentions and interpretations of the authors of that Statement as well as of His Majesty's Government as a whole and which destroy the very basis on which the constitutional plan set forth in that Statement had been drawn up.

By their resolution of December 22, the Congress Working Committee rejected the suggestion that the point in dispute should be referred to the Federal Court if the Congress did not accept "this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission", and that

Committee decided to convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee for the purpose of giving a decision on the issues raised by the Statement of December 6. The Working Committee of the Congress, however, in their resolution indulged in an attack on the British Government for their renewed interpretation and clarification which had called the Congress bluff, and on the Muslim League for no other fault except that its stand had been at last vindicated.

The All India Congress Committee, by its resolution passed on January 6, purported "to agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections", about which there never was any doubt in the mind of any sane and honest person, but it immediately added the following qualifying clauses:

> "It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion on a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardized."
>
> "In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned."
>
> "The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the AICC, therefore, directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy."

These qualifying clauses, in the considered opinion of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, confer the right of veto within the Section on "a province", and what is more absurd—on "a part of province", as well as on the Sikhs in the Punjab, and therefore they completely nullify the advice or so-called "acceptance" by the Congress of the December [6] Statement, and this AICC resolution is no more than a dishonest trick and jugglery of words by which the Cóngress has again attempted to deceive the British Government, the Muslim League and public opinion in general.

The question or issue was a very simple one. What was required was a straight and honest answer—and not these evasions, equivocations and camouflage from one of the two major contracting parties to the questions whether the Congress, honestly and sincerely agreed to the proposals of the 16th of May as clarified by His Majesty's Government on the 6th December 1946, and whether they were prepared to honourably abide by them and carry out the letter and

spirit off the proposals which were put before the two major parties by the British Government, who were merely acting as mediators, as, unfortunately the two major parties had failed to come to any agreement at Simla and the Conference at Simla had broke down.

Of the second point in His Majesty's Government Statement of December 6, namely, the procedure whereby either side could refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court, the resolution of the AICC makes no mention, but the mover of the resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on being questioned on the second day of the AICC's deliberations as to whether the Congress had agreed to this procedure, categorically answered in the negative and declared:

> Apart from this, in view of the recent developments and the Statement of December 6, which produces a new situation, I am not prepared to admit for an instant that we have agreed to any future procedure about references, whatever the future brings we shall have to consider it. I should like to make it perfectly clear that we are giving no assurance about any references in regard to any other matters to the Federal Court.... We are not going to commit ourselves at the present moment to any reference to the Federal Court or to any other authority. We shall decide—or the Constituent Assembly shall decide—as we think best in the circumstances.

With regard to the third point, namely that" if a constitution came to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, "such a constitution would not be forced upon any "unwilling parts of the country", the AICC resolution, in paragraph 3, completely distorts the meaning and application of this principle and makes this an excuse to instigate a section of the population of Assam, the North West Frontier Province, the Sikhs and even Baluchistan, to revolt against decisions that might be taken by the relevant Sections sitting as a whole and by a simple majority vote. In the opinion of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League the subsequent decision of the Assam Provincial Congress not to abide by the procedure laid down for Sections and its reiteration that "the constitution for Assam shall be framed by her own representatives only" is a direct result of this instigation and is a step taken by Assam Congressmen in collusion with the all-India leaders of the Congress.

The Constituent Assembly met on December 9 and subsequent dates and thereafter on January 20 and subsequent dates and has already taken decisions of vital character so far as it is known to the public; and as some of the sittings were held *in camera* it is very difficult

to get correct information as to what other resolutions it has passed or what decisions it has taken. I have passed a resolution known as the Independent Sovereign Republic Resolution[5] laying down the objectives.

It is not only a proclamation of India as an Independent Sovereign Republic but it lays down fundamentals of the constitution. As was admitted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the mover of the resolution, it is a very vital resolution. It lays down the essentials of the next constitution; several things which are mentioned there are fundamentals of the constitution. It speaks of a Republic or "Union", functions and powers vested in the "Union" or as are inherent or implied in the Union and resulting therefrom, and talks of present boundaries, States and present authorities, the residuary powers, powers being derived from the people, minority rights and fundamental rights.

These are undoubtedly fundamentals of the constitution and they are beyond the limit of the powers and the terms of the scheme of the Cabinet Mission of 16 May and the resolution is therefore illegal, *ultra vires* and not competent for the Constituent Assembly to adopt.

Next, it has appointed several committees and has proceeded to elect an advisory committee, referred to in paragraph 20 of the Statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on the rights of citizens, minorities, [and] tribal and excluded areas. Further, it has appointed a steering committee and various other committees and as some of the decisions have been taken *in camera* it is very difficult to say what resolutions it has passed or decisions it has taken. It has also passed the "Rules of Procedure" and assumed control of Sections by means of these rules for which there is no warrant of justification, particularly Rule 63, which runs as follows:

> 63(1) The Assembly shall, before finally settling the Union constitution, give an opportunity to the several provinces and States, through their legislatures, to formulate, within such time as it may fix, their views upon the resolutions of the Assembly outlining the main features of the constitution or, if the Assembly so decides, upon the preliminary draft of the constitution.
>
> (2) Before the constitution of any provinces is finally settled, or the decision to set up a Group constitution for the Section in which the province is included is finally taken, an opportunity shall be given to the province concerned through its legislature to formulate, within such time as may be fixed for the purpose, its views
>
> (a) upon the resolution outlining the main features of the constitution or, if the majority of the representatives of the province in the Assembly so desire, upon the preliminary

draft of such constitution, and

(b) upon the preliminary decision of the Section concerned as to whether a Group constitution shall be set up for the provinces included in the Section and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group shall deal?

And lastly, it has appointed a committee to define the scope of the Union subjects. Whereas the position was made quite clear immediately after the Statement of May 16 was issued by the Secretary of State for India in his broadcast[6] and by Sir Stafford Cripps at his press conference where he read out an explanatory statement.[7] Both of them stated, in the clearest possible terms, the time and manner in which Group constitutions were to be framed by the Sections concerned before the Union constitution was taken up.

The Secretary of State said:

After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the Provinces will divide themselves up into three Sections. These Sections will decide upon provincial and Group matters. Subsequently they will reunite to decide upon the constitution for the Union.[8]

Sir Stafford Cripps at his press conference said:

So the three Sections will formulate the Provincial and Group Constitutions. And when that is done they work together with the States' representatives to make the Union Constitution. That is the final phase. And the Union is strictly confined to three subjects.[9]

It is clear from the above that the Constituent Assembly in which only the Congress party is represented has taken decisions on principles and procedure, some of which exceed the limitation imposed by the Statement of May 16, on the Constituent Assembly's functions and powers at the preliminary stage and which further impinge upon the powers and functions of the Sections. By taking these decisions in the Constituent Assembly and by appointing packed Committees consisting of individuals chosen by the Congress, the Congress has already converted that truncated Assembly into a rump[10] and something totally different from what the Cabinet Mission's Statement had provided for.

In view of the these facts and circumstances, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League are definitely of the opinion that the Congress, by rejecting this final appeal of His Majesty's Government to accept the correct interpretation of the fundamental procedure of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, and by having already, by the resolution and decisions taken in two sessions, converted the Constituent Assembly into a body of its own conception, has destroyed all fundamentals of the Statement

of May 16 and every possibility of a compromise on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's constitutional plan. The Working Committee, accordingly, call upon His Majesty's Government to declare that the constitutional plan formulated by the Cabinet Mission as announced on May 16, has failed because the Congress, after all these months of efforts, have not accepted the Statement of May 16, 1946, nor have the Sikhs, nor the Scheduled Castes.

The proposals of May 16 could only be given effect to and carried out if the two major parties agreed to accept them. The Congress had not, and have not accepted and do not accept them, although the Muslim League had accepted by their resolution the Statement of May 16, as far back as June 6, 1946.[11] But in view of the fact that the Congress refused to accept the proposals *in toto* and unequivocally, the Muslim League had to withdraw its acceptance on July 29, 1946.[12]

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League are therefore, emphatically of the opinion that the elections to, and thereafter the summoning of the Constituent Assembly, in spite of strong protests and most emphatic objections on the part of the Muslim League, was *ab intio* void, invalid and illegal as not only the major parties had not accepted the statement but even the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes had also not done so; and that the continuation of the Constituent Assembly and its proceedings and decisions are *ultra vires*, invalid and illegal and it should be forthwith dissolved.

In view of these facts and circumstances, the Working Committee are clearly of the opinion that as the Congress, as a major contracting party, has not accepted the Statement of May 16, as clarified by the Statement of His Majesty's Government of December 6, no useful purpose will be served by summoning a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League to reconsider its decision of July 29, 1946, whereby it had withdrawn acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16.

[1]Appendix IV. 21.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 222, *TP*, IX, 409-13.
[3]Annex to Appendix IV. 29.
[4]Appendix I. 20, Vol. XIII, 419-29.
[5]See No. 190, *TP*, IX, 343-4.
[6]See No. 304, *TP*, VII, 592-4.
[7]See No. 305, ibid., 595-9.
[8]See No. 304, *TP*, IX, 593.
[9]See No. 305, ibid., 597.
[10]A remnant of a legislative or other similar body; the Rump: the remnant of the English Long Parliament, following Pride's Purge of 1648, until 1653 and after its restoration in 1659. King Charles I was condemned by the Rump to execution in 1649. The monarchy was restored in 1660.
[11]See Enclosure to Appendix I.25, Vol. XIII, 438-9.
[12]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, ibid., 494-8.

IV. 32

Liaquat Ali Khan to Archibald Wavell[1]

8-B HARDINGE AVENUE, NEW DELHI,
8 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

With reference to my interview[2] with you on Thursday when you informed me that the 9 non-League Members of the Executive Council had written to you[3] asking that five of us who represent the Muslim League in the Government should resign because the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League by its Karachi resolution[4] had declined to convene a meeting of the All India League Council for the purpose of rescinding its Bombay resolution of July 29[5] whereby the earlier acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan was withdrawn, I consider it necessary to place on record the reactions of my other four colleagues of the Muslim League bloc and myself.

You will recall that immediately after the publication of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16[6] the Congress put forward certain interpretations of their own, particularly with regard to paragraphs 15, 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of that Statement, which interpretations were *prima facie* untenable and inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Cabinet Mission's Statement. The Cabinet Mission who were then in this country took cognizance of these misinterpretations put by the Congress on fundamental points of principle and procedure, and within nine days of the publication of their first Statement they issued another Statement on May 25[7] in which they made it quite clear that the interpretations which the Congress had put forward did not accord with the intentions of the Cabinet Mission.

It was in view of these specific provisions in the Cabinet Mission's Plan regarding Groups and Sections as clarified and interpreted by the Cabinet Mission on the 25th of May and the belief that the Plan will be worked out in letter and spirit by all the parties with goodwill and sincerity that the Council of the All India Muslim League decided to accept that Plan by its resolution of June 6.[8] The Congress Working Committee however passed a resolution on June 25[9] in which it still adhered to its own interpretations and professed to "accept" the Statement of May 16 subject to its right to proceed on the basis of these wrong interpretations. The same wrong interpretations were repeated by Congress leaders in their speeches at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay in the first week of

July, 1946,[10] and thereafter innumerable statements were made by them which proved that the so-called acceptance of the Statement of May 16 by the Congress was no acceptance at all.

By this time the Muslim League was convinced that the Congress was pursuing a dishonest course and that it was determined to use its brute majority in the Constituent Assembly to alter the Cabinet Mission's Plan according to its own interpretations and not implement it on the basis laid down by the Cabinet Mission themselves and clarified by them in their Statement of May 25. Accordingly Mr. Jinnah and myself issued public statements[11] drawing the attention of His Majesty's Government to continued Congress insistence on misinterpreting fundamental provisions of the State Paper to their own advantage and we asked H.M.G. to take cognizance of these Congress declarations and to set matters right. Shortly afterwards, a debate on India was held in both Houses of Parliament but in course of their speeches[12] in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons, respectively, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps, far from giving any assurance and making any declaration that they would prevent Congress from acting contrary to the correct interpretation of the State Paper as given by the Cabinet Mission themselves and as accepted by the Muslim League, on the contrary, made statements which encouraged the Congress in thinking that the British Government were powerless to intervene and that the Congress could twist and distort the Statement of May 16 to suit its own purpose.

Accordingly, the Council of the All India Muslim League when it met at Bombay on July 27 to 29 last year had no alternative but to withdraw its acceptance[13] and to decline to come into Constituent Assembly where not the agreed plan of May 16 but a plan basically different from it was going to be pursued by the sheer weight of Hindu majority.

That this view of the Muslim League was correct and its decision of July 29 was justified was proved beyond any shadow of doubt during the London discussions in the first week of December when the Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet Mission were brought face to face with realities and had to issue their Statement of December 6[14] in which they admitted that while the Muslim League's interpretation accorded with their own, the Congress had put forward a different view, and they urged the Congress to accept the correct interpretation or refer the matter to the Federal Court.

You will also recall that both Mr. Jinnah and myself in our discussions with the Cabinet Mission and yourself in London urged

the necessity of providing for some sort of an umpire for the settlement of disputes on other questions of interpretation which might arise from time to time in the course of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and the Sections. The Cabinet Mission and you recognised the necessity for such a provision and accordingly the Statement of December 6 contained the following paragraph:

> It is, however, feared that other questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16 may arise and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate, they will also agree, as has the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such a decision, so that the procedure, both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission Plan.

I would now like to draw your attention to the subsequent decisions of the Congress and statements by some of the foremost Congress leaders, notably Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with regard to (1) the correct interpretation of paragraphs 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of the May 16 Statement, and (2) the provision that other questions of interpretation shall be referred to the Federal Court.

By its resolution of December 22[15] the Congress Working Committee declined to refer the question of interpretation of what H.M.G.'s December 6 Statement described as "the fundamental point" to the Federal Court, and the Working Committee decided to summon the All India Congress Committee for the purpose of considering the matter. The A.I.C.C. thereafter passed a resolution[16] purporting to agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections but at the same time laying down such conditions, reservations and qualifications which totally nullify the effect of the advice. In the view of the Muslim League this resolution of the Congress is in no way different in effect from the Congress resolution of June 25; rather it makes the position worse in so far as it confers a right of veto not only on a province but also on a part of a Province and the Sikhs. The Muslim League is convinced, as must be any honest and impartial person, that the Congress has not accepted the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16 as interpreted by their Statement of May 25 and as further interpreted by His Majesty's Government's Statement of December 6. The resolutions passed, the rules framed and certain decisions taken so far by the so-called Constituent Assembly prove that the Congress has already violated some of the fundamentals of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. It clearly indicates that the Congress had never

intended nor does it intend to abide by the terms of the Mission's Plan.

With regard to reference of other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court, no mention was made in the resolution of the Congress but Pandit Nehru, in course of his speech at the A.I.C.C. on January 6,[17] made it quite clear that Congress definitely and categorically rejects the procedure laid down in the December 6 Statement and declared that it was for the Constituent Assembly alone to give interpretation of the State Paper of May 16.

Following these decisions by the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. there was considerable controversy as to whether Congress had really accepted the December 6 Statement or not. Accordingly, several days before the Working Committee of the Muslim League was due to meet at Karachi, I issued a statement[18] to the press putting the following categorical questions and suggested that on behalf of the Congress clear-cut answers to these questions might be given through the public press to resolve doubts.

[There follows the text of the six questions included in Appendix IV. 30]

Although most of the top-ranking Congress leaders were then in Delhi, no reply was given on behalf of the Congress.[19]

The position, therefore, is that while the Muslim League originally accepted the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16 in letter and in spirit and in its correct interpretation, but was subsequently compelled to withdraw its acceptance, Congress at no time accepted that Statement and does not now accept it. It is clear from H.M.G.'s Statement of 6 December 1946 that up to that time the Congress had not accepted some of the essentials and fundamentals of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. They urged the Congress to accept the reaffirmation of the intentions of the Cabinet Mission with regard to those fundamental points. The Congress has not only not done so by its resolution of 6 January 1947, but on the contrary has made the matter worse by going back on the agreement to accept the decision of the Federal Court on other questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16. The question of reconsideration by the Muslim League of its July resolution does not arise so long as the Congress does not unequivocally accept H.M.G.'s Statement of 6 December, 1946.

In the result, therefore, if the basis of the participation in the Interim Government were acceptance of the Statement of May 16, then the Congress which has not accepted it and the Sikhs who have definitely rejected it have no greater right to have their representatives or nominees in the Government than the Muslim League has.

In the circumstances it is extremely presumptuous on the part of the 9 non-League members of the Executive Council to demand that their Muslim League colleagues should resign.

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the Karachi resolution[20] passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim League which deals with the matter in greater detail and which may be regarded as a part of this communication. I hope you will be good enough to convey to H.M.G. the text of this letter and the enclosed resolution so that they may have full material before them to understand the real position.[21]

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 363, *TP*, IX, 647-51.
[2]See No. 353, ibid., 626.
[3]See No. 350, ibid., 622-3.
[4]Appendix IV. 31.
[5]Enclosure to Appendix I. 57, Vol. XIII, 494-8.
[6]Appendix I. 20, ibid., 419-29.
[7]Appendix I. 22, ibid., 434-6.
[8]Enclosure to Appendix I. 25, ibid., 438-9.
[9]Annex to Appendix I. 45, ibid., 478-9.
[10]See S. Gopal, *Selected Works*, XV, 236-9.
[11]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, V, 118-21 & 135-7.
[12]See Appendix I to No. 317, *TP*, VIII, 515-6.
[13]See note 5 above.
[14]Appendix IV. 21.
[15]Annex to Appendix IV. 29.
[16]Enclosure to No. 222, *TP*, IX, 409-13.
[17]Enclosure to Appendix IV. 29.
[18]See Appendix IV. 30.
[19]See No. 314, *TP*, IX, 562.
[20]Appendix IV. 31.
[21]Acknowledged by G.E.B. Abell on 9 February.

Glossary

Aameen	So be it (said at the end of a prayer)
Abadi	Population; settlement
Achcha	Well; good
Achhut	Untouchable
Ahimsa	Non-violence
Ahle-Hadis Masjid	Mosque for Ahle-Hadis (a sect of Muslims)
Akhand	Undivided; united
Alhamdulillah	Praise be to *Allah*
'Alim	Scholar
Allaho Akbar	God is the Greatest
Amir-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Anna	1/16th part of a rupee
Ashraful Makhlooqat	Most superior among all living creatures (human being)
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	May the blessings of *Allah* be upon you
Ayat	Verses of the holy *Qur'an*
Badmashi	Highhandedness; villainy
Bait al-Maal	Public treasury in an Islamic State
Bakar 'Id	Muslim festival observed on the day following *Hajj*
Bande Matram	Salutation to Mother (India)
Bania	Hindu shopkeeper; money-lender
Batwara	Division
Bazaar	Market; shopping place
Bhalas	Spears; lances
Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim	In the name of *Allah*, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Bodi	A small lump of hair on a shaven head; pigtail
Chaprasi	Peon
Charkha Sanghs	Organizations of the spinning-wheel
Chhota	Small, little, minor
Choti	Pigtail
Chowkidars	Watchmen
Chugha	Cloak
Congress ki jai	Victory to Congress
Congresswallas	Members of the Congress Party

Daal	Pulses
Dal	Group; party
Darul-Harb	Embattled land
Das	Slave
Delhiwale achha kam kar rahe ho	People of Delhi, you are doing a good job
Devdasis	Young maidens deployed to perform rituals (dancing) in Hindu temples
Dewan	Prime Minister of a State
Divali	A Hindu festival of lamp-lighting and revelry
Dua	Prayer
Eiman	Faith; belief
Fitra	A fixed obligatory payment given to the poor on *Id al-Fitr*
Gow Raksha/Sewa Mandals	Organisations for cow protection/service
Gandasa	A sort of axe
Gandhi ki jai	Victory to Gandhi
Ghair Mulki	Foreigners
Ghazi	A Muslim who triumphs over infidels
Ghee	Fat extracted from cream of milk
Goonda raj	Rule of miscreants
Goondaism	Hooliganism
Goondas	Miscreants; Hooligans
Gowshala	Sanctuary for cows
Hadis; Hadith	Sayings of the holy Prophet [PBUH]
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah by Muslims
Halal	Eatables as per Islamic *Shariah*
Haris	Peasants
Hartal	Strike
Haveli	A large and spacious house
Hazrat	Honorific for pre-eminent, highly esteemed Muslims
Hijrat	Migration
Hindi Samelans	Gatherings for promotion of the Hindi language
Holi	A Hindu festival
Hudaibia	Place in Arabia where a treaty was concluded between Muslims and non-Muslims

'Id al-Azha	Muslim festival observed on the day following the *Hajj*
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival observed at the end of *Ramazan,* the month of fasting
'Id Millan	Get-together at *'Id*
'Id Mubarak	*'Id* greetings
'Id-e-Qurban	See *'Id al-Azha*
'Idgah	Place where prayer is offered at *'Id* congregations
'Idi	Sum given on *'Id* day
'Illaqa	Territory
Insha Allah	God willing
'Isha	Last prayer of the day offered by Muslims
Ishaat-i-Islam	Propagation of Islam
Jagirdar	Holder of land
Jai Hind	Victory to India
Jamaat	A body of people, congregation or assembly
Janab	Sir
Jihad	Struggle for a just cause; religious war against non-believers
Jirga	Council of tribal leaders
Jum'a Namaaz	Mid-day prayer offered by Muslims at mosques on Friday
Kafirs	Non-believers; heathens
Kanyapuja	Worship of young girls in the temples
Khaddi	Handloom
Khadim-i-Millat	Servant of the nation
Kharif	Autumn crop
Khilafat	Caliphate
Khuda Hafiz	Good-bye; May God protect you
Khutabae-Jum'a	Sermon delivered at Friday prayer
Kirpan	A dagger (long knife)
Kufristan	Abode of infidels
Lakhauti College ke Jat larkon ke hath dekho	See the performance of the Jat students of Lakhauti College
Lathi charge	A charge by Police, using bludgeons or truncheons, on a crowd of protestors etc.
Lathis	Bludgeons
Majlis	Assembly

Majlis Khadiman-i-Haramain	A body of attendants of the two holy cities (Makhah & Madina)
Maktabs	Institutes of, especially religious, education
Malichhs	Unclean person; derogatory appellation
Maliks	Chiefs
Mandals	Groups
Marwaris	Merchants of Rajputana (India)
Masjid	Mosque
Mela	Festival
Millat	Nation
Mohalla	Ward; locality
Mohalla Masjid	Mosque of a locality
Moharram	First month of Islamic calendar
Moharrir	A scribe; a writer
Momin	A true Muslim
Moulvi	A Muslim theologian; religious scholar
Mufti	Islamic jurist
Mukhia	Village head
Mulki	Nationals
Mulla	Priest; Muslim preacher
Munafiq	Hypocrite
Murdabad	Death to someone (a slogan)
Musalmano ko khatam karo	Kill the Muslims
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim	We praise *Allah* and invoke His blessings for the noble Prophet (PBUH)
Namaz	Daily prayers prescribed for Muslims
Namazgah	Place for offering prayers
Nawabs	Title of rulers of some states
Nehla Per Dehla	A Roland for an Oliver
Nehru raj	Nehru's rule
Noakhali ka badla leinge	Will avenge the Noakhali (killing)
Pakistan Zindabad	Long live Pakistan
Panth	Sikh religious order; doctrine
Pindaal (Pandal)	Canopy
Pir	Spiritual guide
Pucca	Strong
Puja	Worship by Hindus
Purdah	Veil
Qasba	Town

Quaid	Leader
Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad	Long live Quaid-i-Azam
Qur'an	Holy book revealed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Qurbani	Sacrifice
Rabi	Spring harvest
Rabi fasal	Spring crop
Raj	Rule
Raj hamara hai	Rule is ours
Ram raj	Ram's rule
Ramazan	Ninth month of Islamic calender; the month of fasting
Ramlila	A Hindu festival
Roza	Fast
Sadhus	Hindu ascetics; holy men
Sadrul Moham	A designation denoting in charge of law & constitutional reform
Sajjada Nasheen	Hereditary head of a shrine
Salaam	Greetings
Salaar-i-Ala	Commander-in-Chief
Salars	Commanders
Sanads	Documents or certificates
Sandal	Sandal-wood sacred to Hindus
Sanyasi	Herbal medicine practitioners
Sardar	Leader
Satee	Hindu tradition of woman burning herself on her husband's funeral pyre
Satyagraha	Passive, non-violent resistance
Satyagrahis	Participants in *Satyagraha*
Shaheed	Martyr for the cause of Islam
Shahjahanpur ko lootna hai	Shahjahanpur has to be plundered
Shariat	Islamic code of law
Shiwala	Temple
Shudhi	Conversion to Hinduism
Shudras	Lowest of the Hindu castes; untouchables;
Sunnah	Traditions, words and deeds of the holy Prophet (PBUH)
Sura Fateha	A verse of the holy *Qur'an*
Tabligh	Propagation, especially of religious beliefs

Taluka	An administrative unit
Tamasha	Entertainment show
Taravih	Special prayers offered after *'Isha* prayers during the month of *Ramazan*
Tehsil	Sub-division of a district
Thana	Police Station
Tohfa	Gift
Tonga	Horse-drawn carriage for passengers
Tongawala	Driver of horse-drawn carriage
'Ulama	Religious scholars
Vakeel	Lawyer
Vanaspati ghee	Edible oil used for cooking
Vande Matram	Hail to the Mother (India)
Wassalaam	Blessings to you too
Zakat	A fixed obligatory payment by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
Zindabad	Long live
Zulfikar	Sword of Hazrat Ali
Zulm	Oppression

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